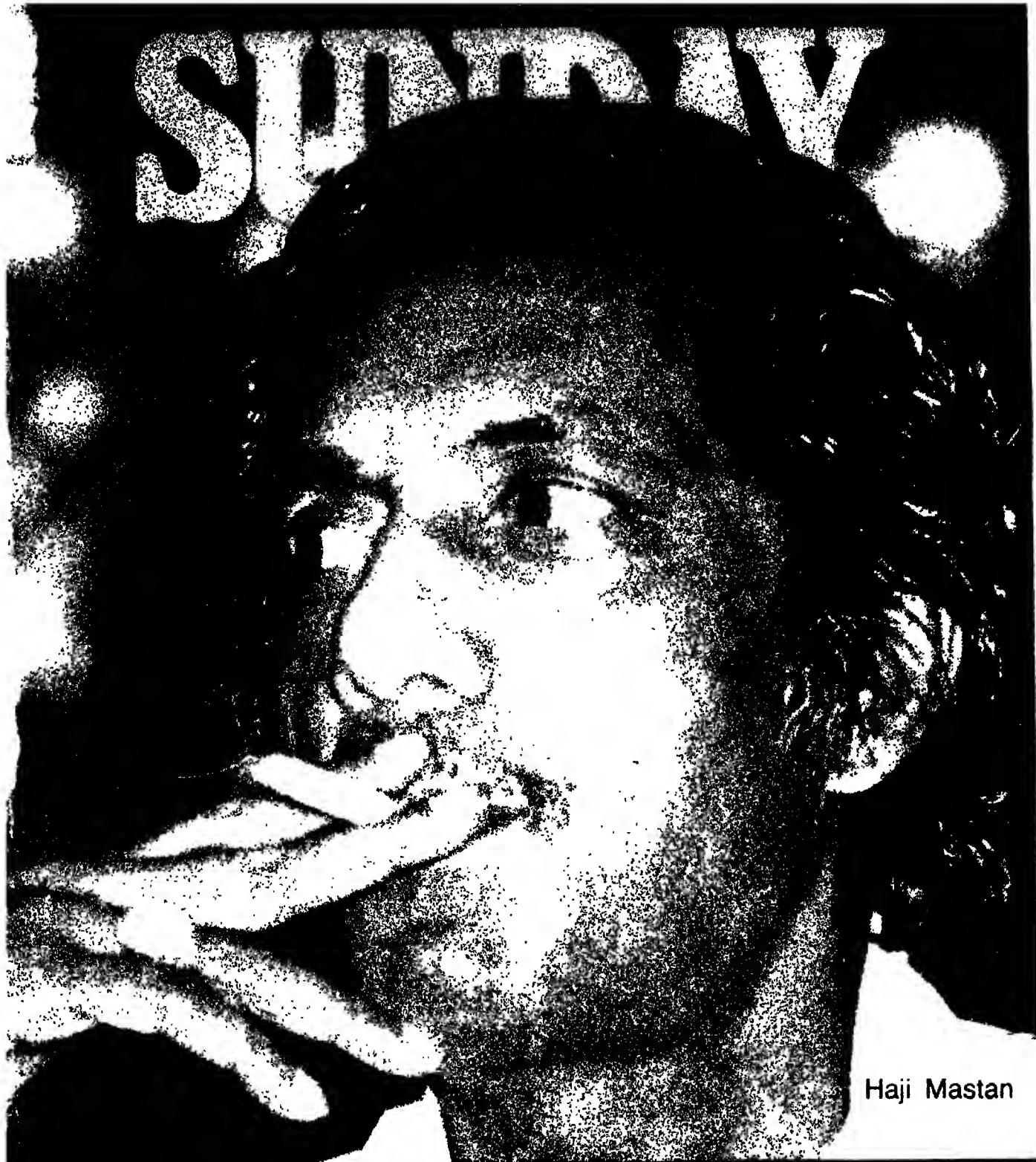


SUNDAY



Haji Mastan

What is Haji Mastan
doing now?

Plus: Exclusive interview with Haji Mastan



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Detained during the Emergency for smuggling, Haji Mastan, the "don" of Bombay's underworld has decided to go into something entirely legitimate—property development. But what interests him most is helping the poor whom he cannot forget for he was himself poor once. **Page 10**

Bholanath Sharma, the *sewadar* of a temple in Meghalaya, beheaded a temple priest to offer his head as a sacrifice to the Goddess Durga and then surrendered himself to the police. Is he a psychopathological killer or was he guided by the goddess? **Page 18**

Seven bogies of an overcrowded passenger train in Bihar went off the rails and plunged into a turbulent river killing over 2,000 people in what must be the worst train accident in history. Exclusive photographs by Sondeep Shankar. **Page 30**



Why did Acharya Rajneesh suddenly decide to quit Pune? Is he planning to close down his rich and enormously profitable Bhagwan Rajneesh Ashram? Olga Tellis investigates what the controversies are that have plagued the *ashram* and describes how it failed to gain acceptance in its home city. **Page 22**

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Greetings and Felicitations to the
SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA



*Colonel Muammar Al Qadhafi
Leader of the Revolution*

on the occasion of the
11th Anniversary of
American Forces Evacuation Day
on 11th June 1981

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has made remarkable industrial and economic progress in a short spell of ten years after the revolution.

The policy of integrated economic and social development and the top priority given to agriculture and industry in the country's development plans have laid the foundations of the continued prosperity of the Jamahiriya. As a result of the diversification of the economy, the non-oil sector has already commenced contributing more than half of the national income.

The Misurata Iron and Steel Complex is the centre-piece of this development programme.

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Today, work on the first phase with an initial capacity of 1.26 million tons on this large coast-based steel complex is making rapid progress. International contracts have already been awarded for the major plant and equipment. Soon the sebkh (marshy wastes) of Misurata will be transformed into the biggest industrial complex in the Jamahiriya.

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EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE

BY KULDIP NAYAR

Mountbatten Trust runs into trouble

The Mountbatten Trust, which was set up in England after the death of free India's first Governor-General, has run into rough weather in India. All went well with the trust and Mrs Gandhi was taking a personal interest in it, till the letterhead of the trust reached her table. The names of the trustees included Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs Gandhi's aunt. Since then, the Prime Minister has not shown much enthusiasm about the Mountbatten Trust. The differences between Jawaharlal Nehru's sister and daughter are well known, but Lord Mountbatten had desired during his lifetime that Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit should be one of the trustees. Therefore, Lord Mountbatten's son-in-law, the husband of Pamela Mountbatten, who manages the trust, had included Mrs Pandit's name.

There has been no movement of the trust's papers from the day Mrs Gandhi learnt about Mrs Pandit's inclusion as a trustee. The Mountbatten family is awaiting Mrs Gandhi's word. The British high commission in New Delhi, on the prodding of the trust, has made polite inquiries but has received no reply. In fact, British representatives in New Delhi have a feeling that one of the reasons for the recent estrangement between Mrs Gandhi and the UK is perhaps the inclusion of Mrs Pandit's name among the trustees.

One had the impression that the tragic death of Sanjay Gandhi had bridged the gulf between Mrs Gandhi and Mrs Pandit. She travelled in her infirm health all the way from Dehra Dun, where she lives, to console Mrs Gandhi and share the family's grief. Mrs Gandhi reciprocated the gesture and gave her the respect due to the eldest in the family. It appeared that the two had overcome the bitterness that had come between them during the Emergency, which led to Mrs Pandit throwing in her lot with the opposition and campaigning

against Mrs Gandhi in the 1977 elections.

Mrs Pandit's family has a feeling of "persecution" at the hands of Mrs Gandhi. Nayantara Sahgal was harassed during the Emergency. Another daughter of Mrs Pandit, Mrs Rita Dhar, who was the chief PRO of the Oberoi group of hotels, lost her job soon after Mrs Gandhi returned to power. Maybe, Mrs Gandhi had no hand in it and the hotel was only playing it safe, but the incident still rankles in the minds of the Pandit family. In the same way, the Mountbatten Trust may have faced hitches from other quarters in organising its activities in India. But its belief is that its troubles began after Mrs Gandhi came to know that Mrs Pandit was one of the trustees.

The Mountbatten Trust has its own anomalies too. All papers relating to the transfer of power to India—during the time when Lord Mountbatten was the Governor-General—have been placed with

Mrs Gandhi was taking a personal interest in the Mountbatten Trust till the letterhead reached her table. The names of the trustees included Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit's, her aunt. Since then Mrs Gandhi has not shown much enthusiasm about it.



the trust. All scholars should have had an equal access to them, but British scholars have been preferred.

When I was writing my book, *Distant Neighbours* in 1972, I met Lord Mountbatten in his country-house in England. He took me to an air-conditioned basement where his papers on the last days of the British rule were neatly arranged in racks. Many papers had been made available to Lord Hodson for his book, *The Great Divide*, an analysis of circumstances leading to the partition of the subcontinent.

When I asked Lord Mountbatten if I could consult some of his papers for my book, he said that they belonged to the trust which was being constituted under the chairmanship of his son-in-law. I told him it was unfair that British scholars would have an easy access to the papers while Indians, who were directly concerned, would be kept out. His reply was that the papers were the property of the trust and that he had very little to do with them.

Perhaps, the Mountbatten Trust wants to make those papers available in India. If this is so, the originals should be brought here. There is an unfortunate precedence involving Indian library records which should be avoided. The British government has taken the advantage of disagreement between India and Pakistan over the possession of documents and has kept back all the records in London. The proposal is that photostat copies can be made available to both countries at their expense.

Talking about memorial trusts, one does not know what has happened to the Maulana Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Lal Bahadur Shastri Trusts. They probably do not have funds worth any mention. It appears that the trusts which do not have the blessings of the government find it difficult to collect money. The sentiments of the people seem to die with the death of the person concerned.

The Jayaprakash Narayan Trust was able to collect nearly Rs 90 lakhs in his lifetime. But nobody knows anything about it and there is hardly any information available on the working of the trust or its activities. Money was collected from the public and it is but fair that the public should know how the money is being spent.

The matter came up the other day when some followers of JP wanted to revive his weekly, *Everyman*. They went from pillar to post but got practically no information about the trust, much less funds. One of them may be asked to write a biography of JP. But that is hardly any consolation for the others.



Stop, no more

Reading the cover story *Biharsharif: RSS spreads its poison again* (24 May), I was moved to tears. A man like RSS member Rajkishore is more dangerous than a cobra; while the latter can kill only one person at a time, Rajkishore has killed so many innocent people in one organised attempt. As for CM Jagannath Mishra, his indifference has left the people of Bihar trembling in fear. *Syed Anwarul Haq, Hyderabad*

RSS has always claimed to be a cultural organisation; by now we know that theirs is a great culture of murder which has defamed the Hindu culture. *Devaprasad Ghosh, South Ramnagar (West Bengal)*

After reading the cover story I have come to the following conclusions: Rajkishore cannot be called a Hindu because to be a Hindu one must be a human being first; secularism in India is a lie; the rulers of Bihar have played a ghastly game for which, sooner or later, they will have to pay a heavy price. *Nilesh Sen, Baruiapur (West Bengal)*

After every communal riot the government makes pious statements and there is a mild uproar in Parliament; but why isn't necessary action taken before the carnage? *Syed Ashraf Quadri, Patna*

Encouraged by the government's callousness, organisations like the RSS are exploiting the age-old animosity between Hindus and Muslims. *Ashok Kumar Pandey, Hooghly*

Will it ever stop? *Hrishikesh Mandal, Lucknow*

The toddy which Choton Pasi extracted from a palm tree on 30 April this year proved to be very costly: it took 52 Indian lives. *Sujit Roy, Bansdroni (West Bengal)*

Dr Jagannath Mishra should resign immediately; if he fails to do so, the Prime Minister should insist on his resignation. *Bijay Kumar Panda, Cuttack*

How can we forget that we are all the children of Bharat Mata? Why do we let ourselves be led by religious fanatics? *C. Bhagwandas, Calcutta*

The six-day old child of Ishrat Begum of Alnagar knew nothing about his religion. Why was he butchered? I plead to the government to somehow stop this communal war and to reward those Hindus in Biharsharif who helped the Muslims when they were being hounded. *Anwer Ahsan Mallick, Patna*

The cover story heading should have read 'Doctor (Mishra) allows poison to spread.' *Murad Abdullah, Calcutta*

No mercy should be shown to Rajkishore. *Sanat Saha, Hooghly*

Our constitution with all its noble ideals of secularism, had so far been gathering dust; now we find spiders' web around it. *N. Chandramohan Naidu, Solapur*

Thanks to SUNDAY for its bold coverage of the Biharsharif carnage. *Bani Ghosh, Nadia (West Bengal)*

Communal riots have been condemned by almost every political party but no one seems to get to the root of the problem and suggest measures to solve it. *Syed Azam Hussain, Buzurgdoar (Bihar)*

Allah and Ishwar have neglected their respective *bandas* and *bhaktas*; and the police and politicians are hopelessly inefficient. Who will the common man turn to, for comfort if nothing else? *V. P. Thoute, Solapur*

It is a pity that Morarji Desai's dream of total prohibition in the country was never fulfilled. Alcohol in any form is poison; in Biharsharif just one pot of toddy claimed 52 lives. *Niranjan Parhi, Balasore (Orissa)*

The photograph of policemen guarding *shiva* at Gagandewan was ironical: why couldn't they safeguard human life? *Asif Ali, Howrah*

The heading was certainly catchy though highly misleading because the cover story laid emphasis elsewhere: on government mismanagement. How can the involvement of a single RSS man (Rajkishore) warrant a direct accusation against the entire organisation? If more RSS members were involved then Tooshar Pandit should have said so. *C. K. Mishra, Patna*

While congratulating Tooshar Pandit for his cover story I cannot help observing that his allegation against the RSS and local boss Rajkishore is based on the stories he has heard from the victims of the riot. Only a judicial inquiry can unearth the extent of RSS involvement.

We on our part, having been in constant touch with Biharsharif, can safely claim that the area is infested with anti-social elements of both Hindu and Muslim communities and they are the real riot-mongers.

Ratna and Shyama K. Guha, Dhanbad

Political leaders and reporters like Tooshar Pandit have got into the habit of blaming the RSS at the drop of the hat. *Kripa Shanker, Ranchi*

It appears that Tooshar Pandit dived into riot-torn Biharsharif only to gather selective information. Why didn't his "saddening truth" reveal details of atrocities against the Hindus? So much so that even his camera refused to record the plight of Hindus.

Kalpana and Manoj Jha, Seraikella (Bihar)

The statistics given under *Casualties in communal disturbances* should not have been published; such figures only help to whip up communal passions. *Sanjay Kumar Dwivedi, Gaya*

Reading your cover story I was reminded of the '47 riots in erstwhile East Pakistan which followed an identical pattern: hordes attacking us from neighbouring villages; indiscriminate killing of old men, women and children; arson and looting; victims running around for help and protection. *M. K. Sorcar, Dibrugarh*

The term *julaha* ascribed by Tooshar Pandit to a particular community of Muslims (better known as Ansaris or Momins) is highly objectionable. The term was commonly used by zamindars of the pre-independence days to humiliate the Ansaris/Momins. *Arzoo Khanam, Biharsharif*

It was unfortunate that the killings at Nayatola (near Bari Dargah), Mohalla Katra (near Purani Kacheri), Chhagoo Mohalla, Sherpura Mohalla and Qamrudin Mohalla were not reported. *J. M. Shahid, Biharsharif*

The coverage of the Biharsharif riots was nowhere as good as the earlier reports on Jamshedpur, Moradabad and Aligarh. Tooshar Pandit made no mention of the Biharsharif by-pass where passengers were dragged out of buses and massacred. A large number of Muslims were killed on this road between 30 April and 3 May. *Syed Javaid Eqbal, Nalanda*

A number of readers including Sharjeel Qaisar, Arzoo Khanam and Dr A. Zaman, all from Biharsharif, and S. G. Haider from Patna, have complained that the incidents on Biharsharif by-pass were not reported in the cover story; to this Tooshar Pandit replies:

While in Biharsharif I heard these stories. But the people who claimed that "hundreds of Muslims" were dragged out from buses on the by-pass could not offer any concrete evidence. Neither could I find any on my own.

A brand of AMU fire

I was shocked to read the distorted report, *Will AMU's VC be the scapegoat?* (24 May). It was not the CRP which opened fire on 12 May this year as reported by Shenaz Syed; everyone here knows that it was SP (city) P. P. Siddhu who snatched a rifle from a constable standing nearby and fired directly on the students, and that too without any warning. Further, the allegation that AMU students spurned Rajiv Gandhi's offer to work for the Congress (I) is baseless; a number of student parties have already left for Amethi, Tundwari and Bareilly to campaign for Congress (I) candidates. As for vice chancellor Syed Hamid, I fail to understand why SUNDAY is bent upon painting him as an honest, dedicated man full of integrity. On the contrary, he has a reputation for favouring and appointing under-qualified candidates to teaching posts; sanctioning long leave to teachers close to him in contravention of university rules; reappointing retired teachers who were well-known for their corrupt practices to newly created posts. In Aligarh the VC is referred to as a *munafiq* (one who publicly expresses faith in religion but secretly works against it).

I am sure SUNDAY will not publish this letter.

Dr S. M. Rashid, J. N. Medical College, AMU, Aligarh

BBC replies

SUNDAY has a justifiable reputation for investigative journalism. But, unlike M. V. Kher's *Is the MP tribals' film a slander?* (24 May), investigation means looking into all sides of a story. Had Mr Kher looked into the story of the BBC filming in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh from the point of view of the film team, he would have found some surprising contradictions. To begin with, it is not true that the first condition on which the BBC got permission to make the film was that the team would not shoot inside any room; the officially-approved synopsis made it abundantly clear that the team would shoot indoors. It is also incorrect to say that Dr Mishra's confidential report to the home ministry found its way to the BBC; the BBC never saw a copy of the report. Also baseless is the allegation that BBC producer Christopher Curling threatened Dr Mishra with "the music he would face at Delhi, especially since he (Mr Curling) was close to the PM's family." Mr Curling is a London-based BBC producer who, far from being close to the Indian Prime Minister's family, has never met or addressed a letter to any of her family members. Mr Kher admitted that "some of the tribal youth have denied

being filmed in compromising positions" but has quoted Harichand, "a tribal youth who had earlier worked with the BBC unit," as saying that money had been distributed by us; your reporter is wrong again. Harichand is not a "tribal" youth. It is also relevant to point out that the team did shoot inside the *Ghotul*, but only under the supervision of the government-appointed liaison officer.

I could list several other points which Mr Kher might have cared to investigate, but SUNDAY may not have space to accommodate them. However, I would like to make two observations in conclusion. First, the allegation that the members of the Muria community are purchasable, drunkards and prepared to be filmed in "compromising positions," is a gross calumny against the Muria; it is your reporter, not the BBC, who has "distorted" the picture. Second, the BBC has, as an exception, allowed every inch of the film to be shown to the Indian high commission in London; these rushes, as they are known, have been viewed and found absolutely unobjectionable.

Mark Tully, chief of bureau, British Broadcasting Corporation, New Delhi

Swamy, no bull

Bull in the China shop (10 May) exposed much more than perhaps the author intended. Dr Swamy's active links with rightwing extremists and his pronounced pro-China tilt viewed against his Harvard background proves that the American lobby is, despite hopes to the contrary, working overtime in India. The fact that he was invited to an RSS-organised lunch (in honour of Vajpayee) in New York, indicates the extent of Dr Swamy's involvement with the RSS. While making a statement like "I am their friend, not their slave," he should

realise that hyenas have no friends, only preys. And his spirited advocacy of the theory that pro-Soviet lobbies were exploiting the disenchanted socialists in the Janata party in 1979 to disrupt the efforts to normalise Sino-Indian relations, even if tenable, sounds like a 'sour-grapes' sigh.

A. W. M. Shafquat, Aligarh

If one is to believe Dr Swamy, he and Morarji Desai are the only able and principled politicians in the country.

Neelav Kumar, New Delhi

Kerala remembered

Tooshar Pandit's special report, *Kerala: RSS vs CPI (M)* (24 May), highlighted the plight of the coalition government in the state. Kerala has served as a political laboratory for India where different kind of politics have been tested at different stages. And the state has a sizeable Muslim and Christian population, each represented by its own political party. This is perhaps the reason why no government in Kerala has been able to form a ministry without the support of either the Muslims or Christians.

M S Mukundan, Patna

Bathroom singer

Congratulations for the splendid special report, *The sound of profits* (24 May), and the interview with wondergirl Nazia Hassan.

Prabal Gulia, Balijan North

The fact that *Disco Deewane* became a gold disc on the very day it was released is no indication of high-quality music; apart from the title song and *Aao na, pyar karain*, the other numbers are disappointing.

Pawan Kumar Hansia, Purulia (West Bengal)

Personally, I don't think much of Nazia Hassan: she is only a bathroom singer propped up by Biddu's enchanting music.

Vivek Likhmania, Jamshedpur

Zohab Hassan's confession, "I only have a vague idea about the notations," speaks volumes of our pseudo disco craze.

Binod Jha, Serakella (Bihar)

Dear departed

May god give courage and strength to the Dutt family to bear the loss of *The rare flower* (17 May). Nargis' death has left us poorer.

T. V. S. Murthy, Sambalpur

The curtain has fallen on a great era. Bhabani Prasad Sarangi, Puri

It is a pity that Nargis passed away before her son's first film could be released.

Anil Khatavkar, Bangalore

The death of Nargis has shocked millions in the country. May her soul rest in peace.

Siddhartha Roy, Karanjia (Orissa)

Nargis has left behind a vacuum which can never be filled.

Sonjoy Bosu, Calcutta

Mere ink, pen and paper are not enough to pay tribute to Nargis.

Ashok Kumar Rath, Puri

Welcome Mr Nayar

KUDOS to SUNDAY for introducing the regular *Exclusive* by Kuldip Nayar. It is always a pleasure to read Mr Nayar's thought-provoking articles.

P. K. N. V. Siva Rao, Tanuku (Andhra Pradesh)

Mr Nayar's *The rare, objective bureaucrat* (17 May) should serve as an eye-opener to the government. The minority communities, no matter where in India, are not safe.

H. R. Shah, Ranchi

In the 1/ May issue of SUNDAY only Kuldip Nayar's *Exclusive* was worth reading.

B. B. Chhetri, Siliguri

Last letter

Twinkle twinkle little star,
During loadshedding, how useful
you are!
Swapn Bakshi, Calcutta

What is Haji Mastan doing now ?

Once the country's most famous smuggler; still a powerful don of the underworld (though he has officially given up smuggling—but who really knows?), Haji Mastan has begun another phase in an amazing life—helping the poor. This report is based on research by Kalyan Mukherjee and Rajkamal A. Silvano.

Photographs by
Sondeep Shankar



Countless people-troop into his house every day: some for help, others for the kind of justice law courts cannot give for one reason or another. For the poor, he spells hope. When he visits the crowded docks of Bombay, *coolies* rush to him for blessings. In a very real sense, he has transformed himself from a major smuggler to Bombay's 'Godfather': he has money, influence and power. His name is Haji Mastan Mirza. For the people in Bombay who need his help, he is simply *Mastanbhai*.

The story of Haji Mastan's life (his father named him Mastan after Sankari Mastan, a *dargah* in Bangalore) is the classic, almost mythical one of rags to riches. He began life as a starving *coolie* in the docks of Bombay, where he spent 20 years working for a pittance and lived in the slums among people whom poverty would age before their time. "I was very hungry those days," says Haji Mastan. But this life on the edge of the Arabian Sea brought him in touch with the underworld, and he learnt its ways. Then, from a *coolie* in the docks, he became a recruiting officer—checking the first batches of labour to the Gulf. This led to other forms of earning. Soon, he was living in a flat in Warden Road, and with the flat came signs of affluence, of the money with which his name would soon become synonymous: a sophisticated music system, a telephone and, of course, domestic staff came to be mentioned in hushed wonder in the backlanes of Crawford Market,

where he had grown up. Haji Mastan was going places. But he never forgot his past—nor the people he had grown up with. To them he came to symbolise an impossible dream come true.

Six years ago, Haji Mastan and his friend, Yusuf Patel, were detained during the Emergency under the provisions of the Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Act (COFEPOSA). To many who had wondered how Haji Mastan had come to acquire wealth, this provided an answer. When, in 1977, the two were released, they vowed to the late Jayaprakash Narayan, in a much-publicised ceremony, that they would "refrain from any activities prejudicial to the interests of the nation." That was as close as they came to publicly admitting what the rest of the world knew: that they had become two of the biggest smugglers in the country.

Today, four years later, both Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel are seeking to legitimise their wealth. They have turned to property development. It is the ideal business for anyone with black money in Bombay: there is a wide gap between real cost of construction and shown cost, and similarly between official cost and real cost. Black money is easily converted into assets. But how did they get into this business?

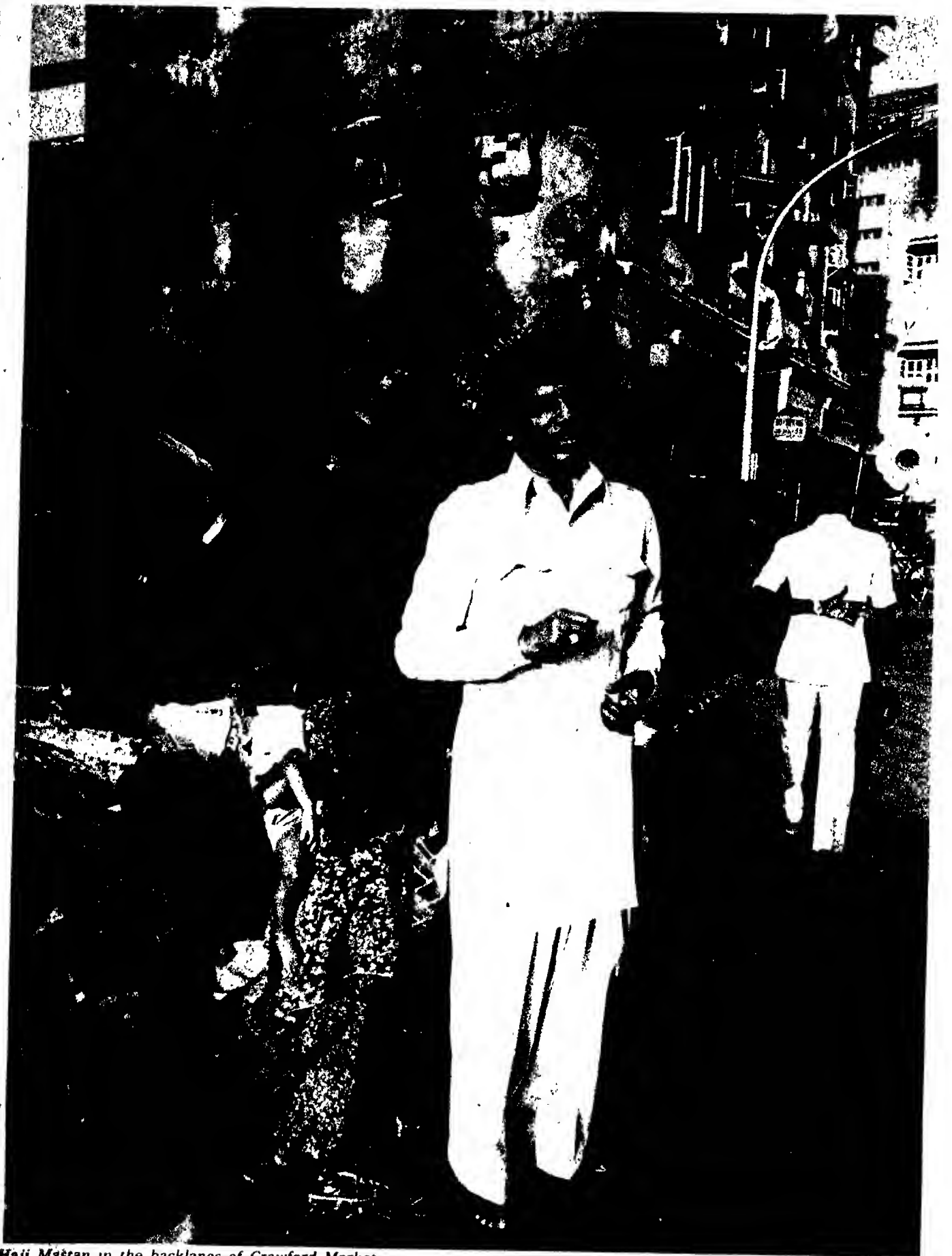
When Abdur Rahman Antulay took over as Maharashtra chief minister last June, one of his first decisions was to take a hard look at Bombay's housing situation. That nobody can rent a flat in Bombay today is well known;

and the genuine shortage of living space has pushed prices to unbelievable heights. But that is not the only problem that confronted Antulay. What he discovered, horrified him: Bombay has 16,000 houses constructed prior to 1940, and most of them are unfit for living. The walls are crumbling and the ceilings could cave in at any time. Therefore, on 7 July 1980, Mr Antulay convened a high level meeting to consider the problem of undertaking repairs of these buildings. While Mr Chandrakant Tripathy, former minister of state for housing and slums, was appointed to head a committee to look into this problem, Mr Antulay indicated his mind when he said that the government would find it difficult to tackle the problem alone and that it would be practicable and more effective if private initiative was encouraged. Enter, quietly, among others, Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel.

But for Mastan and Patel one problem has arisen: a controversy has grown around the floor space index (FSI)—the ratio between the floor space and the area on which the building stands. Even as Mr Tripathy's committee struggled to prepare its report, in early March this year Mr Antulay indicated in the Assembly that a revision in the FSI was imminent. He was all for raising it, that is allowing Bombay to be 'built up' more. This, immediately, met with opposition from the environmentalists. How, they asked, could Bombay's civic amenities provide for even more congested areas? A worried Cyrus J. Gazder, secretary of the Save Bombay Commit-

Haji Mastan takes a break at Crawford Market where he grew up.





Haji Mastan in the backlanes of Crawford Market

tee, wired Mrs Gandhi: "This disastrous decision will gravely jeopardise sensible urban planning and will aggravate already intolerable levels of transport and civic services."

However, there is little chance that anyone can stop Antulay from increasing the FSI if his aim is to attract private initiative to save Bombay's 16,000 condemned buildings. Phased reconstruction (which will take place if private initiative is not allowed) will take far too long—25 years is considered an optimistic guess. Going by its past record, the Repairs Board would probably take 50 years. Since 1976, the Repairs Board has constructed only ten buildings per year. Again, as construction costs have gone up by 60 per cent since 1974, it is already necessary to raise the cost of structural repairs, fixed that year at Rs 74 per sq ft to Rs 125 per sq ft, since the government with its annual allocation of Rs 12 to 14 crores would not be able to meet these increased costs of reconditioning. But tenants do not have the money: that is the catch. This stalemate can only be broken with the influx of private initiative, which will not happen unless the FSI goes up. A higher FSI means more floor space per area so that the effective cost goes down and developers can earn a higher return.

Haji Mastan does not deny outright his connections with the construction industry. Neither, of course, does he confirm them, preferring a more equivocal answer. "I am thinking, only thinking, about getting into the business," he told us. But the truth, even if it did not come directly from his lips, was evident enough from the nature of some of the visitors to his residence. He has conclaves with real estate agents at his house.

Yusuf Patel has entered the construction business openly. On the way to Patel's home in Mohamedally Road, a large hoarding informing the world about a company called "Patel and Sony Constructions" cannot be missed. One reason for this probably is the fact that Patel has managed to reduce the number of cases against him, instituted by the government, through success in the courts.

For Haji Mastan, however, as he said, what is more important is social work. It might partially be a case of conscience trying to catch up. Or it could be part of an effort to acquire respectability after acquiring wealth illegitimately. In any case early this year, Haji Mastan decided to set up an organisation for the uplift of the downtrodden: the All India Milli Secretariat (AIMS). On 25 April, this dream was fulfilled when AIMS had its inaugural function—and it was a mammoth show, attended by more than 50,000 people. Presiding over it was matinee idol Dilip Kumar who, while inaugurating the function, said: "Whenever our society has had problems Haji Sahib has always come to the fore."

It is easy to be cynical about all this—except no other smuggler has thought of doing anything of the kind



Haji Mastan with real estate agents

which Mastan envisages. There is some element of sincerity in his efforts.

Besides setting up the AIMS, for the past year Haji Mastan has been busy improving the life of slum dwellers around the city's busiest shopping area, Crawford Market: which, of course, is also the area which gave him his first home in Bombay. He has financed the construction of several taps, urinals and lavatories. Again, he has been making donations for educational institutions.

All this, coupled with his rise from poverty to lordship, has created a certain mystique about Haji Mastan. On the train to Bombay we met a waiter who was all praise when asked about Mastan: "Who does not know Haji Mastan? He is like Allah, *Bombay ka badshah*. May Allah do more for

him." At Haji Ali, a man without arms trails Mastan during his visit to the *mazaar*. An old woman calls out: "Mastan look how I am suffering." To her he is a saviour. Mastan quietly, without any show of emotion, gives money to the poor and leaves.

But on a visit to the docks, where he worked, Haji Mastan cannot remain unmoved (we were with him). The memory of his own hungry days comes back. A young *coolie* rushes up to him and asks for his blessings. Others run to get him something soft to drink. In a voice that is hardly audible, Mastan says: "These people are so young."

Haji Mastan is not young now; but he was young when he came to Bombay's docks to earn and dream. And today, he has begun another phase of an amazing life.



Uail Meean in his Warden Road flat

“The ruling party’s ideology is always the best”

Haji Mastan tells Rajkamal A. Silvano



Rajkamal A. Silvano with Haji Mastan

Q :What is the name of the unit which you have formed?

A: All-India Milli Secretariat. And I am the chairman of the organisation.

Q :What plans do you envisage as the chief of the unit?

A: To look to the needs of the suffering masses. Actually, my plans are what you call Herculean. I want to build hospitals, schools, residential complexes for the poor and the needy. To meet the increasing rate of unemployment in India, I wish to set up factories and technical institutes where training of various natures would be imparted, free of cost, to young men.

Q :I hope you won't train youths for smuggling (I cracked a joke).

A: (Sportingly) No, not at all (laughs).

Q :Will all these facilities be for Muslims only?

A: Who says? People from all communities, castes and religions would be welcome to avail of the facilities.

Q :Is the Government helping you in your plans?

A: So far we have not asked the Government for any help. Non-interference in our policies is the best kind of help which I expect from the Government. But financially, too, we expect them to aid us.

Q :Will you affiliate the AIMS to any political party?

A: This is purely a social organisation. Affiliating it to a political party would be like mixing water in milk.

Q :How great is the strength of AIMS?

A: We have about 30,000 members in Bombay alone.

Q :What is the membership fee?

A: It is very nominal. Rs 6 a year. That comes to only 50 paise a month.

Q :If I am not wrong, your annual collection will amount to Rs 1,80,000 only. How will you manage with such a meagre amount?

A: Don't judge the book by its cover. My friends will donate generously.

Q :Who are your friends?

A: That's an endless list.

Q :How and when did the idea of forming AIMS originate in your mind?

A: This idea is not original, in fact it is an old one. AIMS is only a sort of identity card for us. Getting up AIMS does not mean that I have taken up social service only now. For your kind information, I have been helping people since the time I first tasted wealth—fifteen years ago.

Q :People say if one gives by one hand, his other hand must not know about the obligation.

A: It's true. But then if you get tight how will the needy know of your activities. For a social worker, it is necessary to publicize. Otherwise, your plans won't materialise.

Q :Are there any leading politicians on your executive?

A: No, not yet. But we welcome them, too, to join us in our march.

Q :Will the organisation only operate in Bombay?

A: To start with I have made Bombay the base. After we execute some of our plans, we propose to tour the country and set up branches in almost every nook and corner of India.

Q :Shall we now switch the conversation to other fields?

“I have never met or talked to Antulay Sahib”

A: Why not? You're welcome.

Q :You deny you ever were a smuggler. How come you've amassed such great wealth?

A: It's all “Allah's meherban” (laughs). But I hope you know that I own not a single room. Even this bungalow in which we are sitting, is not mine. It's government property and I pay Rs 1,400 as rent.

Q :What is your source of income? Where do you get the money to pay the rent?

A: My friends and well-wishers are very helpful. I have already told you the list is endless.

Q :You are benevolent to your loyalists and extremely ruthless to those who betray you, why?

A: (Reciting an Urdu verse) *Dughna kisi ka saga nahin, Agar nahin kiya to*

kar ke dekh. (Betrayal is no man's friend, just try betrayal and see what happens).

Q :Would you like to enter politics?

A: No. Politics is a filthy game.

Q :You are on 'very intimate' terms with Antulay.

A: Leave alone terms, I have never met or talked to Antulay Saheb.

Q :Which party's ideology do you like the most?

A: Ruling party's ideology is always the best, be it Congress, Janata or Lok Dal.

Q :During the Emergency, you were the first among the smugglers, to be arrested under MISA. Why?

A: Because the raiding party mistimed the operation.

Q :How were you treated in jail?

A: Like an ordinary prisoner.

Q :Whenever there is a rift among Bombay's underworld bosses, they come to you for a patch-up. Does this prove your complete sway over them?

A: They respect me, so they come.

Q :On the one hand you say you never were a smuggler. Yet some years ago, you along with S. N. Bakhia, Yusuf Patel and other top-notchers swore in front of Jaya Prakash Narayan not to do smuggling.

A: You are mistaken, like the other journalists. We swore not to indulge in 'anti-national' activities. And I feel every Indian should do that.

Q :When you went to Lucknow in 1979 with a troupe, I was there. I learnt that a special squad of CID sleuths was deputed to tap your movements. Despite such arrangements, you vanished from Kanpur. How?

A: When I went to Kanpur from Lucknow, I fell ill. Hence from Kanpur I boarded a train for Delhi from where I fled to Bombay.

Q :I was told you had gone there to set up a drug base in Lucknow and strike a deal with the opium kings of Barabanki (one of the largest opium-producing districts in the world).

A: This was only a publicity stunt by local newsmen.

Q :Did you not contact Sardar Gurbax Singh Bakshi who has a good hold over Uttar Pradesh's underworld. Your bad luck, he gave you the cold shoulder.

A: I don't know who this Sardarji is.

Q : Mr Pirzada, though we are neighbours, we get to know very little of what is happening in Pakistan. Most of the time we have to rely either on the BBC or other western agencies for news of the latest developments in Pakistan. Now that you are here, why don't you throw some light on the current Pakistani situation?

A : I am glad that you have come to see me to clear doubts about Pakistan. I will try my best to convince you that what is said about our country is not true. Firstly, contrary to what is believed outside, stability has returned to Pakistan after a long time. People have begun to look to Gen Zia-ul Haq as the man who brought stability, having controlled price rise and checked the deteriorating law and order situation.

Q : Don't you think, then, that it is the right time to hold elections now?

A : It is not that the President does not want elections. You may recall that as far back as in 1979 itself he had declared that he was keen to transfer power to the elected representatives.

Q : But then he banned the political parties. How do you justify that?

A : There was no ban as such. When the General announced that he wanted to hold elections as soon as possible, he also asked the election commission to expedite the process of recognising the political parties which had complied with certain rules. The parties applying for recognition had to file their accounts for inspection. This step had to be taken to check misuse of money in the elections. But except for a few small organisations, none of the major political parties had agreed to abide by the new rules. The Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) has refused to file its accounts. That is the story. Gen Zia had not banned any party. Even after the postponement of the elections, no party had come forward to register itself. Later, the situation changed, as you know (shrugs).

Q : Is the PPP free to approach the election commission even now, or is there any other problem?

A : As far as I know, there should be no problem if it complies with the rules.

Q : What is the main problem in holding elections now?

A : Nobody in Pakistan wants elections now in view of the changed international situation. The Afghan crisis has posed a new threat to the country. Nobody wants to fritter away time in elections. In any case, the Federal Council will function like an elected body till the elections are held.

Q : What is this Federal Council? When will it be set up?

A : It may be formed within a month. If everything goes well, it may hold its sitting for the budget on 1 July.

'Pakistan cannot afford a war now'

S. S. Pirzada, the attorney general of Pakistan, is very close to president Zia-ul Haq. B. N. Kumar spoke to him when he recently stopped over at Bombay on his way to Colombo. Though initially reluctant to grant the interview, Mr Pirzada was quite communicative once he got going. He said it was President Zia who had brought stability to Pakistan and there would soon be a nominated Federal Council. But the possibility of Gen Zia packing the Federal Council with his men cannot be ruled out and what Mr Pirzada calls stability may simply be the lull before the storm.

Gen. Zia embracing the captain of the PIA jet, which was hijacked on 2 March, on his return to Pakistan



Q: Are you suggesting that the President will nominate all the members?

A: Yes. All the members will be selected from different sections of society like doctors, lawyers and businessmen. Various organisations like the chambers of commerce have been asked to suggest the names of their representatives. The Council, once it is formed, will function like the National Assembly.

Q: How many members will it have?

A: About 250 members to begin with.

Q: Will they sit and rewrite the Constitution? What will be their job?

A: As I have already told you, it will work like the National Assembly. The question of scrapping the present Constitution does not arise. The President has only kept the Constitution in abeyance, he has not abrogated it. And the process of restoration of constitutional rights is already on.

Q: Restoration in which way? I understand that citizens of Pakistan do not enjoy any rights now. They are flogged for petty offences. The press is muzzled and the judiciary has been made absolutely powerless.

A: All the allegations are baseless. You can come and see for yourself as to what is happening in Pakistan. Citizens have got back their rights. I agree that criminals are flogged for certain offences under the *Shariat*. But, this happens in the case of only hardcore criminals. Despite the fact that it is legal to amputate the limbs of robbers, there have been no cases of amputation so far. The robbers, dacoits and burglars are only flogged—mind you, that too after the offence is proved beyond doubt—to deter further crime. Even in some Western countries there is a demand to introduce such laws to check increasing crimes.

The courts are absolutely free, except that they are not allowed to interfere with the working of the military courts. Under a new order, High Court judges are being asked to take an oath to this effect. I have also heard some noise being made about the so-called transfer of judges. This is not peculiar to our country. No judge, however, has so far been transferred despite the law providing for it. During Bhutto's rule, judges were transferable every year. Now we have changed it to two years. And you call it suppression of the judiciary?

Q: What about the press?

A: Newspapers are free as long as they do not prejudice the country's ideology, national integration and its relations with other countries. Censorship is also being liberalised. I understand that the press and the government are working on a code of conduct now.

Q: Do you mean to say that Gen Zia likes to be criticised by the press?

A: Yes, as far as I know. He is a sincere Muslim and a perfect gentleman, which is why he is keen to

Islamise Pakistan. He believes that this is the right path shown by the Prophet.

Q: But there are reports that Islamisation is taking Pakistan to...

A: To where? The primitive age? No, it is not true. Again, as I have already said you can come and see for yourself how we implement the *Shariat*. Only rational laws like the penal laws are being adopted. It may surprise you to know that the crime rate in Pakistan has fallen by over 30 per cent since the introduction of the *Shariat*. There are fewer cases of robberies. Dacoities, which used to be a menace in the tribal belt, are on the wane now.

Another positive feature of Islamisation is interest-free banking, which was not heard of in a country dominated so far by the *pathans* and other money-lenders. Unemployed graduates are particularly being helped to stand on their own feet.

Q: A standing joke about Pakistan, which is popular here, is that the TV proudly proclaims, "Be Pakistani, buy Pakistani", but there are hardly any Pakistani goods available in the markets. All the consumer goods are supplied by Western firms. Will Islamisation help in eliminating this dependence on the West?

A: (smiles) I agree that foreign goods have flooded our markets. But, I find imported goods even in the streets of Bombay...

Q: But the imported goods that you find here are the smuggled ones. There are very few legally imported articles. Is it the same with Pakistan?

A: Yes. Smuggling is a general phenomenon in this region. But you have to remember that after partition we had to start from scratch. India, at least, had a good industrial base. Pakistanis, however, learnt the process of making everything on their own. We are progressing on the industrial front rapidly.

Q: That's good. But Pakistan is strengthening its defence base, too, while going in for rapid industrialisation. This has become a matter of concern to people on this side of the border. Gen Zia, it appears, is also creating a war-psychosis in the country to prepare the ground for an early war with India.

A: It is not war-psychosis. The situation has certainly been causing concern to us in view of the constant threat from Afghanistan. And we are strengthening the defence forces only to protect ourselves. There is absolutely no intention to fight India.

Q: But the problem is that whenever Pakistan has acquired arms, it has been used against India.

A: Foreign arms have been used by both the countries during wars. Anyway, every country is piling up arms. So far as India and Pakistan are concerned, I hope better sense will prevail in both the countries and they will avoid any clash in future. I think the situation of either 1965 or 1971 does

not exist now. We certainly have better understanding between us.

Q: Do you think that it is time we signed a no-war pact?

A: What is the point in having pacts? We know several cases in the rest of the world where no-war pacts had been violated. One may have any number of pacts, what is important is the spirit to honour the pacts. I think the Simla pact is a good agreement. As far as Pakistan is concerned, we fully abide by it.

Q: There are reports of unusual troop movements on the border with India. If you are anticipating a threat from Afghanistan, why do you require such a large number of men on the Indian border?

A: We have already refuted this charge. The troop movement, if any, is just normal and it has nothing to do with any alleged plan to wage a war against India. In any case, India should have no cause for concern. Yours is a much bigger country than Pakistan. We have realised that we cannot afford a war now. We had bad experiences in 1965 and 1971. Both of us should realise it.

Q: What is the position of Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir? I believe that they are being tried.

A: They are placed under house arrest. Do you think that it is safer to allow them to go around freely under such dangerous circumstances?

Their and other PPP workers' activities are highly suspicious and objectionable. Their followers had shot dead three innocent students at a Karachi college to terrorise the people just before the recent hijacking. Now look at Murtuza. The whole world knows that he masterminded the hijacking. He even reportedly gave an interview to BBC here in Bombay. The charge-sheets have already been filed. The trial will begin soon. And remember it is going to be an open trial.

Q: Murtuza is said to be in Afghanistan. Have you asked Kabul to hand him over to you?

A: Yes, we have firmly and finally asked Afghanistan to hand over Murtuza.

Q: If they don't?

A: Then we have to move the International Court of Justice. We are discussing this aspect.

Q: Can't you ask the Interpol to detain him and bring him over to Islamabad?

A: No, because hijacking is still not covered by Interpol. They handle cases relating to narcotics etc. You should not forget the fact that Afghanistan is a signatory to the international declaration against hijacking. It is their duty to send Murtuza across the border, instead of giving him asylum. But you should also not forget that there has been a tremendous public reaction against the PPP after the hijacking. In view of this and other developments in Afghanistan, the people have developed a strong sense of unity. They are looking to Gen Zia as a symbol of stability. ■

Murder on god's command

Bholanath Sharma, a *sewadar* of an obscure Kali temple in Meghalaya beheaded the head priest of a temple, on the orders of the Goddess Durga.

JYOTI JAJA investigates

On 9 April 1981, the *sewadar*, Bholanath Sharma, of an obscure temple, Parbat Mandir, near Barapani (Meghalaya) took a *dao* (a broad-edged weapon) and beheaded Pujari Jaisi. He then walked 11 kms to the nearest police station and surrendered. Why did he do it? Confessing to the police, Bholanath repeatedly affirmed that the goddess had appeared to him and had ordered him to give as *bali* (a sacrificial offering) Pujari Jaisi's head. Bholanath's belief in the goddess is a stubborn credo that he refuses to rationalize. Naturally, he is bewildered by the fact that he is being kept in prison for merely obeying god's command.

Can ritual murder be attributed to forces beyond human control? Human sacrifice is very often regarded as an awesome prehistoric myth. In reality, the ritual has been a practice not only in primitive cults but in all great civilizations. The belief that human blood appeases the gods has often formed the basis of religious beliefs—in many societies. The Aztecs, Incas in South America, the Kali worshippers in India, the priests of Sumer and Babylonia, the African witch-doctors and European Satanists all believed in offering human blood to their respec-

tive gods and goddesses. Rarely does one get the chance of investigating ritual killings. I did when I went to meet Bholanath Sharma.

The wall-clock in the Shillong jailer's office had stopped. Was this sudden arrest of time symbolic, I asked myself while waiting for under-trial prisoner Bholanath Sharma. Good-looking in spite of his ragged and unkempt appearance and dirty clothes, Mr Sharma seemed quite composed. He started talking once the initial distrust wore off. He is originally from east Nepal but he has been living in India for a very long time, in fact since childhood. Apart from an younger brother, whom he has not seen in the last four years, he is alone. He has not married. Said he: "I have taken *vairagya* (renunciation). Everybody asks me how this happened? Why I killed the old *pujari*? But Durga Mai sent me to Parbat Mandir. She called me from Mowhati near Gauhati, where I was working as a daily labourer. According to her *hukum* (order), I cleaned the garden for the *shobha* (beauty) of the temple." He rambled on telling me about his life. "I am 45 years old and I have been a *baal brahmachari* (a brahmachari from youth). I wanted to take *sanyas*, but then Jagadamba (another name for



The spring where the body was found

Goddess Durga) ordered me to do this. Now I am in jail."

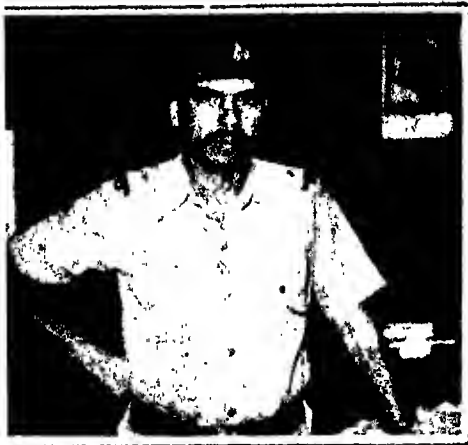
He sounded like an educated man. Could he read and write? He looked at me with his unusual topaz-coloured eyes and said: "We were very poor. I could not go to school. But through, *Antar Gyan* (inner knowledge) I learnt to read Hindi and Sanskrit. Sometimes I write *bhajans* for Jagadamba." How long had he been serving the Barapani temple? "Nine days," he answered. That answer jolted me. The number nine, which is goddess Durga's number in astrology, numerology, and mythology keeps cropping up with unusual frequency in this case. The day of the *pujari*'s death: 9 April. The time of the *bali*: 9 am. Duration of Bholanath's stay at the Parbat Mandir: 9 days.

What did he do before coming to serve the Barapani temple? "I used to do *gao sewa* (looking after cows) for *mahajans* (businessmen) in Shillong. Then I left them to work with Father Herman at Jowai. I collected orchids and other plants from the jungle. He made me *head-mali* (head gardener) of his school because I am good with flowers. One day I was suddenly caught by the police. I was wearing a good foreign jacket and an English pullover given to me by the Fathers for Christmas. The Jowai police thought I had stolen them and put me in jail. After my release from jail, I came down to Naya Bungla and started working for the government dairy project. But I spent most of my time praying. I used to pray in the jungle wherever I could find a quiet place. Then I lost that job too, because I was a Nepali. Then I started living in Mowhati. It was in Mowhati that Durga Mai appeared to me in a dream and ordered me to go to her temple at Jwala Parbat."

He continued his story, with a far-away look in his eyes, trying to remember his days at Jwala Parbat. "It is a very peaceful place. I was happy. At last, I thought, Durga Mai was pleased with me. I could spend the rest of my life doing *sewa*. But last Tuesday (3 April 1981) I saw the goddess holding out her hands—just, like human hands—and demanding the *bali* of the old *pujari*. She said he had committed

The Durga temple on top of Jwala Parbat





ASI S.N. Deka, the investigating officer

some mistake."

Was it another dream, I inquired. Leaning forward, Bholanath Sharma answered with perfect conviction: "No. I had *jagrat roop darshan*, (meaning he was fully awake when he saw his Durga Mai). And I have merely carried out her orders," he repeated once again.

Just then, I got a strong whiff of *bhang* (cannabis). Was Bholanath under the influence of this hallucinatory drug when he committed the murder? Was this artificial stimulant capable of altering his state of awareness when he saw the goddess and heard her command? Bholanath did take the drug sometimes, but how does one account for this calm statement, in a perfect state of mind, that he had actually seen the vision and was only fulfilling the command?

At Barapani, the officer-in-charge of the police station was out. But sub-inspector Deka and havildar Shivnath Tiwari were very helpful. I inquired if there was a reason for the killing. Sub-inspector Deka said: "There has to be some reason behind every killing. But in this case there seems to be no motive. You may even say there was no arrest. The accused came and surrendered on his own with the murder weapon." The weapon was brought out on my request. It was dangerous-looking Khasi dao, iron-handled and a bit rusted. But there were no blood stains. Perhaps, Mr Deka anticipated my question about the blood stains. He said: "We didn't wash it. Bholanath had washed everything clean before coming down to confess." Recalling the incident and what effects it could have on the rapidly deteriorating communal situation in the north-eastern states, the police inspector said: "Luckily, the victim was also a Nepali brahmin (Bholanath is also a brahmin), otherwise this could have turned into an ugly communal episode." The *pujari* too had no relatives and had lived alone next to the temple.

Sub-inspector Deka and havildar Tiwari then escorted me to the scene of the crime. Near the Umroi airfield (which provides landing facilities for the Vayudoot services) and overlook-



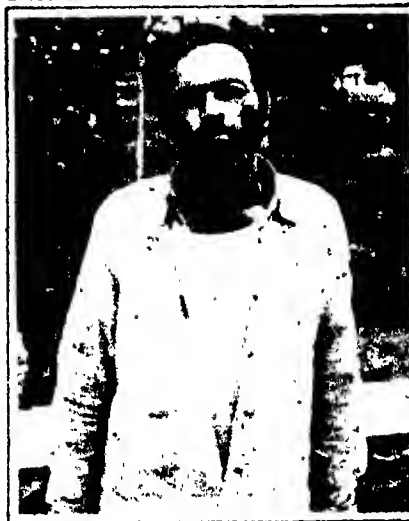
The sacred footprint rock

ing a military cantonment which is coming up, stands a hillock called Jwala Parbat. A steep footpath leads to the shrine where the beheading took place. Only a few goats were grazing, there was no human in sight: the murder had scared the people who regularly offered prayers. There was a Nepali *bustee* near by and the people there told me that they originally worshipped the "old goddess" in the cave.

They were speaking about the prehistoric cave perched just below the tiny hilltop temple. The cave is interesting: inside can be seen two distinct, rather large human footprints, the toes painted red and yellow, on a black stone. A peculiar smell pervaded the cave. A red flag drooped in a corner, and there were three *trishuls* (tridents) in front of the rock with the footprints. Near by, on a flat stone there was a *puja thaali* (plate) with wilted flowers, half-burnt joss sticks, dry sandalwood paste, *sindoor* (red vermilion powder), a few grains of rice, four one-rupee notes, a two-rupee note and a few coins. No one had touched them and after this episode, no one would.

The dead *pujari*, Jaisi, had discovered a fresh water spring exactly beneath the cave and had made a

Bholanath Sharma



The rock cave on Jwala Parbat

water tank there. It is an isolated spot and requires a stiff, uphill climb. It was here that the body was found. Said sub-inspector Deka: "When I reached the spot with my constables, I found the old *pujari's* body lying near the water spring. His head had been placed on top of the rock with the footprints."

Later Shivnath Tiwari said that in the temple the original image of Durga, made of gold and donated by an unknown Ahom king, had mysteriously turned silver, when Jaisi had discovered the spring. Jaisi had immediately lodged a complaint with the police. The mystery remains unsolved to this day. Could there be more to the murder? Was the human sacrifice the act of a psychopathological killer?

The questions will remain unanswered. But for the moment, Bholanath Sharma carries no feeling of guilt. He is resigned to his fate although one question continues to haunt him: Why has his goddess forsaken him now? "I was taken to court once," he said. "The magistrate heard my statement and wrote down something. Do you think," he asks me, "they will allow me to go back to the Jwala Parbat temple and spend my life in prayer? That is my only desire."

The murder weapon, a Khasi dao





If Karnataka had Hampi... and nothing else....

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A Coup Against Acharya Rajneesh?

In the early hours of 1 June, Acharya Rajneesh along with 17 of his close disciples rode in VIP-style onto the tarmac of Bombay airport to take a Pan Am flight bound for New York. Why did he suddenly decide to leave Pune? Was he closing down his ashram? His normally vocal press office is answering these questions with a 'No comment.' OLGA TELLIS went to Pune and discovered a fascinating story.





The Nataraj meditation at the Ashram

Missing: Rajneesh Chandra Mohan, answering to the name of Bhagwan Rajneesh, since 1 June 1981. Last seen boarding a Pan Am flight bound for New York with 17 disciples. Height 5'9", bearded, shoulder-length hair, wheat complexioned, dressed in a spotless white robe. Not heard of after that. A press release issued from the press office of the Rajneesh Ashram, Pune on 10 June quotes Ma Prem Arup as saying, "Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh left India for health reasons only." She declined to say where Bhagwan was headed when he left India on 1 June. "It's a secret because we do not wish him to be disturbed."

Where is Bhagwan Rajneesh? This question is uppermost in everyone's mind. How can a man, one of the most brilliant in our country, witty, shorn of any veneer of *soi-disant* usually associated with men in the godman business, almost unmatched in his understanding of human psychology and psyche, just disappear into the blue as if he were a gypsy camp? It is just not like him. Does he really want his whereabouts to be kept a secret?

A trip to the Rajneesh Ashram in early June threw no light on Rajneesh's whereabouts. One understands the charming Johannesburg-born Prem Leela trying to keep a badly-kept secret about whether the

Ashram is going to set up its new centre (in Chail at the foothills of the Himalayas) because as she says, "If it is widely known the sharks would be on us trying to get the maximum out of us."

But Rajneesh? Questions draw a frustrating no comment! I asked: "Have you heard from Bhagwan Rajneesh since he left?"

Prem Leela answered: "No comment."

"Has he reached safely?"

"No comment."

"But surely you have been informed?"

"No comment."

"But why the secrecy? I don't understand."

"I understand that you don't understand. That's why I say, no comment."

"But is he okay?"

"He's certainly alive and well."

"Will he return?"

"Who's to say how long he'll be away. He will be back eventually."

"Does he plan to return to Pune?"

"We just want to give no comment."

"It is rumoured that Bhagwan has throat cancer, hence the *satsangs* (silent meditations) from 1 May."

"We were waiting for this ultimate stage. The man has been talking enough all these years. How much more can he say. You've got it or you haven't."

The question of Rajneesh's whereabouts acquires importance because of

the large financial empire that is the Rajneesh Foundation. Perhaps it is a little-known fact to the world outside the *ashram*, that Rajneesh himself has nothing to do with the foundation. According to Leela, "We would like to make it clear that Bhagwan has no connection with the Rajneesh Foundation and that he has been staying here as a guest."

In fact, Ma Yoga Lakshmi (now in the USA) who is the managing trustee of the Rajneesh Foundation, told a colleague early this year that "some of his friends listened to his call, set up this institution and invited him to stay here. Bhagwan has no money, no bank account, not even pockets in his dress." So, has the "guest" been asked to quit, because he got too 'hot' for their liking? It is well known that everything that Rajneesh did, rocked the boat of status quo. He has clashed swords with politicians and celebrities. The anti-Rajneesh people seem to be far stronger than the pro-Rajneesh and it is strange how sections of the Pune population have taken up strong pro and anti-Rajneesh postures.

To Rajneesh, it is a game because he likes nothing better than upsetting applecarts (he began his career that way). But for the tough businesswomen who run the Foundation it could be a threat to their multi-crore empire. Officially, the financial position of the Rajneesh Foundation is as follows:



Ma Yoga Lakshmi, managing trustee, Rajneesh Foundation

Bhagwan's first disciple

Nothing illustrates Rajneesh's sense of humour or understanding of human psychology better than the way in which he selected his first disciple. The story goes that one day a man went to him and told him about a certain Baba Muktananda Paramhansa whom he had met. The man was impressed by the fact that though he had asked the Baba a few very fundamental questions, the Baba had kept quiet. This, presumably, impressed the man enough to refer to the Baba as a great man.

That very day, Rajneesh was leaving for another town. So he told this man, "You come with me and for three days be silent with me, and you will see." Says Rajneesh: "I gave him orange clothes. He was my first sanyasin—a bogus humbug sanyasin. And I told him, 'For three days you will be Baba Chuktananda Paramhansa.' He said, 'I have never heard of this name Chuktananda.' I told him, 'I have also not heard it. I have just coined it this very moment. Chuktananda means one who has paid all his debts. You are free, utterly free. Your world has come to an end.' And he asked me, 'Then

what do I do?' I told him, 'You have nothing to do at all. You keep silent. You simply sit. All that is needed I will do. If somebody asks you something, you can make any gesture or you can close your eyes or you can look into space.' In the night when everyone left, he was allowed to talk to me. He would hold my legs and say, 'Bhagwan, what are you doing? I feel so embarrassed when people touch my feet. And so many people. What has gone wrong?' People are so foolish. Either they are deceived by words or they are deceived by silence. But they are deceived," says Rajneesh.

Incidentally, Bhagwan Rajneesh chose orange for his sanyasins because it is the spectrum of the sun. Most colours have vibrations. Orange has a positive vibration. It is like seeing the sun, life, fire. The sanyasins display nearly 100 shades of orange from the very bright to the orangy purple in the latest styles. Rajneesh had first thought of choosing the colour green, but he realised that when a tree comes to its totality it is orange, the flowers are orange. This is why he selected orange.

Income from donations: Rs 4,747,000 in 1980 as against Rs 1,758,008 in 1979.
 Publications: net income Rs 1,500,000 in 1980 as against Rs 1,017,000 in 1979.
 Net income from other sources: Rs 6,500,000 in 1980 as against Rs 3,200,000 in 1979.
 Expenditures on objects of the trust: Rs 4,350,000 in 1980 as against Rs 1,450,000 in 1979.

The ashram is big business. And it is growing bigger as the official figures show. Donations too are flowing in. It is understood that the foundation collected about \$ 20,000 from around 500 sanyasins for the Jhadavawadi project on a promise that they would be given bungalows. So the foundation frantically looked around for land. This project had to be abandoned shortly after it started as the Janata government withdrew permission for the use of the land. With the inevitable controversy that stalks every Rajneesh project, many go up in smoke. Thus the project for locating the ashram in Kutch, Gujarat also went askew. Objections ranged from the behaviour of sanyasins to the sensitive border area with military installations. As Prem Leela says, "There's the whole of southern command in Pune, and they are worried about us spying in Gujarat."

Their multi-rupee business is also said to be tax free. When asked about this, Ma Leela of the press office said cryptically, "No comment." However, according to one source they were exempt from income tax when they started out, but when Mr Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister, he is said to have withdrawn this exemption. They now allegedly owe the government about Rs 25 lakhs. But this could not be confirmed either with the ashram or the tax authorities.

In its latest press release, however, the ashram says: "Ma Prem Arup categorically denies newspaper reports in India, America and other countries which alleged that Bhagwan had left because of tax problems. He has no property, no income and no money, so it is absolutely impossible for him to have any tax problems whatsoever." She also explained that Bhagwan has "totally and categorically donated all royalties from the publication of his discourses to the Rajneesh Foundation trust. The Foundation is a trust and therefore tax exempt, so neither Bhagwan nor the foundation can have any tax problems."

One of the reasons why one suspects that Rajneesh has disappeared is that he usually prepares his disciples for his next step years in advance. He talks about it and explains why it will happen. It is unlike him even to go away for treatment without informing his disciples about it. For instance, before he embarked on his period of silence, he had begun talking about it. As early as the Seventies, he talked of satsang where "if you are open, the Master flows into you." In a way he

was preparing his disciples for his silence.

Now Bhagwan Rajneesh seems to have become a dispensable commodity to the Rajneesh Foundation. For instance, the 1 June issue of the foundation newsletter has results of a survey done at the *ashram* in Pune on the sanyasins and in the findings, the study reports: "Life as a sanyasin, said 81 per cent, gave them awareness and personal growth, love and acceptance, and love of life. The surprising thing was that only 13 per cent of the sanyasins mentioned Bhagwan as an aspect of sanyasin life. People who had been members of another spiritual group earlier were asked to say how *sanyas* differed from that experience. Only 20 per cent of them mentioned Bhagwan as a difference—instead they talked about more freedom, a more total or real life, or love and trust. Bhagwan's presence is not the most important factor in these sanyasins' lives. It is as important perhaps, but no more important than the love and awareness they had found. They are not people dependent on the Master, and if they were, their answers would have focussed more on him." Has Bhagwan Rajneesh ensured already that his disciples can live without him?

So Rajneesh, who made thousands and thousands of people gravitate to Pune, has outlived his utility. Has he become a squeezed-out lemon? Has entropy set in? Is he counter-productive? In any case if he is going to be silent then there will be no more tape recordings. His tapes are big money earners. Pre-recorded cassettes of 90-minute discourses sell for \$7, extra minutes after that for \$5.50 and musical and special events for \$8.50. Each cassette has about 10-12 discourses. Books on the same discourses are available at prices ranging from Rs 65 to Rs 2,500, as in the case of *The sound of running water*, a massive 550-page photo-biography of Bhagwan and his work between 1974-78. A book with just 200 blank pages, called *The Rajneesh nothing book* sells for Rs 25. The book is sold as a book to be played with.

Rajneesh gave discourses every single morning to nearly 3,000 disciples and visitors. A standard "donation" of Rs 10 was charged for each person attending the 10-day meditation course held once a month. Between 1974-78, Bhagwan Rajneesh uttered over 33 million words in his daily discourses and evening *darshans*, averaging 13,000 words per day, seven days a week, 52 weeks per year. During the same period he answered over 10,000 questions. More than 2,500 discourses and *darshans* have been or are being transcribed into 336 books, published by the Rajneesh Foundation. Of them, 128 contain his English discourses, 144 Hindi discourses and 64 are *darshan* records. Over 100 books have been published by 55 foreign publishing companies. Since 1974, all discourses have been recorded and



Ma Prem Arup

The woman in Rajneesh's life

While one hears of the premier position occupied by Ma Yoga Lakshmi and Ma Arup, almost nothing is heard about a wispy sanyasin called Ma Yoga Vivek. In fact, the *ashram* would not give a picture of hers nor would they let us photograph it from the book, *The sound of running water*.

According to this massive pictorial biography of Bhagwan Rajneesh, Vivek is described as, "Bhagwan's constant companion and is rarely known to the outside world. She has the extraordinary and exacting task of looking after the Master's household and physical well-being."

"Part of the veil of mystery which surrounds her is to be lifted two years hence and the account is given here as a glimpse that not all the situations which will happen in the following four years are as innocently accidental or arbitrary as they appear on the surface," says the text. According to the story, the

young Rajneesh had a girlfriend, Shashi Sharma, a daughter of a doctor. Shashi died in 1947 and Rajneesh was by her bedside when she died. From all accounts Vivek (which means 'conscience') feels she is a reincarnation of Shashi. Vivek says, "Anyway I came back. Just before I died I made him promise that he would call me back, that wherever I was he would bring me back." Vivek, however, is English.

Bhagwan Rajneesh says about her, "Vivek is so close to me that she is constantly on the cross. And I go on creating many situations. I have to create them because only through friction does integration happen. Only through harder and harder situations does one grow. Growth is not soft. It is painful."

"Many people say, what do you do with Vivek?"

"I am killing her slowly. That is the only way for her to get a totally new being, to be reborn."

Quotable quotes By Bhagwan Rajneesh

SEX

To me going into sex for reproductive reasons is sinful because it is animal, it is unconscious, it is biological. Going into sex for the sheer joy of sharing energy with anyone you are intimate with—it is a way of communing energy to energy, heart to heart. It is melting and merging into each other—for no other purpose. If a purpose is there—that you want to create a child—then it is business. If there is no purpose, if it is purposeless fun, then only does it have beauty, and then it does not create any bondage. And you are getting free of biology, you are rising higher than biology, you are going above the animals, you are reaching the peaks of humanity.

LOVE

Love is not the ordinary thing that you understand by it, it is not just a biological attraction between a man and a woman. It is that too, but that is only the beginning, just the first step. Even there, if you look deep down, it is not really an attraction between man and woman. It is an attraction between man and woman. It is an attraction between masculine energy and feminine energy. It is not an attraction between A and B, far deeper mysteries are involved even in ordinary love affairs.

Love is prayer groping towards god. Love is poetry born out of the sheer joy of being. Love is song, dance, celebration: a song of gratitude, a dance of thankfulness, a celebration for no reason at all—for this tremendous gift that goes on showering on us, for this whole universe, from the dust to the divine.

RELIGION

Your religions are nothing but the rationalisations of fear, of greed. And they are conspiracies against you by the establishment, by the people who are ruling you politically, religiously, philosophically—in every way, by the people who have reduced humanity into a great concentration camp.

And you must have asked these people, 'What is the difference between spirituality and religiousness?' They cannot say—they don't know themselves. Spirituality is rebellion, religiousness is orthodoxy. Spirituality is individuality, religiousness is just remaining part of the crowd psychology. Religiousness keeps you a sheep and spirituality is a lion's roar.

Religion consists in discovering

the unmanifest 'in' the manifest. It is not a question of escaping anywhere, it is exploring your innermost depths. It is exploring the silent centre, the centre of the cyclone. And it is always there, any moment you can find it. It is not something that has to be found somewhere else, in the Himalayas or in a monastery. It is within 'you,' you can discover it in the Himalayas, you can discover it in the marketplace

FAMILY

The most outdated thing is the family. It has done its work, it is no longer needed. In fact, now it is the most hindering phenomenon for human progress. The family is the unit of the nations, of the state, of the church—of all that is ugly.

Humanity is passing through a very critical phase. It has to be decided whether we want to live according to the past or whether we want to live a new style of life. It is enough: we have tried the past and its patterns and they have all failed. It is time, ripe time, to get out of the grip of the past and to create a new style of life on the earth.

DEMOCRACY

I love democracy, I love freedom. But to transform a country which has lived for two thousand years in slavery is not possible through democratic means, it will take two thousand years or even more.

Democracy needs a certain context which is missing in India. That's why these thirty years have been just a failure. All the work that has been done since India attained its so-called freedom has not been of any value. In fact, we have more problems than we had before. We have not been able to solve a single problem, we have created thousands of other problems.

I love democracy. I would like this country to be democratic, I would like all the countries to be democratic, the whole world to be democratic, because I respect freedom as I respect nothing else. But a context has to be created, and two thousand years of slavery has to be destroyed.

POLITICS

Politics is an escape, a great escape. It keeps you so occupied, day in, day out, that you cannot even find a few minutes for yourself. Even when you sleep you think politics, it continues in your

dreams. To be a politician is a twenty-four hour job. You cannot relax because if you relax you will be left behind. It is a tooth-and-nail struggle, it is cut-throat competition, it is pure violence.

Remember, politics is against all kinds of expansion of consciousness, because if people really become conscious they will not follow stupid leaders. They will not need any leadership at all. They will be lights unto themselves.

Why should a religious person be in politics? For what? Politics is a power-trip. The religious person is simply dissolving himself. The religious person is going in the opposite direction where the ego has to be dissolved utterly. It is not a power-trip, it is just the opposite, yes, when the religious person has disappeared great power descends, but it is not your power, it is God's power.

Politics is finished. It is only a past relic, an antique relic soon to be preserved in the museums. The future does not belong to politics.

The future belongs to a totally different kind of man—a man who will know how to love, not how to possess, a man who will know how not to be, not to be powerful, a man who will know egolessness, a man who will be capable of dropping all games and living an authentic life of deep meditation, of great love, of poetry.

The new man will not know much about politics. The new man will not be nationalistic. The new man will not believe in states.

WEALTH AND MONEY

I am not against money, I am against money-mindedness. I am not against possessions, I am against possessiveness. And these are two totally different dimensions, diametrically opposite to each other. To be against money is stupid. Money is a beautiful means—a means of exchange. Without money there cannot be an evolved culture, society or civilisation.

There is no need to renounce money. Money has to be created, wealth has to be created. Without wealth all science will disappear, all technology will disappear, all the great achievements of man will disappear. Man will not be able to reach the moon, man will not be able to fly. Without money, life will become very dumb—just as without language, all art, all literature, all poetry, all music will disappear. Just as language helps you to exchange thoughts, to communicate, so money helps you to exchange things, it is also a communication.

preserved on audio cassettes—a total of 4,000 hours of listening time—and 154 discourses have been recorded on videotape. Bhagwan has spoken on every subject under the sun: psychology, philosophy, music, meditation, food, jokes, religion, revolution, biology, sex, sin and super consciousness, to name just a few.

The beneficiary of this is the Rajneesh Foundation of which the chief trustee is Ma Yoga Lakshmi, described as "wild volcanic and unpredictable." Her assistant is the attractive, sharp-tongued Ma Anand Sheela, also a Gujarati Lakshmi is said to be the brain behind the foundation. With the innate Gujarati business acumen she has transformed the six acres of land on Koregaon Park into a source of not only spiritual but enormous monetary wealth. She has turned Rajneesh, wittingly or unwittingly, into a money-spinning machine. The foundation has over the years minted millions which is hardly reflected in its skimpy financial statement. This could make Ma Yoga Lakshmi one of the richest women in the country, a woman who has cashed in on the latest craze of meditation. To help her, there are 220 Rajneesh centres in India, and 250 round the world.

The therapy groups of the ashram are a big money-spinner. The Rajneesh Foundation runs the largest "growth centre" in the world at the Rajneesh Ashram, Pune. Few people either realise or appreciate it. Every therapy that is available anywhere in the world can be had for the asking at the Rajneesh Ashram. As Ma Leela says, "The experiment into the human consciousness that is taking place here, not many realise the phenomenon that it is."

The therapy groups are handled by Ma Prem Arup. Mainly concerned with the Western disciples, Ma Arup schedules and rotates the meditation techniques evolved by Bhagwan Rajneesh. The "growth centres" were a product of the Sixties and flourished in the Seventies. In the USA leading psychologists, psychiatrists and educationists got together to find out what was missing in human existence. They dealt with people who were normal but wanted to extend their area of perception. As Ma Arup says, "The biggest difference at the Pune ashram was that all the known therapies were used as tools and not ends in themselves as in the West. It's a combination of psychological techniques and meditation, and helps a person go beyond the problem. It's a very powerful combination. People in the growth centres in the West are not enlightened by the living example of Bhagwan Rajneesh. Today, there are growth centres in all major cities of America and Europe. Germany alone has about 20. They are very expensive. Compared to Western prices, the prices offered at the Pune ashram are between one-sixth to one-eighth of what they pay elsewhere. Two thousand participate each month in



Swami Satyavedant gives energy darshan to sanyasins

therapy groups. There are 24 rooms for group therapy, all of which are in use almost round the clock.

The courses are offered by the Rajneesh International No-University. The charges are: Neo-acupressure massage, Rs 3000; Rajneesh dynamic body therapy, Rs 2,830; Rajneesh massage intensive for one month, Rs 2,100; and Rajneesh breath therapy Rs 3,100. The cheapest is Rajneesh Tao for Rs 1,250. The chancellor of the Rajneesh International No-University is Swami Satya Vedant alias Vasant Joshi, also a Gujarati from Baroda University. A Ph D in literature, Satya Vedant was first exposed to Rajneesh when he was teaching at Berkley, USA. There are six disciplines at the No-university, education, psychology, medicine, ecology and agriculture, meditation and arts (both applied crafts and performing arts). The emphasis is on self-directed learning.

It would be ironical if it was actually the volcanic Ma Yoga Lakshmi who took the decision to whisk Bhagwan Rajneesh away from Pune. For it was Rajneesh who called himself "guest" at the ashram and wanted women to run it. And they did. Ma Yoga Lakshmi and Ma Arup are the two who run the show, the former is in charge of administration and the latter in charge of therapy groups and Western disciples. As Ma Leela says, Rajneesh put women in charge. He says man had a long enough innings and made a mess so give women an opportunity. They operate from the heart, are sensitive, intuitive, don't work by men's cold logic, and he wants the ashram run with a heart. It creates a beautiful

environment even for the men. They can stop playing the games forced on them, like always having to be the breadwinner. It gives them an opportunity to experience their femininity. Instead of being out there achieving, supporting, being aggressive, here a man can cry, be gentle, be loving—a man in deep meditation has to have feminine qualities. The reasons why man wants to suppress women is because sexually she is more dynamic and can have multiple orgasms. In fact, Ma Leela says she is convinced that women's lib is a man-created phenomenon: "They were tired of responsibilities," so they started the game, a long time back.

But let Rajneesh speak about it in his own words: "I don't want the ashram run by intellect. I want it run by the heart. I don't want it to be run by a male mind, I want it to be run by the feminine heart because to me, to be feminine is to become vulnerable, to be feminine is to become receptive, to be feminine is to wait, not to be in a hurry, to be feminine is not to be tense. To be feminine is to be in love."

From what Bhagwan Rajneesh says, it seems as if he selected Ma Yoga Lakshmi and other women to manage the ashram. But Ma Yoga Lakshmi has made it very clear that it was they who invited him to be "their guest." In this puzzling situation can it be that the women have eased out their "guest"? Is he no longer welcome there? Has Rajneesh withdrawn just as the sun withdraws its rays in the evening? Or, is it the fisherman withdrawing his fishing net?

Pune versus Rajneesh

Following several complaints against the Rajneesh ashramites in 1979, the charity commissioner instituted an enquiry under Section 41 B. The enquiry dealt mainly with alleged irregularities in the accounts of the ashram and improper behaviour by the sanyasins in public. After the enquiry started, the assistant charity commissioner, Pune added a fresh charge against the Rajneesh followers: their conduct was prejudicial to public morals and public life. A notice was served on the ashram. But the ashramites went in for a writ petition to the High Court stating that it was not the business of the charity commissioner to enquire into the question of their behaviour. The High Court dismissed the appeal and also disallowed leave to appeal to the Supreme Court.

One of the most common complaints against the Rajneesh sanyasins is the behaviour of couples on the streets around 17, Koregaon Park. When I was there last week, I heard a reporter ask a sanyasin: "Don't you think your behaviour goes contrary to Indian culture?" And Leela, the volatile, cat-eyed sanyasin, who is also the press officer of the Ashram hit back. "What's obscenity? People hugging, kissing, holding hands on the streets? Then it shows their minds. I think it's beautiful. The world does not have enough of it. We are not imposing it on people. Obscenity is a wide word. Open the newspapers and

what do you see? Dead, mutilated bodies. If there is one place where things are balanced, it is in the ashram. Nothing is overdone. Sex is something you get into and beyond. It will do the Pune public a world of good if it could dance more. Always repressing, condemning, judging, won't get you anywhere. Have you heard of any one of our sanyasins raping or molesting a single Indian woman? No. But we have had our sanyasins raped, molested, grabbed at and humiliated. One day my husband and I, who have been married for 20 years, were returning to the ashram and enjoying the sunset. Suddenly, a middle-aged man on a cycle rode deliberately headlong into me even though there was plenty of room on either side of us. Now why did he do this?" she asked. And then went on to provide the answer herself "There is so much repression in your society. People want to touch and grab. I don't blame them. People need to touch, to be loved and they are frustrated when they don't get it, boys and girls being segregated from a young age."

"In fact," continued Leela, "the reaction of the anti Rajneesh people has always amused and angered me. Letters to the editors bring out distressingly the perverse values of people taking shelter behind terms like 'Indian culture' and 'Hindu culture,' 'moral standards' Such baloney! These very same people don't

bat an eyelid when they see helpless Indian women, citizens of India, clad in rags living on footpaths, bathing, sleeping and defecating in full gaze of thousands of passers-by and railway commuters every day, because the government cannot provide them with clothing, housing or public lavatories. Not one of these hypocrites are ruffled, angered or indignant at this humiliation and obscenity that the women of independent India are subjected to."

It is ironic that the interaction between the Rajneesh sanyasins and sections of Pune society, whether landlords, hoteliers or shopkeepers, has brought out the worst in Indians. Leela, when she first came to live in Pune with her husband, occupied a three-bedroom flat for which she paid a rent of Rs 2,500 a month. Just across the corridor, an Indian family paid Rs 500 only for the same kind of accommodation. Most of the 3,700 sanyasins in Pune are being exploited in the same manner, rentwise. For a small room which can barely accommodate a double-mattress, a sanyasin had to pay Rs 1,000 a month. In another case where a similar room was done up with a small basin and a mini fan thrown in, a sanyasin was charged Rs 2,000. "In fact," says Leela, "I was paying more in Pune than I did in Blackheath, a London suburb. I see why, and I understand, but still I don't see why I should come to terms with it."

If landlords fleece the sanyasins, shopkeepers are no better. A shopowner, for example, charges sanyasins Rs 150 for a cotton blouse when just across the road one can get an identical one for only Rs 40. "They are playing with us all the time. They are cashing in on us. Admittedly, it is tempting with so many foreigners around, it is a boon to the local economy. Each sanyasin spends around Rs 3,000 a month. I think in 1975 when I arrived, the Blue Diamond hotel was battling for life, now it is thriving," remembers Leela.

Initially families rushed to have sanyasins as tenants, hotels like Sunderbhan, Madhuban, Mobos and Sunder Lodge on Koregaon Park road sprouted overnight to cater to droves of sanyasins who flocked to Pune. Restaurant waiters earned nearly Rs 25-30 daily as tips. Clothes shops made a fast buck selling orange garments for the 'orange people' as the sanyasins are called: blouses, kaftans, robes, shirts, halters, at highly inflated prices. Among the first to have a taste of easy money were the taximen and the 200 auto-rickshaw drivers. A colleague of mine and I were charged Rs 20 for a ten-minute taxi drive from Pune station to the ashram about two years ago when it should not have been more than Rs five.

The Ashram started in 1974 and over the years the sanyasins got wise to the way they were being fleeced. It was then that they began to retaliate. In several cases they stopped paying

The Jhadhawadi castle with the Rajneesh sanyasins outside



rents knowing that court cases, once instituted by landlords, could drag on endlessly. In fact, all the top lawyers of Pune have been engaged by ashramites for litigations over rent and ownership and rape and molestation. Around 135 cases have been filed and 35 of them are being heard at present. A police officer said that most of the ashramites filed cases and went away when they finished their meditation courses. Nothing can be done about these cases. But according to the ashram press note, even in cases where the culprit has been apprehended he goes scot-free.

The undeclared war between a section of Pune's commercial interests and the ashramites became murky as politicians set about making capital out of it. The war culminated in the implication of Amarsingh Jhadavrao in a case of attempted molestation. Debonair and soft-spoken, Jhadavrao's association with the Rajneesh authorities began about three years ago when they were on the lookout for land. The revenue staff under the chief ministership of Vasantdada Patil were sympathetic and informed the ashram about a plot of land between Pune and Saswad. They acquired 300 acres at Jahdavwadi, 15 kms from Pune which belonged to Jhadavrao and was later owned by a cooperative society. The land was sold for Rs 6 lakhs. They started constructing a road and while they were beginning constructing a township, the Janata government came to power. They were stopped because the land was agricultural land. "They then asked for our castle," says Jhadavrao. The castle was built by Pilajirao Jhadavrao, a descendent of Shivaji's mother. After Lakhujji Jhadavrao, Shivaji's maternal grandfather, was murdered near Aurangabad, members of the family fled. One came near Saswad. He became the custodian of Pune city under the Peshwas. Amarsingh and his family stayed in the castle upto 1973 while his brother, a politician, stated there till 1979.

"We gave them our castle, which is four-storeyed and the main building covers 45,000 sq. ft. on a monthly rent of Rs 4,000 for a ten-year period," says Jhadavrao. "They occupied it from 11 December 1979. They suddenly stopped paying rent for the last three months, saying that we could adjust the rent against the deposit of Rs 24,000 that they had given and an advance of the same amount. When they took the castle, it was understood that if they found anything valuable they would return it to the owner. But they removed wooden carvings more than 300 years old from the doors. There was a lock, a huge ancient lock with a 12-inch key, that has vanished. Villagers told us that three van-loads of material were whisked away. They then started encroaching on nearby land that they were not entitled to. Suddenly on 9 May 1981, Ma Sheela wrote to us about a breach of contract which forced them to stop paying rent.

PHOTOGRAPHS: RAJNEESH FOUNDATION

Beloved of the Bhagwan

• **Swami Vinod Bharti (33)** Formerly known as Vinod Khanna. Indian. Best-known throughout India as a famous Hindi filmstar.

• **Ma Prem Gayan (35)** Formerly known as Sylvie Winter. German. A top photographic model for major magazines in Europe. Also appeared on television.

• **Swami Deva Amrito (46)** Formerly known as Jan Foundraïne. Dutch. Renowned psychiatrist and author of bestseller *Not make of wood*. Also wrote two books after becoming a *sanyasi*: *Original face* and *Bhagwan—notes of a disciple*. Has made numerous radio and television appearances.

• **Swami Anand Bodhisattva (37)** Formerly Johan Sebastain de Jong. Dutch. Accomplished musician, started playing the clarinet from the age of nine and later studied at the Royal Conservatorium of Music at the Hague from the age of 15. He was the principal clarinettist of the Dutch Radio Philharmonic Orchestra for 14 years, there after five years with the Rotterdam Philharmonic. Has played as a soloist and in chamber music concerts throughout Europe.

• **Ma Amrit Chinmayo (51)** Formerly Pat Lear from the famous American aircraft manufacturer's family. American. Has a BA in Spanish and Geology. Publisher, writer and owner of a travel agency. Has been twice nominated for the US Congress and may enter Los Angeles City politics.

• **Ma Prem Pankaja (43)** Formerly Dinah Brooke. British. Has a BA in English Literature from Oxford. A successful fiction writer whose first major novel *Love life of a Cheltenham lady* has been published in England and America. Written three more novels and two plays, one of which was performed in London's West End.

• **Swami Satyananda (53)** Formerly Jorg Andrees Elten. German. A

prominent journalist from West Germany, widely recognised as an authority on international affairs. Has written articles for leading German newspapers and magazines such as *Stern* and *Suddeutsche Zeitung*. Also the author of the best-selling book *Totally relaxed in the here and now* about his experiences after taking *sanyas*.

• **Swami Prem Siddha (43)** Formerly Leonard Zunin. American. A diploma-holder of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, was the founder-director of the US government national group programme for war widows and of a national human relations consulting organisation. Director of the institute for relative therapy in Los Angeles and assistant chief psychiatrist for the US navy camp of Pendelton. Has made numerous appearances on radio and television and lectured in over 1100 universities and organisations. Has written the bestseller *Contact—the first four minutes*.

• **Ma Deva Tanmayo (40)** Formerly Tanya Kaleya Polish Stud. d literature, language and philosophy at the university of Berlin before becoming a professional photographer in Paris. Her photographs are published in almost every major magazine all over the world and her portrait albums have become bestsellers.

• **Swami Anand Joseph (50)** Formerly Joseph Samuel McVicker. American. Has a BA in English expression from Brown University, Rhode Island and a degree in divinity from Harvard University. Inventor of *Play-doh*, a highly successful children's toy, in 1955 while working in his family's wallpaper cleaner and handsoap company. Learnt accountancy and set up his own multi-million dollar business establishment. Also established an advertising firm, APR, to promote his own product.

We didn't reply. Then on 13 May they went to Saswad court and tried to obtain an ex-parte injunction against us on the grounds that we might trespass on the leased-out property. On 4 June they got a stay order against us, saying that after a fire near the castle their things were in danger.

"Meanwhile," continued Jhadavrao, "they sent a sanyasin who didn't know Pune city, to my house calling me for a conference with Ma Sheela and Ma Mukta at the ashram. I thought it was strange because there were so many sanyasins who knew my house, yet they sent this girl Prem Gatha. I drove with the girl in my car and as we neared the ashram, the girl got down and started screaming about being molested. I was shocked. Events followed fast after that. They asked

me to sign some documents, failing which they said they would report the molestation case to the police. I refused to sign the documents and before I knew what was happening, they had informed the police and the press. I was also blamed for the two explosions near their book godown and the castle."

And so the "war" continues. Political capital was made out of the "war" in the 1980 elections. Sharad Pawar's people put up 14 posters showing nude ashramites and asking voters whether "you want to vote for this culture." Amarsingh's brother who stood for elections on a Janata ticket bore the brunt for having leased out their castle to the ashram. Now, however, the ashramites are reportedly leaving the castle.



The worst train accident in history

Nothing changes: the same bridge, same overcrowding—only it is another train four days after the disaster. Lying on the river bank is one of the ill-fated bogies that went off the rails and (inset) plunged into river Bagmati. Photographs are by Sondeep Shankar.



T

he 416 dn Samastipur-Banmankhi passenger of the North East Railway never made it across the Bagmati river at Badlaghat in north Bihar on the fateful afternoon of 6 June. The weather was terrible. Strong winds almost swept the pouring rain horizontal. But still the train was crowded way beyond capacity. Those who could not find room inside the compartments, hung from footboards or rode on the roofs of the bogies. Most of them were north Bihar peasants; it being the wedding

season, there were at least seven marriage parties and there were any number of farm labourers coming home after the harvest had been done in Haryana and the Punjab where they worked.

The strong winds and the rains had forced the passengers to down the shutters of the carriage windows. S. Karvin, the driver had brought the train up the sharp incline leading to the Badlaghat railway bridge. Its speed was considerable. Suddenly, Karvin saw a peasant with a pair of bullocks walking blithely on the railway track. Nature's sound had drowned the roar of the rushing engine and man and animals trudged on, oblivious of death at their back. But Karvin had spotted them and, almost instinctively, he braked. Then, tragedy





Bodies displayed for identification

struck. The train went off the rails and plunged into the swirling, swishing waters of the Bagmati. Or almost. Seven of the train's nine bogies went down into the river. The remaining two linked tenuously to the engine, leaned precariously over the bridge. The result: history's worst train disaster whose final toll, if at all it could be established, would be anything between 2000 and 3000.

For days after the accident, nearly 30 frogmen of the Indian Navy assisted by several railway cranes, two Air Force helicopters, 600 railway personnel, an entire company of army men and hundreds of policemen and NCC volunteers joined the enormous salvage operation directing which were seniormost officials of the Railways and the Bihar government, an additional secretary of the union agriculture ministry, the chief of the naval staff and the army's central command GOC-in-C. And yet, even three days after the accident, only 250 bodies could be fished out. Reason: the bogies had all sunk into the silt of the 50 ft deep river-bed. The doors and the windows were jammed and the bulk of the unrecovered bodies were inside the compartments. Worse, two of the carriages could not be located at all in the vicinity of the accident site. They had been swept away by the strong current and had been trapped in the silt some distance away. They were found only on the fifth day. The guard

van was found submerged two kilometres downstream. Further downstream, in Katihar district, a huge net was cast near the Kursela bridge to trap bodies which might come floating.

Thousands of people gathered at the site, to identify bodies and to watch the salvage operation. To help the relatives, the state government set up camps and an information centre. Weren't there any survivors? Yes, at least 73 injured persons had been admitted to the Khagaria and Saharsa civil hospitals nearby. Ironically, those who were travelling on carriage-tops and on footboards were the ones who survived. Pannalal Yadav, 42, a villager, was escorting six women members of his family to a wedding. They were all inside a compartment. He had travelled hanging from a footboard. When the bogie plunged into the river, he was thrown into the waters. He swam to safety and was admitted to a hospital to be treated for shock and severe body cramps. He does not know what happened to his family members. Yadav had a sad tale to tell about how some nearby villagers treated him. When he swam to the river bank he had managed to save his shoulder bag containing his clothes and Rs 300 in cash. Some villagers came and snatched away the bag and tried to push him back into the water. There were other complaints too about villagers snatching clothes and valuables from the

injured and even removing anything of worth, including jewellery, from the bodies of the dead.

And yet, there were other villagers who helped the unfortunate victims. Thirty-seven-year-old Banarsi Sharma fell into the swollen river along with a carriage. He sank, surfaced, and, catching hold of a plank, made it to the river bank. But both his legs had been fractured and he could hardly stand up. Some villagers saw him and carried him to the nearby hospital. Banarsi Singh, a young man who had been travelling on the roof of a carriage, broke an arm as he fell into the river. Even so, he managed to swim to safety. "It was just my will power that saved me", he said. As we go to press, the authorities are seriously considering blowing up submerged carriages to allow trapped bodies to float up. Every evening, at sundown, scores of bodies are burnt in mass cremations. It is a chilling ritual that goes on and on. Another ritual has also started: trying to shift the blame. Railway board officials maintain that the bogies had been blown off the track by the severe gale and some other government officials contest it by saying that the carriages had been loosely coupled and they went off the track after the driver braked suddenly. Incidentally, there is no evidence in the surrounding villages of the ferocity which railway officials credit the black Saturday's gale with. ■



A bogie of the ill-fated train on the banks of the Bagmati

Soldier, artist, journalist, mountaineer, author, designer, decorator, raconteur, wit, and connoisseur of events, DESMOND DOIG collects them all in sketches, in photographs, and in inimitable prose. A once-regular contributor to *National Geographic*, *Time*, *Life* and "magnum" photographer, Doig is now settled in Kathmandu. He talked to JAPAN CHIAKI in the bar of the Shangrila (a hotel he designed) on his many-splendoured life, with the casual assurance of a man for whom life begins at 60.



'I write on people and places—not politics'

I was born in Allahabad in 1921. I can't exactly recollect the date. My father was an engineer who helped build the Sone bridge, considered by many as one of the longest bridges in the world. Like puppies, I too was dropped all over the place. After a variety of places I landed in Calcutta, and the first language I learnt was Bengali. As a matter of fact, they thought I wouldn't learn any other language.

Every time I wanted to get away from India, inevitably I came back. I was due to go to Taunton in Somerset, England for schooling but I contracted some oriental disease on the ship and was back in Calcutta at the School of Tropical Medicine. So finally, I was sent to school in Victoria, Kurseong, after finishing which I left for England with plans to join an art college there.

But, by then, World War II had started, and, in a mood of ridiculous heroics, I joined the Duke of Wellington's regiment. It sailed for India exactly two weeks after I joined, so I was back again. I was transferred to the Indian army in the early forties—I was a private in the Duke of Wellington's—and was made a sergeant primarily because I could draw fuses, shells, detonators and other ammunition. I went to the Indian Ordnance Corps, then to the academy at Dehradun and finally I joined the Gurkhas where my love affair with Nepal began. I saw active service in the Middle East and Italy. When the Italians capitulated my regiment, the 5th Royal Gurkhas, was sent back to India to Mysore to train for shipment to the eastern region to face the Japs, when the war mercifully ended.

Thereafter, I went through a very bad time. Interestingly, at the time of partition my regiment was on both sides of the border and I had my first taste of communal violence. In Rawalpindi I saw Hindus being put to the sword and fire. I then came over to be very much involved in the melee in Delhi and Dehradun. Instead of being sent to England to be demobbed I chose to stay back because I had this crazy idea of getting into Tibet and

Nepal, both of which were closed off foreigners. I got hold of three friends and spent all my money on outfitting an abortive expedition to Nepal. In the last minute, my friends decided they couldn't make it. So I was left with a lot of army surplus material and precious little money. With little to choose, I took a temporary job of an artist—really as head of the studio in *The Statesman* in '48. I stayed 30 years with them.

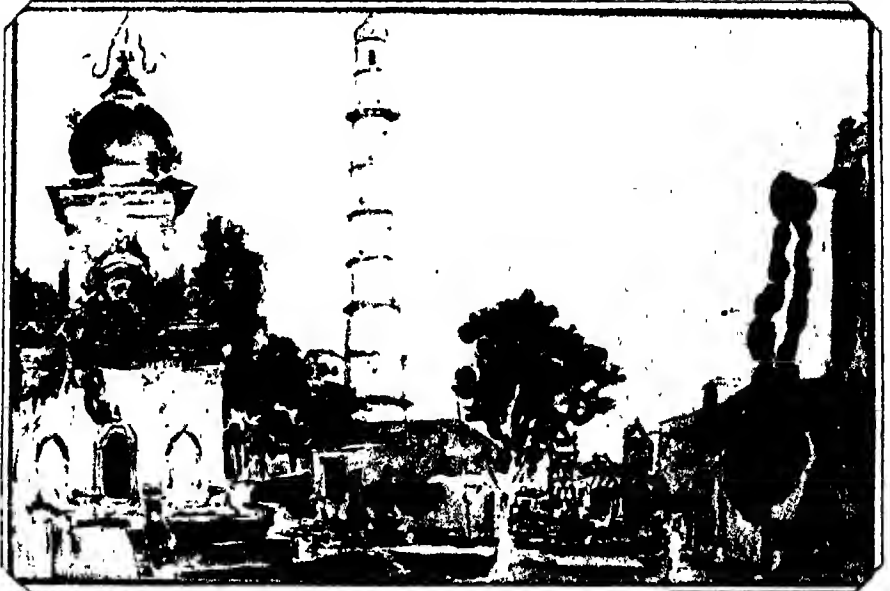
Buoying me up was a letter from National Geographic Society promising nothing but, in between the lines, the world—or so I read—if I could visit and photograph the unknown southern approach to Everest. I am still broke but, courtesy *The Statesman*, many of my most cherished dreams have come true. And I have seen the south face of Everest.

The Statesman years

Like anything journalism can be drudgery or fun. I was very lucky to be around when times were momentous and people monumental. Soon after I joined as a commercial artist I was encouraged to contribute the odd, innocuous illustrated article and column. I began writing about everybody: destitutes in Calcutta's slums, abandoned children in an orphanage, inmates of a mental asylum, juvenile delinquents in a remand home, genteel families fallen on hard times, artists and writers eking out existences, a homeless student dying on the maidan, a famous actor in penury, a nun setting out to work among the city's most desperate, beggars, circus folk, slum dwellers in Delhi, famous musicians, dancers who were household names—and always, the man next door. In those pleasanter and easier times much of all this had been labeled reactionary. A colleague even went to the extent of telling the editor that I was suspected of being a communist. My first label. Of course, those articles also resulted in a lot of people saying: "Are you really Desmond Doig? We thought you were Indian, although the



Doig painting a mural "Kathmandu"



The Bhimsen tower, Kathmandu—sketch by Doig



The Kala Mochan temple—sketch by Doig

name puzzled."

Born, brought up and having lived most of my life in India, I always considered India my country, so when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once asked me why I did not adopt Indian nationality I answered by asking him if it really mattered. Could changing my passport make me love it more? And would an official change of nationality change my ample pink looks? Mr Nehru laughingly agreed.

In *The Statesman*, there was never a dull moment for I found myself working on very interesting assignments in a variety of places. I was in Kathmandu to cover King Tribhuvan's funeral. I returned to cover the coronations of King Mahendra and Birendra. I was in Gangtok to record the coronation of the Chogyal of Sikkim and more recently I watched with a certain pride King Jigme Singye Wangchuk, whom I had known as a child, ascend the throne of Bhutan.

Between banquets and royal entertainment I romped barefoot around India, shared a bed with a panda, hunted the elusive Yeti, roamed around the Himalayas to as faraway as Nathula and Chumbi Valley writing, sketching, photographing for the paper. I sped around the world to the Far East, to South Africa, to England. I was the first journalist allowed into Bhutan. I felt horribly vulnerable leaving the ship at Cape Town. I was intimidated and humiliated by the so-called privilege of "Whites Only" signs. I was suddenly conscious of my *angrez* looks and wished that chameleon-like I could change the colour of my skin.

Like everyone else who had been with the Gurkhas I developed an abiding affection for the Himalayan people. I'd got to know their language and customs and was impatient to discover their lands. I became the Border Correspondent of *The Statesman* and co-

vered NEFA, Manipur, Nagaland, in fact the whole Himalayan belt. It was a very sensitive area and those were sensitive times, my pigmentation posed a continuous problem though I represented an Indian paper and was, for all intents and purposes, an Indian journalist.

When the Dalai Lama fled Tibet I went to Tezapore to cover the event and I was back there in '62 to report on the Chinese invasion. General Chowdhury asked me to undertake a very special mission in the country's service. It was thought that one of the reasons for the swift collapse of our resistance was because of the unharnessed potential of the tribal people. Would I help organise and lead a force of hill people? I readily agreed.

It was while covering the Chinese invasion, I recollect, that a puzzled British high commissioner asked me: "Aren't you English, old boy? You keep referring to 'our' jawans, 'our' country, and 'our' cause" It was incidentally at that time that Mrs Gandhi told our Delhi editor that she wished other Indian journalists wrote in the same morale-boosting manner that I did. It's the only positive recommendation, I've got. And, like all journalists, I am ever fearful that the story may be denied.

The JS

When we came on the scene I think I'll be right in saying that there was no such thing as the Indian teenager. People went from childhood to adulthood, somehow that lovely period of glorying in being young, of enjoying being young was totally missing from the Indian scene. I think the JS did contribute to a certain style and a certain appreciation of teenage. In our own way we influenced marketing, advertising, fashion, decor, music, in fact the very business of being young.

Some have accused us of being

**“Darling,
can you see
yourself in a
black-and-white
checked shirt?”**



*The ideal gift?
Only the receiver can tell.
Unless it's a Bank of India Gift Cheque.
Beautifully decorative, like the
choicest of greeting cards.
In denominations of Rs. 11, Rs. 25,
Rs. 51 and Rs. 101. And payable at
any of 1350 BOI branches.
Next time, give a Bank of India
Gift Cheque. Leave the choice in
the proper hands -- the receiver's*

“Yes. Very clearly.”



*Gift
Cheque*



Bank of India
(A Government of India Undertaking)

pro-western and by the same deduction un-Indian. But what is a true Indian? Someone who sits cross-legged on a tiger skin and recites verses from the *Gita*? What is an Indian teenager? Is he doing something very naughty and unpatriotic by enjoying himself in a night club? Or does he become a true Indian by wearing khadi and being a political person? I sincerely hope that 34 years after independence Indians are no longer concerned with Europeanisation or the leftover Raj, except just to look at it as something nostalgic. Fifteen years ago not many Indian families had access to foreign youth magazines—to see what youth was doing, wearing, thinking and creating elsewhere. I think we made that possible.

As for the *JS* closing down there are two reasons: The gentler one was that we were all feeling a bit old. After all, we were all working at being young for ten years. Most of my staff were wanting to move on, to be 'senior' rather than 'junior'. Secondly, as my good friend Surinder Nihal Singh would have put it, there was a growing area of disagreement between my managing director and myself over policy. Although I must truthfully confess that the management never interfered with me in the running of the *JS*. I have never had any editorial policy dictated to me. I remember an issue with Sanjay Gandhi on the cover elicited no protest from the management. It was just one of those things, you find yourself drifting apart.

But I think they will all agree that in our time we spawned a host of interesting and talented people who went on to make a mark later in life—C. Y. Gopinath (*SOL*), Sunil Sethi (*India Today*), Anurag Mathur (*Gentlemen*), Kavery Sethi (*Probe*). I can't readily recollect all the names but I know Papa Menon is doing well at the UN, Vinati Sarkar writes regularly from New York, Taiyeb Badshah has made a name as a photographer and Gita Mehta is on the best-seller list.

I remember our first *JS* happening in Bombay. We got hold of our friend Dev Anand as chief guest and a comparatively unknown coy, demure, Miss India, to inaugurate the show. That was the beginning of the Dev-Zeenat Aman story.

Leaving India

Thirty years is a hell of a long time to be with anything. I was beginning to feel that I didn't have the opportunity to do all the things I had wanted to do. I had written, sketched, designed all sorts of things, taken photographs for the paper. Yet I felt I wanted to do something else. In coming up here (Nepal) for the coronation (of King Birendra) I suddenly realised that I had stayed away from Nepal too long. I came here 28 years ago when the country had just been opened to foreigners and fell madly in love with it on that very first visit. So the last time I was here I took long leave, and



Doig painting a mural

then I extended it and when it was time to go back I wrote to the paper saying: "I'm sorry I can't even come back to pack up."

I think one of the things which helped me to get out of Calcutta was doing the book on Mother Teresa. After spending six months almost continually with her, the poverty, misery, squalor and disease among which she worked was laid bare before me. I realised that either I put on a priest's robe and join her, or I get out. I just couldn't continue to live in my ivory-tower antiseptic apartment, drive my done-up car, or sit and work in my air-conditioned office, when out there were millions crying for help. I don't think one can continue to live in such an environment knowing there is so much poverty and suffering without doing something about it. I couldn't see myself in a priest's robe and in her brotherhood. Instead I did something positive by acknowledging my limitations—I opted out. I probably would have ended up a psychiatric case if I didn't. Besides, my job had also run out. I didn't entirely agree with what was happening. I couldn't change *The Statesman* either, so I left. It was a difficult decision, remember I had spent half my life for *The Statesman*.

Nepal

When it came to deciding where to go after Calcutta, Nepal was an obvious choice. People keep asking me if I have retired. In fact, I have never been so busy in all my life. I am at present working on the West German and Nepal governments' Bhaktapur

Development Project which really means preserving and developing the old city of Bhaktapur, probably the most beautiful in the whole valley. I look after the revival of the arts and crafts of the mediaeval city and I am also doing my bit to promote tourism.

I have just finished leading a very VVIP group from a company called SERENISSMA. It's a very high powered organisation. I planned and organised their programme. What I tried to do was to make Nepal a destination, not a stopover. So the group flew out from England to Nepal and flew back. I prepared the itinerary in such a way that it showed them everything and put on lots of delights. Like sleeping in a Sherpa camp and having the first *son-et-lumiere* in the old city of Bhaktapur. In the group there was a C-in-C of the British army, ladies in waiting to the Queen Mother, to Princess Margaret, a whole lot of people who sounded as if they had come out of the House of Lords. Of course they were all travelling incognito. I also advise UNICEF in the design of their cards which are being printed for the first time in Nepal. I am also helping design a large resort hotel here in Kathmandu. I have just done a book of sketches *My kind of Kathmandu*. The other book I have done is my autobiography. I keep up my writing by doing articles for some of the Pacific group of magazines. I write on people and places—nothing to do with politics, thank god.

The future

I would like to take a few more projects as they come by and eventually I'd like to settle down in a house with a view, but I see that coming after at least 20 years. I just can't see myself retiring in the conventional sense. There's much too much to do. I find myself mixed up with all sorts of things. From designing a hotel, to brochures for a travel agency, to the dress of the British ambassador's lady. This is probably the most paintable country, so there's a lot to do. The most creative thing I've done certainly in terms of giving a lot of pleasure to people is this hotel. When someone buys a picture of mine and takes it home, or says we love this bar, or that garden, or something I've designed, or mentions my book on Calcutta I feel happy. It's satisfying to know that one has given a succession of people a lot of pleasure. The fan mail that we got when the *JS* closed was tremendous, absolutely unbelievable.

It gave me a kick to feature in *National Geographic*, *Time* and *Life*. I have been a "magnum" photographer. But what I have enjoyed most is meeting and working with interesting people. I have been very lucky, I have enjoyed something that is not a common experience to a lot of people, to be able to change directions with some amount of success. Whatever I've done, I've enjoyed thoroughly. ■

Whatever happened to new methods of birth control?

There is a legitimate demand for new methods of birth control—from planners in developing countries, from feminists keen to get men more fully into the act and from women unhappy about the pill. None of these groups is likely to be happy about the prospects for the next decade or two. Progress there will be. But cautious and modest.

Women in developed countries (and some of their more sophisticated sisters in parts of the third world) can hope for a non-steroid contraceptive based on a brain hormone, plus more certain methods of natural family planning. Women (and planners) in less developed communities can expect a drive to make more intelligent use of nature's own push-button contraceptive, breast feeding. (If you think the notion that breast feeding can significantly postpone pregnancy is an old wives' tale, think again.) For both groups, perhaps, a vaccine might become available.

That may sound a disappointing prospect. It should not surprise. In the field of birth control, research budgets are tight, regulatory hurdles high and the sheer scientific and technical problem tough.

Nor should the continuing accent on female methods surprise, though it may ruffle some feminist feathers. It is the woman who has the greatest stake in birth control; she bears the baby. Also, the female reproductive system has proved easier to foil acceptably.

A woman normally releases only one egg a month; the male produces 100m or more sperm a day. Worse, in the male the sex hormones essential to the maturation and production of sperm are intimately involved in the maintenance of other male characteristics, including libido. As yet, nobody has managed to break that link. A male hormonal contraceptive looks very remote—if, indeed, it is ever considered desirable (or commercially viable).

Possibly the Chinese discovery of the anti-fertility properties of a derivative of cottonseed oil, gossypol, will point the way to a (non-steroid) male

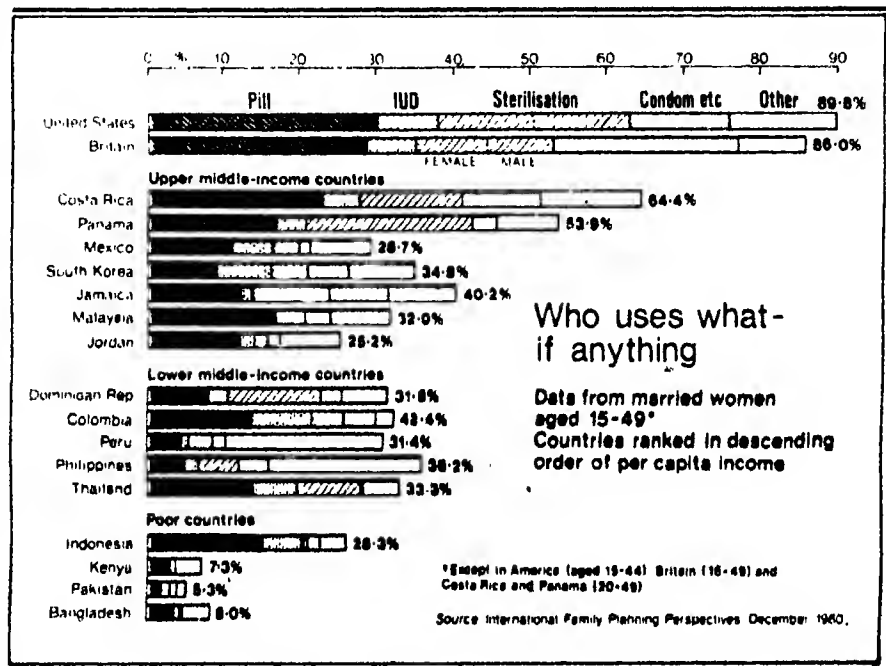
pill. But gossypol is unlikely to win approval in most western countries in its present form. Its contraceptive effect is not always entirely reversible; some men suffer muscular weakness; the body loses potassium via the urine. Gossypol is toxic in animals—and, although the doses that produce toxic effects in animals are much higher than those used to produce contraceptive effects in men, there is a worry that gossypol tends to accumulate in the body.

American research has shown that gossypol apparently works by inhibiting an enzyme essential to sperm generation (and found only in sperm and testes cells). Unfortunately, it also inhibits some other enzymes, if to a lesser extent. One of these helps to detoxify certain organic compounds, including ones that may cause cancer. It may be that an analogue of gossypol can be discovered that can do its contraceptive job without producing its side effects. But years of work are needed.

So, for the moment, concentrate on what looks more clearly on the horizon for women. It is alternatives to contraceptives based on the steroid sex hormones, oestrogen and progesterone. The snag with such contraceptives is that, in women too, the steroids are involved in regulating much more than reproductive functions alone. In this sense, the pill (and the more controversial injectable contraceptives now available like Depo-Provera from America's Upjohn) are blunderbuss approaches to birth control. What one wants is a single bullet or, better yet, no "artificial" intervention at all.

Consider first what might broaden the choice for sophisticated women, prepared to take some trouble but not to face a high risk of failure.

Natural family planning methods now in use (ticking off a calendar, measuring basal temperature in the morning, checking the consistency of vaginal mucus) share two drawbacks. Failure rates are high (ranging 10-25





Where family planning is needed the most: patients crowd a school room temporarily converted into a health centre

per cent). Although they can be held down by highly motivated couples, one price tends to be prolonged abstinence—or reliance on the testing business of withdrawal.

In theory, a woman is at risk of pregnancy only for a few days in her cycle. An egg remains viable for perhaps two days. Sperm may survive as long as five days (perhaps, very rarely, even longer) but it is debatable whether they are capable of fertilising an egg much after two days. So if a woman knew a few days in advance when she would ovulate, she could push the odds-on "Vatican roulette" heavily in her favour.

The key is prediction. Do not take too seriously talk of the so-called "bionic bra" which, stuffed with sensors and equipped with a chip recording device, could spot a tell-tale dip in breast temperature that is said to occur about three or four days before ovulation. Not everybody is convinced about the temperature indicator. The bra would be pricey and bulky—unlikely to appeal to many women. Another possibility is a dipstick to register critical changes in hormone level in urine.

Potentially promising perhaps is a method that would detect an increase in temperature in a ripening ovary relative to a quiescent one. It may be possible to register such a differential even though the ovaries themselves are not directly accessible.

Researchers in Dublin and Glasgow are working on a simple pronged device (with sensors at the tips of each prong) that can be inserted into the

vagina, opened so that each prong rests against one of the woman's lateral vaginal fornices and electronically signal the emergence of a temperature differential. But the work is at a very preliminary stage.

Groups in several countries are looking to a new non-steroid contraceptive for women, an LHRH-based one. LHRH is short for luteinising-hormone releasing hormone, a relatively simple but potent substance secreted by the brain. LHRH stimulates the pituitary gland to release hormones that activate the ovaries.

Having first considered LHRH as an aid to fertility, researchers discovered that powerful analogues of it could paradoxically prevent ovulation. An LHRH pill is probably out because the substance is broken down in the stomach. But nasal sprays have been tried on women in America and Europe. And the results of these and much more exhaustive trials (of injections) in monkeys look promising.

Researchers at the Medical Research Council's reproductive biology unit in Edinburgh, Scotland, have been testing a potent analogue of LHRH on stumptailed monkeys. They reckon their work to date and that of others suggests that LHRH-based contraceptives do work (effectively blocking ovulation in daily sniffs or injections) and that normal ovulation resumes once use of the contraceptive is discontinued.

They report that so far no toxic effects have been seen even at very massive doses nor any cumulative effect. Which is just as well since it

would be difficult to fine-tune a nasal sniffer to give a small, precise dose. But the testing of efficacy and safety still has a long way to go.

One potential stumbling block is already clear, moreover. A contraceptive that works by preventing ovulation also suppresses menstruation. Some women might welcome that. Some might feel vaguely threatened (or merely miss the monthly reassurance that they are not pregnant). Many would tend to feel that a prolonged lack of menstrual cycles was "unnatural" and so probably unhealthy.

But are repeated menstrual cycles for years on end natural? Arguably, they are an artifact of civilisation, not a phenomenon foreseen by nature in evolving the female system. In primitive hunter-gatherer communities today, the average woman might expect to have only four years of menstrual cycles during her lifetime. A modern western woman, coming to menarche at 13 and menopause at 50, and limiting her family to two children, might spend 35 years having menstrual cycles. Yet her genes cannot have evolved much in the short period of modern birth control.

There may be a price to pay for multiple menstrual cycles (for example, it is known that nuns are more likely to get breast cancer than women who have children). However, while there has been an enormous amount of research into the health consequences of taking the steroid pill, there has been almost none into the consequences of infertility itself.

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The pros and cons

All methods of birth control involve a trade-off between effectiveness and risk. Here are the pros and cons of the most commonly used "artificial" methods. The chart shows which methods are used to what extent in different countries.

• **The pill** The common oral contraceptive is theoretically 99 per cent effective: that is, barring human error (missed pills), only one woman in 100 is likely to become pregnant in a year. In practice, in developed countries anyway, most studies put failure rates at 2-3 per cent.

However, the pill is not without risks, the most serious of which are cardiovascular. The pill is arguably not the best option for women who are 35 or older, hypertensive, heavy smokers or diabetic. For women under 35, Britain's Royal College of General Practitioners rates the risks negligible.

On the whole, studies to date on cancer risks have been reassuring. There is no evidence to link the pill with cancer of the ovaries, uterus or breast, though it has been linked with a rare benign tumour of the liver. But the final verdict on cancer, admittedly, is not yet in; the pill has not been in use long enough to determine whether it could be implicated in cancers that appear, say, only 20 years after a woman has come off it.

On the plus side, the use of oral contraceptives does seem to be associated with a reduced incidence of four quite common disorders—benign breast disease, ovarian cysts, iron-deficiency anaemia and rheumatoid arthritis—and perhaps also pelvic inflammatory disease.

In all, in the USA, annual pill-associated mortality is estimated at 37 per million users (ranging from 18 for non-smokers to 65 for smokers). The maternal mortality rate in the USA is over 200 per million live births. In the third world, maternal mortality can be 2,500 to as high as 10,000 per million live births.

• **IUDs** Though hypothetically nearly as effective as the pill, in practice, IUDs can have failure rates twice as high. A trial carried out on nearly 3,000 women by the World Health Organisation (WHO) showed failure rates ranging from 1.7 to 3.8 per 100 users.

Some women find IUDs painful. Also, IUDs increase blood loss during menstruation by 20 per cent to as much as an unacceptable 120 per cent. This can be reduced by devices which release the hormone progesterone, but that is small comfort to women who want to get away from steroids in birth control. And there may be other risks. IUDs have

been linked to a higher incidence of pelvic inflammatory disease. More worrying, there is a suspicion that IUD users face a higher risk of ectopic or "tubular" pregnancies in which the ovum is fertilised and the foetus begins to develop outside the womb—and such pregnancies, though rare, are very dangerous.

• **Barrier methods** (condom, diaphragm etc) Barrier methods interfere with the sex act and are anything but sure fire. So it is somewhat surprising to find that they are more popular in developed countries than in less developed ones (though the condom is popular in India). In practice, the failure rate with condoms is about 5-15 per cent depending on whether a spermicidal jelly is also used. Failure rates with diaphragms/jellies are roughly 10-15 per cent.

You might think these methods are at least safe in other respects (and condoms do offer some protection against venereal disease). However a recent study in Seattle, Washington, found that babies born to 763 women who had been using spermicides (which contain a detergent, oxynol-9, toxic to sperm) had a higher rate of abnormalities than those born to 3,802 women who had not.

• **Sterilisation** It is not comparable to the reversible birth control methods discussed above. Even in the hands of good surgeons, the success rates for reversing vasectomies are just over 50 per cent. Realistically, the decision to sterilise must be taken as a permanent one.

Sterilisation is widely used, none the less. WHO estimates that, in developing countries other than China, a fifth of all couples practising birth control had opted for sterilisation by the mid-1970s. The chart shows how popular it has become in the USA and Britain.

A safe choice? Work done in the USA on monkeys has raised concern that vasectomies may cause an increase in arterial disease. Because the operation does not eliminate the production of sperm and the testes have a limited capacity to reabsorb sperm, some get into the tissues where they trigger the production of antibodies against them. (Since nature never intended sperm to enter the body, they are seen as foreign invaders by a man's immune system.) And the build-up of antibody complexes may damage artery walls. Or that is one theory.

However, some researchers query the US experiments. They point out that the work was done on Rhesus monkeys, which happen to have enormous testes relative to their size, whereas man has especially small ones.

The most natural birth control method of all? Breast feeding, nature's own mechanism for giving couples enough of a breathing space between births to cope with their dependent young. This does not mean the kind of breast feeding practised by many modern women: night feeds quickly eliminated, day feeds limited to a few long sessions, early weaning. But breast feeding more or less on demand.

Research into breast-feeding patterns and the length of time a lactating woman does not ovulate, suggests that the most decisive factor is the frequency of suckling. Nerves in the nipples seem to feed back signals to the brain that inhibit hormone release from the pituitary, though the precise mechanism is not known. The respite gained could be at least one to two years and as much as three.

The head of Edinburgh's reproductive biology unit, Professor Roger Short, is convinced that birth rates in less developed countries could be halved if women followed four simple rules: 1) breast feed on demand; 2) sleep with the baby so it can feed at night; 3) never use bottles, teats or comforters; 4) when, at six months or so, you begin to introduce supplementary food, put the baby on the breast first and then give it the supplement.

The unit has set up a study in a Catholic community in Mexico to gain more information; women will keep records by ticking off pictures on a form. The researchers hope to learn more about the critical frequency of feeds—they already know from a small trial that four feeds a day is not enough—and to establish whether a night feed is worth more than an extra day feed.

If they can make their case, they hope to persuade planners in developing countries that powdered milk for babies has risks that go beyond those caused when the stuff is used in conditions of poor sanitation. It could exacerbate population growth.

To be sure, a new emphasis on breast feeding can be only an adjunct to a full-blooded birth control programme. In the third world, there is a crying need for reasonably reliable and safe contraceptives that require a minimum of user sophistication. One answer could be a vaccine. Work is being done on the possibility of using the body's immune system to thwart pregnancy.

One of the most promising approaches seems to be a vaccine that would stimulate the production of antibodies that bind to the coat of the egg, so warding off sperm. Experiments in monkeys and rats suggest that such a vaccine could be effective for six to nine months and that fertility would then return. If so, it could appeal to women the world over. But when or whether it might become commercially available is anyone's guess.

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The Government

Boon for private importers

We had earlier (SUNDAY 10 May) drawn attention to how the government succumbed to pressure from vested interests and decanalised the import of copper and brass scrap and placed them under open general licence. That is not the end of the story. We now learn from authoritative sources that there is pressure to abolish the Rs 3,300 per tonne countervailing duty on these items. This will mean a windfall gain to private importers. On the other hand, no such concession will be available to the public sector Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation, which is importing a similar item, continuous cast copper wire rods. The countervailing duty on the latter will continue. The earlier decision to decanalise came just when the MMTC had completed all arrangements to procure copper and brass scrap from foreign buyers at competitive prices. By abolishing the duty the government will stand to lose a considerable amount of revenue. Why is the government so keen to help the private importers while being so glaringly discriminatory against the public sector MMTC? Is this consistent with the government's professed policies?

The picture is confused

Television production suffered a major setback in the last five months because of the shortage of picture tubes, caused by a strike in the public sector Bharat Electricals Limited (BEL), the largest picture tube producer in the country. Through this crisis the TV industry was gunning for the Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation of India (ETTDC) which, apart from looking after India's technological development, acts as a canalising agency for picture tubes imports. The ETTDC's fault was that it had only a limited stock of picture tubes. But the ETTDC's position is rather anomalous. During normal times TV companies buy tubes directly from producers and imported picture tubes stored by the ETTDC gather dust in its godowns. It is when regular supplies get disrupted that TV manufacturers suddenly wake up to the fact that there is a canalising agency for tubes, which is then expected to immediately come up with sufficient stocks to meet the needs.

Commerce's lonely crusade

The commerce ministry is brimful with ideas on how to increase exports but they are being shot down one by one by the other ministries. The latest scheme to meet with heavy weather in the high seas of the agriculture ministry is one to increase the export of goat and sheep meat. For this the commerce ministry wants to select several slaughter houses all over the country and run them according to international standards so that most

of their meat production can be exported. This is necessary as nearly all slaughter houses in the country are run very unscientifically and have very low standards of cleanliness. It also wants a board to run these slaughter houses. Export of sheep and goat meat has great potential. Last year over 2,000 tonnes were exported without any special effort. But with current attitudes at the agriculture ministry, there seems little likelihood of the new scheme taking off.

Export incentives needed

India stands to lose over Rs 20 crores in foreign exchange if it does not treat supplies made to projects in the country financed by the United States Agency for International Development (US AID) as exports. US AID has floated a tender for 60,000 km of aluminium cable steel reinforced conductors (ACSR) and all aluminium conductors (AAC) for rural electrification projects in the country. None of our small-scale manufacturers will be able to quote competitive rates for this unless the supplies are 'deemed' exports, thereby entitling the manufacturers to receive export incentives like

cash compensation support (CCS) in lieu of duty drawback and import replenishment benefits. (The CCS was withdrawn last year).

Indian manufacturers will be priced out because of several factors. For instance, the price of EC rods, including excise duty is Rs 20,254 a tonne, whereas the landed cost of the imported metal will work out to Rs 13,280 a tonne at current international prices. This will leave a huge uncovered gap of Rs 6,974 a tonne which will not be bridged even after reimbursing the excise duty of Rs 5,951 a tonne on the metal. Steel, also needed to manufacture conductors, is now internationally priced at Rs 2,960 a tonne, compared to the domestic price of Rs 5,200 a

tonne. Add to this Rs 500 a tonne for patenting (heat treatment), bringing the total cost to Rs 5,700 a tonne, thus leaving a deficit of Rs 2,122 a tonne. Thus, without some help Indian suppliers stand nowhere

A costly shift

The government has decided to shift the head office of the public sector Bharat Aluminium Company Limited (BALCO), now located in Delhi, to either Nagpur or Raipur by 31 July. The ostensible reason for this is to ensure better coordination with the work at the Korba smelter in Madhya Pradesh, set up by BALCO. But what will be the cost of shifting? A new township will have to be built for the staff of 500 now in Delhi when BALCO has already spent a lot in constructing one at Korba. And even after the proposed shift, BALCO will have to maintain a 'liaison' office in Delhi. Do such shiftings, particularly away from the capital, make any sense?



Exit Lt Gen Mir Shaukat Ali

Purge in Bangladesh army claims more heads

Calcutta: Even as the three commissions (two military and one civilian), set up by the Bangladesh government to identify and punish the persons involved in the coup that killed President Ziaur Rahman, have hardly got going the inevitable purge in the country's faction-riven armed forces now underway has already claimed quite a few heads. Among the victims are three major generals—Mir Shaukat Ali, Amjad Chuwdhury and Abdul Matin—besides about 25 middle-rank officers.

Maj Gen Mir Shaukat Ali who was rumoured to have been arrested (this has been officially denied) following Maj Gen Manzoor's shortlived coup was retired from the army after promoting him to the rank of a Lt General on 9 June and his services were placed at the disposal of the foreign ministry, presumably for a diplomatic assignment abroad. Mir Shaukat was in charge of training Mizo insurgents in the Chittagong hill tracts during the Pakistani regime. But he was also among the first group of

Late President Ziaur Rahman with Lt Gen Mir Shaukat Ali



Bengali army officers to defect from the Pakistani Army in 1971 and, as a major, commanded the eighth East Bengal Regiment in the liberation war. After the emergence of Bangladesh he was promoted Colonel and took over as the commander of 65 Infantry Brigade. He rose to become the commander of the first army division of the Bangladesh armed forces—the 9th division stationed in Dacca—after Mujib's death.

Mir Shaukat was among the few officers whom Ziaur Rahman trusted; his appointment as the commander of the elite 9th division testifies to that. But that confidence progressively eroded as Mir Shaukat started baring his fangs. He was among the claimants to the office of the chief of army staff when Ziaur Rahman stepped down; Maj Gen Manzoor was another. Zia finally chose Lt Gen. H.M. Ershad, his deputy in the army, as his successor. That infuriated Shaukat even more, prompting him to go for an open confrontation with Gen. Ershad whenever he found an opportunity. So bitter was their animosity that once when Gen. Ershad as chairman of the Bangladesh Sports Council, had a statue of an archer put up before the Dacca stadium, Mir Shaukat condemned it as idolatry and un-Islamic. And a few days later when the statue was found demolished many claimed it to be the work of Mir Shaukat's men.

Zia also was finding Mir Shaukat a difficult person to negotiate with. Indeed, he came under a cloud following an abortive coup against Zia on 2 October 1977 even as the hijacking of a Japan Airlines aircraft had thrown the military leaders off balance. Mir Shaukat, after some initial hesitation, came to the rescue of Zia and thwarted the coup. But stigma never left him and many in Dacca still believe that he opted for Zia only after he found out that the coup would fail. Soon thereafter, Zia packed him off to Jessore, asking him to take over command of the army division there. He was replaced in Dacca by the commander of the Jessore division, Maj Gen Shamsuzzaman. But Mir Shaukat hung on to his post in Dacca, refusing to comply with Ziaur Rahman's orders and for a time the army division in Dacca appeared to be having two commanders.

Finally, however, Zia could make him go to Jessore. But Zia presumably felt that he could still make mischief. So only a few months ago Mir Shaukat was relieved of his command and was brought to Dacca as Zia's principal staff officer, to get him out of harm's way. Meanwhile, Mir Shaukat had turned a disciple of Akrashi *pir*, the godman of Faridpur among whose disciples is Gen. Ershad. But even that common bond between Mir Shaukat and Gen Ershad was not enough to erase their animosities.

Even before the coup had been crushed, stories circulating in Dacca sought to implicate Mir Shaukat in it

assuming that Gen. Manzoor would not have risked killing Zia unless he had a powerful ally in Dacca. Who was that ally? Could it be Mir Shaukat? As it was, the two were at loggerheads, both being claimants to the highest office in the armed services. But exigencies can make strange bedfellows. By retiring Mir Shaukat from the armed force, the Bangladesh government only added to the speculation.

What seems to have compromised Mir Shaukat's position is an announcement made by Manzoor over the Chittagong radio station (which he controlled for about 48 hours) replacing Lt Gen H. M. Ershad by Maj Gen Mir Shaukat as the chief of the army staff. If Mir Shaukat has been let off rather lightly it might be because the Bangladesh government does not have sufficient evidence to implicate him in the coup or, more likely, the fear that any drastic action against him could set off another rebellion in the army. Undeniably, Mir Shaukat commands great respect and admiration of the army division posted in Dacca and which he once commanded. Evidently, Lt Gen Ershad, the new strongman of the Bangladesh army, did a lot of homework—he personally visited all the garrisons before easing out Mir Shaukat. And, he did it with considerable finesse. For instance, when diplomatic sources in Dacca claimed that Mir Shaukat had been arrested, he was promptly presented before the public: he was seen participating in mass prayers, standing in queue with other dignitaries at the airport to receive the visiting Chinese Premier, Zhao Ziyang, on 7 June. Even Mir Shaukat was feeling smug when the axe fell.

Maj General Amjad Chowdhury and Maj General Abdul Matin are reported to have been held for questioning, if not arrested, for some unspecified crimes. Gen. Amjad was commanding the army division in Comilla when Gen. Manzoor struck. Manzoor and Amjad—both cadets from Sargoda—were close friends and Manzoor's braggadocio that Dacca troops would meet their Waterloo in Comilla might be the reason why Gen. Amjad had come under a cloud. Maj. Gen. Matin who was the Adjutant General in the army was posted out to Burma as the country's military attache only a couple of months ago. Apparently, a few days before the unsuccessful coup he came to Bangladesh and was reported to be contacting the freedom fighters among the civilians—organised under the banner of Muktiyoddha Sangsad. The Sangsad was sore because of the prominence the repatriates and those who had opposed the liberation war were getting under Zia. It had decided to call a strike in mid-May but was persuaded by Zia to postpone it for a month by which time he promised to redress their grievances.

With the exit of Mir Shaukat, almost all the key figures who defected from the Pakistan army

during the liberation war have been removed from any position of influence in the Bangladesh armed forces. Most of them are either dead or out of the army. Maj. Gen. Shafiulla, chief of army staff and Group Captain Khondakar, the Air Force chief under Mujib are out of the army, serving as ambassadors abroad. Seven others who received the second highest military award—Bir Uttam—for their courage and valour during the 1971 liberation war are dead: Col Taher was hanged, Brig Khaled Mosharraf and his two associates Col M. N. Huda and Col Hyder were killed after their 3 November 1975 coup failed. Air Vice Marshal Bashar died in a plane crash, and most recently Ziaur Rahman and Manzoor in the coup. Now among the Bangladesh armed forces hierarchy only two—Maj Gen Moin, Adjutant General and Maj Gen S. A. Hameed, who has replaced Manzoor in Chittagong as commander of the 24th division—had participated in the liberation war against Pakistan. All the three chiefs of armed services had been in Pakistan during the war and are repatriates. In the 65,000-strong Bangladesh army, repatriates now outnumber the freedom fighters by three to one.

Tooshar Pandit

UTTAR PRADESH

Guns and beer at a Congress(I) marriage

Kanpur: The ceremony resembled the wedding of a bandit king in a Hindi film. Men clad in white and armed with carbines and rifles could be seen everywhere. A "notorious" strongman of the city had organised the show at the Ganges Club, Kanpur. The occasion was the 6 May wedding between

Mr Bhole Pandey and Ms Sumanlata Dixit, two controversial young Congress(I) MLAs of UP. Mr Pandey, who allegedly already has a wife and child living in his village home, earned notoriety by participating in the hijacking of an Indian Airlines aeroplane during the Janata rule and was later elected to the state assembly from Ballia. Ms Dixit, the youngest MLA in UP, was elected from General-ganj, Kanpur but was a political nonentity before she received her nomination on the recommendation of the "Sanjay group."

Throughout the wedding day, the "organisers" were busy at the Ganges Club, among other things, guzzling bottles of chilled beer. It was late in the afternoon that they showed their real selves. The proprietor of the local tent house who had supplied 5,000 chairs for the evening was roughed up till he lost consciousness because he had said that he would not be able to organise 50 more chairs. When a few onlookers protested, they were quickly silenced by men brandishing revolvers.

At seven in the evening, the guests began to arrive. The list of invitees included prominent politicians and civil and police officials of the city. In true filmy tradition, the guests were entertained by dances to the tune of an orchestra playing in the background. But, as the evening wore on and the decked-up bride surrounded by friends waited in an ante-room, there was no sign of the groom. The guests got impatient. Around nine, they were told that Mr Pandey had already left Lucknow and would reach Kanpur at ten! Naturally most of the guests departed.

When the groom finally made it to the venue, it was close to midnight. He came in a flower-bedecked car with his friends following in a Matador and two Ambassadors. The wedding ceremony itself was simple comprising exchange of garlands by the two people and blessing of the couple by their parents.

The bride and the bridegroom



But the entire proceeding was accompanied by volleys of shots fired into the air by the groom's supporters.

A few days before the wedding, a voter from Generalganj made an application to stay the marriage before the court of the magistrate at Kanpur. In his application the voter said that Mr Pandey was already married and had a child and, as such, his marriage with Ms Dixit, the legislator from his constituency, was immoral and would affect the moral character of the voters of the constituency. In his 4 May judgment, the magistrate held that the effect of the marriage would fall on Mr Pandey's existing wife and since she had not made any application, the voter's application was quashed.

Now that the deed is done and Mr Pandey and Ms Dixit are married, the state Congress(I) is reported to be seriously contemplating action against the two legislators. Chief minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh himself has told newsmen of this. It now remains to be seen what action the Congress(I) takes in this regard.

A Special Correspondent

BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY

Is the Taj guilty?

Bombay: The super-deluxe Taj Mahal hotel has allegedly consumed electricity worth Rs 21.97 lakhs without paying for it. This was stated by Dr R. Y. Prabhu, Shiv Sena member at the meeting of the standing committee of the Bombay municipal corporation in the last week of May. Raising a point of order at the meeting he alleged that the "meters were not properly inspected and it was possible that unmetered power to the extent of nearly Rs 22 lakhs was underestimated." Taj sources countered this allegation as absurd.

They said they could not have consumed power for nine months without detection since that was what Rs 21 crores amounted to. Further, the Taj claimed that if it could donate Rs 1.4 crores to Tata Charities why would it evade paying Rs 21 lakhs?

The general manager of the Bombay Electric Supply and Transport undertaking (BEST), Mr P. B. Kerkar, told the standing committee that the Taj had indeed consumed electricity to the value of Rs 21.97 lakhs without paying for it. A notice for the recovery of the amount had also been issued. The undertaking had also lodged a complaint against the hotel with the Colaba police station which is still investigating the case.

This did not seem to satisfy the members of the standing committee. The committee urged the civic administration to impress upon BEST to discontinue electric supply to the Taj for alleged tampering of the meter. In March 1981, the BEST discovered during a routine inspection that the meter of the Taj had been tampered with (the undertaking does routine inspection of major consumers at least once a fortnight). Hotels pay bulk rates for the electricity they consume: Rs 25 per KVA for the first 500 units then Rs 21.10 for the subsequent KVA. There is also an energy charge of Rs 13.03 for the first 1,50,000 units and this charge goes lower for the subsequent slabs.

Although the demand for electricity by plush hotels like the Taj, is insatiable, the point is whether the Taj was trying to evade paying nearly Rs 22 lakhs. The police is investigating to find out who tampered with the meter which is under the control of the BEST. The meter is in the basement of the hotel and any tampering could only have been done with the connivance of the BEST staff.

Olga Tellis

GOA

Fun, games and blackmail

Panaji: In the interests of "the much broader national canvas," as the Congress(I) Delhi leaders have been reminding the feuding local politicians, dissent has been forbidden. "It is the politics of emasculation," says a local Congress(I) leader who, for fear of disciplinary action, sought to remain anonymous. Not emasculation, for aside from charges and counter-charges of corruption and graft, the latest complaint of chief minister Rane's detractors in the Congress(I), is that some of the cabinet colleagues have been overplaying their machismo.

Dayanand Narvekar (30) the young green-eyed, minister of law, told me that all the talk about his "sexploits" is nothing but rantings from "old men who cannot do anything and are jealous of me." His team-mate Joildo Aguiar, minister for information and agriculture, is much more direct in his reaction to similar charges. The story goes that the chief minister received intelligence reports about Mr Aguiar's alleged involvement with a young and pretty widow, in a city hotel. Having asked Mr Aguiar for his version of the story, the chief minister found it had a certain logic.

Dissidents led by former PCC(I) president Dr Wilfred D'Sousa, a middle-aged surgeon, have been demanding the ouster of Rane and, for the time being, are prepared to accept, as a compromise, the immediate sacking of Mr Narvekar and Mr Aguiar. Mr Rane who has taken a liking for the ministerial post ("I will resign if a single MLA loses confidence

Theatre of silence

Calcutta: A strange theatrical language is being evolved at the modest, three-roomed Oral School for Deaf Children; and it might very well succeed not only in creating an awareness of the handicapped but also in adding a new and absorbing dimension to mime. Discarding the conventional body language, director Ms Zarin Choudhury and her ensemble of handicapped performers (calling themselves The Action Players) rely on the international sign language to produce highly stylised drama.

To the normal audience this new art form is merely an exercise in movements which, no matter how well choreographed, can be appreciated only in form, not content; to overcome this Ms Choudhuri introduces popular numbers like *Sunrise sunset* and synchronised dialogues taken offstage to help the audience make sense of the



The players rehearsing

action in view. Whether or not, in the very conventional sense, these audio-aids are permissible in mime, the effort is nevertheless remarkable. The stress is on simultaneity. When the players perform to songs (as often in their latest production called *You light up my life*) they take their cue from the singers offstage. And since the actors cannot see the singers nor hear their songs (being deaf), a "conductor" stands before them and lips the song being sung; the actors lip-read the "conductor" and synchronise their sign language according to the meaning of each word of the song. On other occasions, while they enact an episode or skit on stage, dialogues are lent by speaking players offstage; in this case those who render the dialogues take their cue from the action on stage.

Masoodul Huq

in me" he had said when he assumed power in 1980; ever since, 16 out of 30 MLAs told him in writing that they had lost their confidence in him—to no avail so far) is prepared to sacrifice the two errant ministers. But the enterprising duo, apart from a sizeable following in the party, also have "dossiers"—some of it consisting of transcriptions from secretly recorded tapes when Mr Rane and the two ministers were close friends. And Mr Rane, apparently, had in an unguarded moment expressed views on various Congress(I) leaders.

As the story goes, Mr Rane, too, has his own album of key-hole views—the indiscretion of various political heavyweights at circuit houses, forest bungalows and such other exotic locations as the Simla rest house, all this, supposedly, on "official tours."

And while the game of political blackmail goes on, the Goan masses suffer. Take this single example: for eight years now, the harijans of Tennem, a village in Mr Rane's home constituency of Valpoi, are being cheated of their civil supplies rations. When Claude Alvares, the well-known academic and experimentalist in community living techniques, contacted the harijans they accused one of Mr Rane's "political workers" in the area, a certain Mr Wadkar.

Mario Cabral e Sa

ANDHRA PRADESH

"Incentive" for unanimity

Hyderabad: The *panchayat raj* elections in Andhra Pradesh were unique in two respects: one, the elections which were "officially" fought on a non-party basis have returned many Congress(I) candidates, two, thanks to the incentive awards, almost one-third of the *gram panchayats* were being elected "uncontested." The credit for both the "unique" achievements goes to the chief minister, Tanguturi Anjiah.

Incidentally, Mr Anjiah is the first chief minister in more than a decade who has kept his promise of holding the *panchayat* elections. (The *panchayat* elections were held for the last time in June 1970.) After the Congress(I) came to power in March 1978, the then chief minister, Dr Marri Channa Reddy, promised *panchayat* elections but nothing came of the promise. On becoming CM in October 1980, Mr T. Anjiah had promised *panchayat* elections "soon." But they were "postponed" once again. And, when Mr Anjiah "finally" announced the firm dates for *panchayat* polls in May-June, the opposition parties as well as the people were sceptical about the promise. Mr Anjiah also stunned his own partymen and the opposition parties by deciding that the *panchayat* elections would be conducted on non-party, non-political lines.

An elephant goes to court

Panaji: Ram Piyari is going to perform before a court of law, in order "to demonstrate" in the words of her lawyer, Mr Vishnu Pai, how the accident happened. She will appear before the court sometime in June in the compound of the Motor Accident Claim Tribunal. The tribunal conceded Ram Piyari's request that she be exempted from making her appearance in the courtroom itself, for obvious reasons—the tribunal is situated on the first floor and the stairs could not have coped up with the weight of Ram Piyari. Nor would the doors be wide enough for her entry for Ram Piyari is an elephant.

It is an elephantine matter truly. On a cool winter morning of 12 December 1980, at 5.30 am, Ram Piyari along with three other elephant performers of the Prashant Circus of Sangli, were going up the Ghat Road, from Vadgaon to Khopoli. Just then a truck (MTD 1521) driven by Balaji Raghunath (45) was on its way from Pune to Khopoli. It dashed against Chanda, the baby elephant who in turn tripped Ram Piyari. Ram Piyari fell between the front wheels of the truck and was dragged a considerable

distance.

According to eyewitnesses, the other three elephants almost immediately blocked the road, which lasted for three hours and *gherdoed* the truck along with the driver. Ram Piyari had by then damaged her coffin-joint and had developed bad sores on the elbow joint besides a lacerated wound of the right hind leg, a dislocation of the stifle-joint and heavy contusions.

Ram Piyari had been with the Prashant Circus for 14 years including a 2-year training period. Balancing feats and rolling on her back were some of the highlights of her programme. She can perform no more now. She only limps, that too rather painfully. Ram Piyari earned for her owner, Mr Bhimrao Patil, Rs 10,000 per month. The cost of the elephant's permanent disablement is estimated at Rs 5,000. The elephant is now 30 years old and the life span of elephants being 60 years, the lawyer wants the court to provide for her long future. As all lawyers, Mr Pai is "most confident of her chances of success."

Mario Cabral e Sa



CM T. Anjiah

But, as subsequent events have proved, the talk of *panchayat* elections being fought on non-party, non-political lines was not true. However, the incentive scheme announced by Mr Anjiah for the *panchayats* which were elected "uncontested" has been a success. According to the AP *panchayat raj* department, out of the 19,550 *gram panchayats* in 22 "rural" districts of the state, as many as 18,945 *gram panchayats* were notified for the polls. Elections to the remaining 605 *gram panchayats* would be held later. Thanks to the incentive awards, almost one-third of the *gram panchayats*—6,260—have had "unanimous" elections. The incentive award was given to a *gram panchayat* if all the members and the *sarpanch* (village

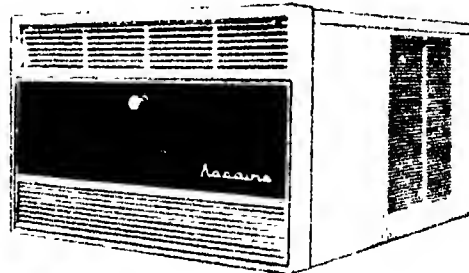
head) were elected "unanimously." The state government now has to disburse Rs 3.13 crores to the 6,260 *panchayats* at the rate of Rs 5,000 each as the cash component of the incentive award.

For the *panchayats* which witnessed "unanimous" elections, the cash awards come as a bonanza because, in many cases, the annual income of the *panchayats* range between Rs 1,000 and Rs 10,000. More, the unanimous elections have come as a windfall for the ruling Congress(I). As soon as the "unanimous" elections were over, Mr T. Anjiah announced at a public function that "90 per cent of the seats in the unanimously-elected *panchayats* have been bagged by the Congress(I)." The figures released by Anjiah show that out of the 6,260 *gram panchayats* with unanimous elections, about 710 were captured by the opposition parties, mainly the CPI, the CPI(M), the Lok Dal, the CPI(ML), the Congress(U), the Janata Party and the BJP.

Some interesting reports have trickled in from some remote villages where the electorate is said to have "awarded" the *gram panchayat* memberships and the post of *sarpanch* to the highest "bidders." The money collected from the "tenders" and the "awardees" would be utilised for community development work in the villages. In some other villages, the polls were boycotted because the various posts were reserved for scheduled castes or scheduled tribes though there were hardly any SCs or STs in those villages.

Syed Majeedul Hasan

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Healing music

At the Yervada Mental Hospital, a large mental institute near Pune, music is doing wonders. Dr Deo, the superintendent, has been using music as aid to group therapy with the most encouraging results. It is used in cases of trans-cultural shocks (foreigners who seek mental care after traumatic experiences at the Rajneesh ashram) and in cases of anxiety due to economic conditions (jobless youth and old people who are afraid that they might die uncared for). As part of the music therapy, inmates of this institution sing bhajans, play or take up musical instruments and participate in rhythmic physical culture exercises.

While mother serves time

The Prisoners Aid and Welfare Society in Gauhati has started a children's home for minor children of female prisoners. This home was inaugurated on 17 May when three girls, who were living with their mothers in Tezpur jail, were brought to this home. At the moment there are 16 children living with their mothers in different jails in Assam who will be brought over to this home. During their stay at the home they will be provided education and medical care.

Filming Indian Asia

An eight-part TV documentary, "Suvarnabhumi—Realms of gold," on the spread of Indian culture to South East Asian countries, will go into production next January. This two-million dollar project is being financed by a non-profit organisation on visual studies of culture, set up by a TV film producer and anthropologist in Los Angeles. Thirty-year-old Indian film-maker Ramesh Sharma, who won a national award for his film on the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim, is one of the three film-makers heading the panel for this project. According to Mr



Apples of his eye

In Arunachal Pradesh, where means of livelihood are still very limited in spite of its abundant natural resources, a young Apatani farmer (Apatani is a tribe in Arunachal Pradesh) earned about Rs 25,000 last year by producing apples. Mr Tatang first grew and marketed apples in 1976, the proceeds of which (Rs 1,500) were invested back in the orchard. Since then, his income has been on the increase. He earned Rs 4,300 in 1977, Rs 10,000 in 1978 and Rs 16,000 in 1979. Mr Tatang's success has prompted 35 other farmers in the region to follow his example and go in for the same trade.

Sharma, "The project will deal with themes cutting across time, juxtaposing myths and ancient customs in an attempt to explain to the Western viewer that to understand the changes taking place in these cultures, you have to get to the roots." The film will deal, among others, with the growth of Buddhism in India, and its spread to South East Asia during the Ashokan era, women in Indian mythology and the modern times, the relationship between politics and religion and the history of Tibetan Buddhism.



Director Ramesh Sharma with cinematographer Subroto Mitra (first and second from right) on location shooting at Sikkim.

Wordpower at a bargain

W and R Chambers and Macmillan (India) Ltd are together compiling a series of new handy dictionaries to be marketed shortly. This consists of a universal learners dictionary, which students of English will find handy, a compact dictionary, a storehouse of commonly used English words, an elbow guide for all office workers and a mini-dictionary. The last will consist of 640 pages and will be priced at Rs 10, the cheapest dictionary to be available in the market.

Our own boring machine

A group of young engineers of the Heavy Machine Tools plant under the Heavy Engineering Corporation Ltd has designed and developed, for the first time in India, a large size deep hole boring machine, based on indigenous knowhow. The machine has been designed to make precision bores up to 10 metres long in work pieces weighing 10 tonnes. The machine has successfully undergone performance tests and is ready for commercial commissioning. The deep hole boring machines are required by vital industries like defence production units, nuclear engineering, ship building power plants and a number of general engineering enterprises.

Insurance for fishermen

The union government has decided to launch a compulsory insurance scheme for fishing crew. More than 25 lakh fishermen will benefit from the scheme which will be funded to the extent of 50 per cent by the government. The crews of trawlers with a capacity of five tonnes and above will benefit from it, as well as those manning boats plying in rivers, reservoirs and lakes. Compensation ranging from Rs 10,000 to Rs 25,000 is to be paid for deaths and Rs 2,500 or six months' medical expenses, whichever is lower, for injuries. If there is a permanent disability, the insured victim will get Rs 5,000. Policies up to Rs 10,000 will have their premiums paid by the government.

Model primary health centre

The Gandhigram Institute of Rural Health and Family Welfare Trust at Ambathurai near Madurai district in Tamil Nadu is to set up a model primary health centre with a grant from the Ford Foundation. The Rs seven lakh Integrated Development Project for Improved Rural Health (IDPIRH) covers training-cum-action programmes on nutrition, environmental sanitation, maternal and child health, immunisation, health care and family planning. The project also includes raising and distributing milch-cattle and helping artisans and sericulturalists. The project covers 10 backward villages in the Athoor block of Madurai district.



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THE WORLD

Pacemaker explodes

What happens when a dead body with a pacemaker is cremated? According to cemetery manager and secretary of New York state association of cemeteries Bernard Jaffe, in the past five or six years there have been a number of incidents of pacemakers exploding during cremation in New York itself. Citing an example, Mr Jaffe says: "A worker narrowly escaped serious injury when an explosion blew out the door of a crematorium oven. The worker, who was bending down at the time, suffered temporary hearing impairment." In view of this, the New York state legislature has agreed to debate a bill requiring every death certificate to state whether the body has a pacemaker and whether the pacemaker contains a battery or power cell. The bill, if approved, will also permit a crematorium to refuse to accept a body unless the pacemaker or at least its battery has been removed.

Her latest



Margaret Trudeau

Canadian Prime Minister's estranged wife Margaret Trudeau (32) has found herself a new boyfriend: James Johnson, a lawyer who also runs an office furniture business in Ottawa. Mrs Trudeau is living with Johnson in her flat barely a few hundred yards away from the Prime Minister's official residence in Ottawa. Meanwhile, Pierre Trudeau (61) has been escorting pretty girls at public receptions in Canada and the USA.

Hitler's autograph

Former British parachute regiment major Harold Le Breton-Wilby (65) of Salisbury (UK) forged signatures of Adolf Hitler and Field Marshal Montgomery on copies of their respective autobiographies, *Mein Kampf* and *Onward from D-Day*. He then advertised the 'autographed' books (£175 for Hitler's and £30 for Montgomery's) in a local paper. A collector who examined the signatures and smelt foulplay, informed the police who in turn contacted Montgomery's son to verify at least one signature. The son confirmed the forgery and Breton-Wilby was arrested.

Hostage to fate

US army sergeant Joseph Subic (23) who was one of the 21 servicemen held hostage for 444 days in Tehran, has been denied the meritorious service medal awarded to the others. According to a statement by the Pentagon, "there were certain periods during the 444 days of captivity when Sgt Subic did not behave under stress in the way non-commissioned officers are supposed to act." The truth of course is that Subic, as a hostage, had participated in an Iranian television interview in which he condemned the US policy of continued support to the Shah's regime.

Briefly

Better fleecing

A "biological fleecing" process has been developed in Australia for shearing the country's 135 million sheep: a special protein is injected into the animal and after 48 hours, the wool falls off by itself.

Counterfeit

The new Australian 50 cent coin to celebrate the Prince Charles-Lady Diana wedding has been severely criticised. Commenting on its design *The Melbourne Age* alleged that it has made Lady Diana look as if she has just stepped out of the shower; *Sydney Daily Mirror* felt that she looked "like a shaggy mop."

Beautiful brawn



Kike Elomaa (right) of Finland and runner-up Lena Trulson (left) of Sweden display their muscular charms at the conclusion of the European bodybuilding championships in Wembley (England) on 30 May this year.

Luther's killer stabbed



James Earl Ray (53) who is serving a 99-year jail sentence in Petros, Tennessee (USA) for assassinating Martin Luther King, was stabbed 22 times by one white and three black fellow prison inmates. He is, however, reported to be in good condition after receiving 77 stitches.

China-Disney tieup

A full-length documentary in "circlevision" called *The wonders of China* is being made by the Chinese government in collaboration with Walt Disney Productions. The film will have its world premiere at a specially-built circular auditorium at Disney World in Florida on China's national day, 1 October.

War on music

Cracking down on "the music of the subversives," the El Salvador army recently spent three days confiscating all records of revolutionary and protest songs. In one record shop an officer threatened to seize albums of the American rock group, Traffic. Reason? He felt that the members of the group (pictured on the jacket covers) looked like anarchists.

KHAAS BAAT

It has actually happened, though at one time it had seemed as unlikely as *Rekha* breaking off with her tall-dark-angry man. It is true, however, that *Dharmendra* has signed a film without *Hema* in it. *Hema* does not even have a song-and-dance or a dream sequence in it. And *Hema*'s absence has not got *Dharam* worried at all; he is talking most avidly about the film, as though he is about to embark on a new career. Well, what that can mean is either *Hema* is pregnant, or *Dharam* does not want her to work. Perhaps their plan of setting up a beautiful house at Bangalore has finally materialised and so *Dharam* wants *Hema* to settle down to housekeeping.



Raj Babbar

Dev Anand has once again proved his youthfulness. Recently, during the shooting of *Swami Dada*, *Shakti Kapoor* wanted to relax for a while. The usually patient *Dev Anand* blew up. Not only did *Shakti* get a scolding for his laziness, but the role of another youngster *Jackie Shroff*—a model who is making his debut in this film—was increased.

Raj Babbar is biting more than he can chew and his producers are paying for it. One such producer is *H. Malhotra*. Apparently, *Raj* appeared on his sets four hours late! Of course, shooting was cancelled for the day and *Raj* was warned: "Either come on time, or don't come at all." Perhaps it is time *Raj* learnt from veterans like *Shashi Kapoor*, who even in his youth never did more than four shifts, against *Raj Babbar*'s six shifts, a day.



Anita Raj

Who do you think is making the most of *Padmini Kohlapure*'s fussy parents? *Anita Raj*! Producers in the south had initially wanted *Padmini Kohlapure* to do some films in the south, but her parents would not hear of it. So, they went to *Anita*. She agreed instantly and is currently the latest craze among the southern producers.

Aloka: financing O. P. Ralhan?



Dharam and Hema: those were the days

Where is *O. P. Ralhan* getting the finances for his films from? (For those who might have forgotten. *Ralhan* launched three big films all of a sudden, and not one was a box office hit. His last hit was *Phool aur Patthar*, undertaken a very long time ago.) Finally, we know the name: *Aloka*, daughter of a big financier, she is known as *Nazi* on the screen. She tried to become an actress, but did not quite succeed. So, now she has taken to financing and controlling the production of *O. P. Ralhan*. Well, it pays to have money, doesn't it!

Producers are in for a hard time. After *Raj Babbar*, it is *Rati Agnihotri*. Recently the star bought a dress that cost Rs 900. Who do you think paid the bill? The producer, of course. It is time *Rati* acquired a friend-philosopher-and-guide who will tell her that unlike producers in the south, those in Bombay are not outspoken, but are very calculating. So, even if they appear to take it lying down, it is only for a short while. They will grab the first opportunity to strike back, and even a star of *Rati*'s status will not be spared.

KHAAS BAAT

Deepa seems to have had enough of the film industry. During a recent quarrel with her mother, she sought refuge in a cameraman's residence only to be turned out politely, in the middle of the night; add to that Deepa's waning passion for the upcoming Malayalam actor. The actress now wants to get married to a college lecturer. Perhaps, her choice has something to do with her professed love for studies. The film industry and other curricular activities had jeopardised her ambitions of becoming a graduate. Now that the star has decided on an educationist for a husband, perhaps her educational ambitions will finally be fulfilled.

Vijaybabu: upcoming hero



Swapna and Kamalahasan in Kadai Meengal

With the success of *Palaivana Cholai*, *Suhasini* has proved that *Nenjathai Killadhey* wasn't just an accident. She has been performing well consistently and what is more interesting, has managed to look more charming in this film than in her maiden hit *Nenjathai*. Not frequently does one come across a heroine clad in such a beautiful choice of sarees. *Suhasini*, who helped her film institute friends make this film helped them in choosing the costumes too. Perhaps that explains the beautiful choice—after all, *Suhasini* is a trained cameraperson with a natural eye for the exquisite.

If an actor can become a chief minister, surely a karate champion can become an actor," declared *Mani*, shortly after he decided to do a few film roles. He turned out to be quite a success in the recently released *Vidiyuvarai Kaathiru*, much to the surprise of his admirers who thought he had not done the right thing by joining the film industry, and of course, the filmy villains who thought he would be lousy on the screen. But *Mani's* success has given him adequate encouragement and now the champion wants to do some more films.

Looks like *Ambika's* ambition of starring opposite *Kamalahasan* in a film that will be released, is finally fulfilled. *Kadai Meengal*, in which she stars opposite *Kamalahasan* has at last been released. Unfortunately, she has more roles opposite *Suman* than she has with *Kamalahasan*, in the film. Well, something is better than nothing: after all, *Shakti*, in which *Ambika* plays the role of *Kamalahasan's* girlfriend, is very much in the freezer.

Pratap Pothan



Zarina: goes south

Telugu distributors who have bought the dubbing rights of the successful Tamil soft porn *Iathai Maarinal* (released as *Jawani ki Bhool*) are having problems with the censors. Some of the sexy scenes involving *Meera*—scenes which were allowed in the Tamil, Kannada and Hindi versions have been frowned at by the panel which saw the Telugu version. Distributors are only hoping that the panel will change its mind, for they fear that without these scenes, the film may not have a good draw.

PIOUSJI

Beginning 28 June



ARIES (15 April—14 May)

This is a very busy week for you. You will reap the benefits of your past efforts. But do not sit back to enjoy your good fortune. You are advised to be patient in your dealings with your elders and those superior to you. Avoid controversy with your subordinates. This is a good week for romance. Prospects of matrimonial alliance are bright. A letter will bring some good news towards the end of the week. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 28, 30 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east



TAURUS (15 May—14 June)

This is a week of opportunities for you. So don't sit back and relax. For those in business, excellent opportunities await you. Take every opportunity that comes your way. You will benefit from the advice of an elderly member of your family. The health of an elder might cause you some anxiety, however, nothing untoward is likely to happen. This is a good week for romance. A new friendship is in the offing. **Good dates:** 28, 29 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and North.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July)

This is going to be a quiet week for you. Those interested in art, music or literature will have opportunities of utilising their creative abilities. A member of the fair sex is likely to benefit you. A secret matter or association will turn to your advantage. This is a good week for pursuing matrimonial alliance. Guard against deception from a person close to you. A letter will bring you good news towards the end of the week. **Good dates:** 29, 1 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West



CANCER (15 July—14 August)

This is going to be an eventful week for you. Your professional and financial affairs are likely to improve. Those in services may get a promotion. Push your business matters as much as you can and do not hesitate to grab any opportunity that comes your way. Matrimonial alliances may best be undertaken this week. Those who are romantically linked should not hesitate to take a quick decision this week. Young people tighten your belts. This is a very hectic week for you. **Good dates:** 29, 2 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



LEO (15 August—14 September)

This is not a very favourable week for you. Be prepared for delays and obstacles in your profession as well as in your personal life. Do not take anything for granted, especially when property matters are concerned. An elderly person may try to obstruct your plans. Do not be discouraged, but try to be tactful and forge ahead with your ideas. There are likely to be differences with your business partners. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 28, 30 and 2. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** North-east



VIRGO (15 September—14 October)

This is a quiet week. Your business interests will require all your attention. You are advised to curb all extravagant tendencies. An elderly person may assist you in your ventures. You might have to undertake a journey during the middle of this week. You are advised to pay attention to your family. The health of your spouse may cause you some worry. Avoid speculation or gambling. Your stars portend losses due to risky ventures. **Good dates:** 29, 1 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South



LIBRA (15 October—14 November)

Your prospects for this week are excellent. But financial problems will continue to bother you. Dramatic changes on the professional front are in the offing. Womenfolk will acquire costly clothes and ornaments. The time is favourable for courtship, marriage and matrimonial correspondence. Do not take unnecessary risks. Take care of your health. The health of an elderly relative will trouble you. **Good dates:** 30, 2 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December)

Slow and steady progress is signified this week. You will overcome your early difficulties by sheer dint of hard work. You will gain proper through an elderly relative or a friend. Important changes in your profession are forecast and these will prove beneficial. The end of the week will witness social happenings. This is the time to work hard. Be careful in your dealing with elders and do not antagonise your employer. Take care of the health of your children. **Good dates:** 1, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January)

This week is favourable for those in romance. Love affairs will make steady progress. Some will gain financially this week provided care is exercised in investments. Some will be tempted to neglect their professions. Most of them will spend time on questionable pleasures. Women will acquire new clothes. Take care of your health. The end of the week will witness hectic, social activity. Children will do well in their examinations. **Good dates:** 28, 1 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February)

Unexpected and serious obstacles will arise in the realisation of your ambitions. Do not let that upset you for this is a momentary phase. Devote a little time to minute details. After a minor setback due to disagreements, business conditions will improve rapidly and there will be remarkable progress. An unexpected gain, financially or otherwise, is predicted through the occult. Avoid all disputes with trends and relations. **Good dates:** 29, 2 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March)

Do not antagonise your employer. Pay great attention to business and professional pursuits. A fair measure of success and good fortune is predicted, including gain through speculation or gambling. For those in business, if you have plans of making important changes this week, go ahead. You are likely to acquire a number of costly things. For those not yet in love, you are likely to meet your partner this week. **Good dates:** 30, 2 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



PISCES (15 March—14 April)

Stellar portents are somewhat conflicting. Difficulties in your profession are in the offing. Unexpected reversals beyond your control will distress you. Watch your finances closely. Avoid dealings in property, investments and speculation. Exercise caution and circumspection in dealings with the opposite sex. For those in love, this is the time to be patient. Delay marriage proposals. **Good dates:** 28, 1 and 2. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and West

AMRITAL



NASIK: Mrs Janakibai Ramdas Dhanagar had trained three monkeys to attack anyone in khaki and strip off their clothes. So everytime a police party tried to approach her illicit liquor den, it was attacked by the monkeys. Meanwhile the woman got rid of her stock of liquor. But finally police outwitted her. They approached the den in plain clothes and threw some peanuts to the monkeys. When the monkeys pounced on the nuts, the woman was taken into custody. Stocks of liquor were also seized.—*Times of India* (A. Haque, New Delhi)

NEW DELHI: A large number of Delhi University *karamcharis* held a *kirtan* in protest against the university authorities. The *kirtan* began in the evening and continued through the night. The *karamcharis* wanted the resignation of the registrar who they allege has been victimising them. The *karamcharis* wanted to hold the *kirtan* in front of the registrar's office, but they were not allowed to do so. An altercation resulted when a group of *karamcharis* supporting the registrar tried to stop the *kirtan*. The arrival of police averted a possible clash.—*Times of India* (Rupa Batra, Dhanbad)

RAIPUR: A youth was returning home from the fields when a snake bit him. He fell unconscious, but the village doctors of Kohi in Durg district gave him up for dead. As preparations were underway for cremation, a snake charmer happened to be passing by. He assured the villagers not to lose heart. He played his *been*. The piper's music drew the snake which was believed to have bitten the youth and sucked out the poison. As the piper left the youth came to life.—*Times of India* (P. Santa, New Delhi)

JABALPUR: The bridegroom insisted on a motorcycle as part of a dowry. The girl's father offered Rs 4,000 in cash. But the groom was obstinate. So he and his friends were locked up by the girl's relatives. They were kept without food for eight hours and then beaten up and paraded in the town. The bridegroom and his party were then allowed to go, but only after signing an agreement to pay Rs 25,000 for breach of promise to

marry.—*Times of India* (Abhay Kumar Bajaj, Jabalpur)

CALCUTTA: A French national who was going to Dacca by a Bangladesh Biman flight was detained by the police because they found a live snake wrapped in a piece of cloth in his possession. The Frenchman was taking the foot-long reptile for a friend. The police eventually persuaded him to leave the snake behind and board the plane. The snake which was left in the lounge was later taken outside by two boys and killed.—*Statesman* (Pannalal Paul, N. C. Hills)

PATNA: A member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly along with four others of his companions, were among 1726 persons rounded up for travelling without tickets in a train running between the Patna junction and Arrah. The raid was conducted by the police on the directive of the Railway Board. Of them, 1391 free trippers, including the MLAs, who paid their dues and judicial fines were released. The rest were sent to jail.—*Indian Express* (S. Krishna Murthy, Bangalore)

BARODA: Paresh Parikh, an engineering student, is trying to set a world record of writing the longest love letter. He has already written the longest letter to a pen-friend: a 1,825 metre-long 6,10,266 word letter that took Parikh 180 days to complete. The earlier record was held by a West German, who wrote a 1,224 metre-long letter in two years. So far as the love letter goes, unfortunately, Parikh has no lady-love to address.—*Hindustan Times* (Babul Kumar Sinha, Dhanbad)

FLURU: A marriage invitation posted in east Godawari district reached the addressee in Vaturl in the neighbouring West Godawari district via Frankfurt, West Germany, three weeks after the auspicious event. The invitation was posted in Madapeta in East Godawari, but by a quirk of fate it went to Frankfurt. The German postal department took the trouble to ascertain where Vaturl was and redirected it to India.—*Patriot* (J. J. Nehru, Jamshedpur)

MEERUT: An old Muslim who has seen four score winters recently made a snap decision to welcome into his household his fourth wife. The romantic old man had earlier settled the marriage of his son. On the day of the marriage the son failed to turn up, and the old man decided to marry the woman himself, ostensibly to save the prestige of her family. His decision shocked the members of his family so much that they boycotted the marriage. Only a handful of acquaintances graced the occasion. The bride was 28 and the bridegroom 78.—*Blitz* (Rajinder Singh, New Delhi)

I tell them (the voters) that the key to improvement is participation. That they cannot sit on their butts and expect the government to do everything—Rajiv Gandhi in *The Times*, London

When a man can pilot as many as 100 people on board safely to their destination (and I have been on his flights many times), the country should pose no problem—Dr Farooq Abdullah on Rajiv Gandhi, quoted in *Blitz*

It is as ridiculous to argue that Zia is a strong man defending democracy and freedom at the Afghan border as it is to argue that Uganda is capable of landing a space shuttle on the moon—Safdar Shah, former Pakistani Supreme Court judge in *Newsweek*.

We Indians have never been able to see Pakistan's predicaments through Pakistani eyes and instead of sympathising with them have usually regarded their actions with suspicion—Khushwant Singh in *The Hindustan Times*

It might never be known whether her (Mrs Gandhi's) latest dash to Chandigarh was to hasten procurement of grain—an odd chore for a Prime Minister surely—or to hold a secret session with a tantric tucked away in somebody's home where she made a mysterious halt—Rajinder Puri in *India Today*

Why should I retire? Has anybody's father or grandfather given me a post so that I must seek retirement?—Jagjivan Ram in *India Today*

I don't approve of the *mai baap* theory which the Indians overseas adopt towards the Indian missions. How can we look after all their problems?—a former Indian ambassador quoted in *Surya India*

A journalist has to be like a judge, not an advocate—Abu Abraham in *Surya India*

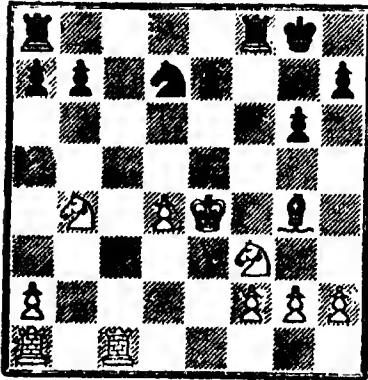
To my mind, the nuclear bomb is the most useless weapon ever invented. It can be employed to no rational purpose—George F. Kennan in *The Guardian Weekly*

I find it (nude modelling) more comfortable in many ways than fashion modelling. At least you don't have to worry about clothes!—Model Lisa Welch quoted in *Current*

I have always obliged my heroes whenever they have politely asked me. After all, every woman enjoys sex in good company—Actress Rathi Devi in *Onlooker*

chess

Korchnoi (Black) to move



Polugaevsky (White)
Position after White's 22nd move

Read all about it

So Korchnoi is once again in the Candidates' Final, but his semi-final victory over Lev Polugaevsky of the Soviet Union was by no means as easy as three years ago. Leading by 6-5 in the 12-game series he needed only a draw in the last game to reach the final, but succumbed to a crushing attack by the Soviet grandmaster and suddenly they were in a play-off. The first game was a draw; the second remarkable.

The other semi-final between Portisch and Hübner was being played concurrently in Italy in the fifth game of that match. Hübner adopted a sharp line of the English Opening, temporarily sacrificing a pawn. His fourteenth move however, though seemingly very natural, was a mistake. Portisch (with Black) quickly seized the initiative and all but won the game. This was all reported by Larsen in the Argentine newspaper *Clarín*, pointing out White's mistake on the fourteenth move and also pointing out how he could have improved his play. Lo and behold some two weeks later Korchnoi and Polugaevsky sit down in Buenos Aires to play their fourteenth and possibly decisive game. After 13 moves they have on the board exactly the same position as Hübner had against Portisch. Polugaevsky (as White) promptly plays the same bad move Hübner made two weeks before in Italy. He is duly crushed and loses the match. Evidently he had not read Larsen's comments in *Clarín*. Nobody in his delegation understands Spanish.

How comforting to know Margaret Thatcher reads her favourite daily every morning. Hadn't you ever wished you were better informed?

The tateful game:

White: Polugaevsky. Black: Korchnoi. English Opening.

1. N-KB3, N-KB3; 2. P-B4, P-B4; 3. N-B3, P-Q4; 4. P x P, N x P; 5. P-K4 White's sharpest move in the position.
5... N-N5; 6. B-B4, N-O6+; 7. K-K2, N-B5+; 8. K-B1, N-K3 A curious position. White has lost the right to castle, but Black has made six moves with his knight.
9. P-QN4, P x P; 10. N-O5, P-KN3; 11. B-N2, B-N2; 12. B x B, N x B; 13. N x NP, O-O; 14. P-Q4? Larsen commented that it is necessary to prevent the ensuing pin with 14. P-KR3 and only then to play P-Q4.
14... B-N6; 15. K-K2 Alter much thought, Hübner played 15. Q-O2, B x N; 16. P x B.
15... Q-O3; 16. Q-O2, N-K3; 17. B x N, Q x B; 18. K-K3! The only move! 18. Q-K3 would lose quickly after 18... Q-B5+; 19. N-O3, N-B3, 20. P-O5, N-O5+.
18... P-B4; 19. O-O! Polugaevsky finds the best move forcing the exchange of queens (O-N3 would come next).

19... P x P; 20. Q x P, Q x Q+; 21. K x Q, N-Q2! It is so tempting to first wreck White's pawns with 22. B x N+, but giving up the bishop would seriously dissipate Black's winning chances.
22. KR-QB1

DIAGRAM

22... R-B4! The prelude to a terrible attack on the white king.
23. R-B7, N-B3+; 24. K-Q3, P-QR4; 25. N-B2, N-Q4; 26. R x NP, N-B5+; 27. K-K4, N x P; 28. N-K5, R-B5+; 29. K-O5, B-B4 Finishing the game. The double threat is B x N and B-K5+.
30. R-B7, R-Q1+; 31. K-B6, B x N; 32. N-B6, R-K1; 33. N x P+, K-B1; 34. N-B6, R-B4+; 35. N-K5, N-B5; 36. R x P, K-N1; 37. R-Q7, N-O6+; 38. K-N4, N x N; 39. P x N, R(1) x KP; 40. R-QB1, R-B3+; 41. K-R7, R x P and having parsed the time control, White resigned.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

In Problem 3 of the Christmas Competition the bidding at game all began

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
	1♥	double	1♠

?

South held

♠ 953 ♥ A109852 ♦ A106 ♣ 4

Competitors were asked how many points out of 5 they would award for (a) Double, (b) INT, (c) 2♥ (d) 2NT

The defence to One Spade doubled, after the lead of the singleton club, should go very sweetly. True, the opponents may rescue themselves into Two Clubs. If this happens, you can bid Two Hearts without fear of being misunderstood.

An immediate Two Hearts should perhaps be taken as natural, since you could force with Two Spades, but there is no reason why you should not first try a double of One Spade.

No doubt INT would be playable but 2NT with both spades and hearts not lying well for your side would be an exaggeration.

My idea of the marking is Double - 5 INT - 3, Two Hearts - 2 2NT - 1

Problem 4 was a test of competitive judgment. With East-West vulnerable the bidding went

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1♥	—	1♠	No
2♥	double	2♥	4♠

?

South held

♠ 6 ♥ KJ9743 ♦ 1032 ♣ K108

How many points for (a) Pass, (b) Double, (c) 5♣ (d) 5♥?

Amazingly to my mind, 27 members of an American panel voted for Five Hearts, two for Five Clubs, and only two for a pass. Opposing this judgment, the moderator, Jeff Rubens, wrote: "Don't accept sure minus scores unless there are powerful indications, or unless you have been able to consult partner." He made the point that, for all you know, partner may hold one, or even two, trump tricks. Why let yourself be stamped into Five Hearts when you may have a good defence to Four Spades? My marking is Pass - 5, Five Hearts - 2, Double and Five Clubs - 1.

Problem 5 was a gift for anyone who knew the rare safety play or succeeded in working it out. Declarer has this combination

A 7

K108632

He needs five tricks from the suit. Nothing can be done if West holds O J x x or O 9 x x or J 9 x x. But if West holds Q J 9 x and East a singleton 9, you can save the vital trick by leading the 10 from hand. Nothing is lost if West holds the singleton 9, because if this card appears you will go up with dummy's Ace and duck the next round unless East plays an honour card.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



Solidarity with the people of Palestine is the message expressed on two stamps issued recently in the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. Their designs feature views of the Al-Aksa mosque in Jerusalem, with the Dome of the Rock on the skyline. Turkish Cypriots organised their own postal service after the inter-communal clashes of 1963. Local carriage labels inscribed 'Social Aid' were issued in 1970 but the first internationally recognised postage stamps did not appear until 1973. Since then the Turkish Cypriot administration has issued about 100 different stamps, most of them showing views in Cyprus or some of the island's products. The stamps are marketed for collectors by The Director, Department of Posts, Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, Lefkosa, Mersin 10, Turkey. Other stamps supporting the Palestinian cause have been issued in Kuwait and the Gambia, and by the United Nations for use at the U.N. offices in New York, Geneva and Vienna.

C. W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Where does rum gets its brownish colour from?
2. What would you be doing if you were studying psephology?
3. What is Kolyma famous for?
4. What is the name of the Pansian literary movement founded in 1946, based on a poetic and pictorial concern with letters and signs?
5. What is mythopoeia?
6. What is the volcanic glass formed by rapid cooling of lava, usually with the composition of granite?
7. What is interferon produced from?

1. Rum gets its colour from the wooden casks in which it is stored and from caramel or burnt sugar.
2. You would be studying elections, voting patterns and electoral behaviour.
3. It was the most notorious of Stalin's forced labour camps around the valley of the River Kolyma. Its main product was gold.
4. Letrism.
5. Deliberate and conscious myth-making by writers usually.
6. Obsidian.
7. Interferon is produced from living tissues following infection with viruses, bacteria which interferes with the growth of any organisms.

ANSWERS

PEANUTS
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FOR YOUR EDIFICATION I AM READING FROM THE BOOK OF PROVERBS, SIXTH CHAPTER, NINTH VERSE...

4-26

"HOW LONG, YOU LOAFER, WILL YOU LIE THERE? HOW LONG UNTIL YOU RISE FROM YOUR SLEEP?"

?

CHAPTER TWELVE. VERSE TEN.. "A GOOD MAN CARES IF HIS BEAST IS HUNGRY"

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SLOTS FOR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

THE high powered committee that Mr Kedar Pande appointed on taking over as railway minister to suggest ways of reforming the railway administration and improving its functioning will probably be as ineffective as the much more well known Administrative Reforms Commission headed by Mr Motarji Desai early in the last decade. This is because the railway minister's relatives and personal friends are in the committee in greater numbers than experts who can come up with bright ideas. The six-member committee is constituted thus: one is a class friend of the minister from Bihar now in a central service, another is a close relative, a third is the father-in-law of the minister's younger daughter, two are senior officials present in their ex officio capacity and only one is an expert. But Mr Pande is



Kedar Pande

solely in need of expert advice as the improvement in the railway's performance after his takeover has proved to be a flash in the pan. In the last two months the up-turn in goods traffic has been reversed.

DELAY PLAGUES VAYUDOOT

VAYUDOOT, the much publicised "third-level air service," is a typical example of the adhocism prevailing in the union government. The airline, which was started as a "Republic Day gesture" to the people of the north-eastern states in January is yet to choose an aircraft for itself. At present Fokker Friendships, taken on a "wet lease" from the Indian Airlines, are operating the Vayudoot services. The selection of an aircraft has been left to a committee headed by defence secretary K. P. A. Menon. The idea is to choose an aircraft which could be used as a trainer and surveillance craft by the air force and also by Vayudoot. The manufacture of this aircraft will be entrusted to the Kanpur unit of Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd, which has been lying idle since the production of Avros was discontinued a few years back. The delay in deciding on the new aircraft by the Menon panel is escalating Vayudoot's operational costs. The Fokker Friendship has a capacity of 40 to 44 passengers, but due to the short runways from which Vayudoot services operate, it is unable to take off with more than 20 passengers. Till the new plane comes in, this uneconomical operation of Fokkers would continue.

NOT FOR LOVE OR MONEY

THE following modern-day parable was heard in the central hall of Parliament. A Hanuman *bhakta* (believer) offered regular *puja* to his lord and *laddus* on Saturdays for the fulfilment of one wish: he wanted a girl to marry. But many many weeks later and after the good lord had received about Rs 500 worth of *laddus* the patience of the *bhakta* ran out. When he and his lord were alone he roundly abused Hanumanji, saying that he was even worse than a minister who would do something if he took Rs 500. After he had vent his spleen and was walking out rather contented, Hanumanji called him back, returned the Rs 500 and requested him not to abuse. Rather mollified, our *bhakta* started to walk out, only to be called back again and handed another Rs 500 by Hanumanji with the final words: "I want to know the name of the minister who can get your work done even after being tempted with Rs 500."



CM, NOT PM, NEEDS BETTER LUCK

A Congress(I) chief minister recently tried to exploit Mrs Gandhi's weakness for astrologers and astrological predictions and landed himself in trouble. He walked into the Prime Minister's room armed with forecasts by a leading astrologer in his state who had cast her horoscope. For 30 of the 35 minutes the CM was with his party leader, he discussed her horoscope and extolled the virtues of his *guru*. The reading was that three planets were badly placed for Mrs Gandhi and she had to perform special *puja* to mitigate their evil effects. *Guruji* was willing to come to New Delhi to perform the *puja* and the chief minister could organise it.

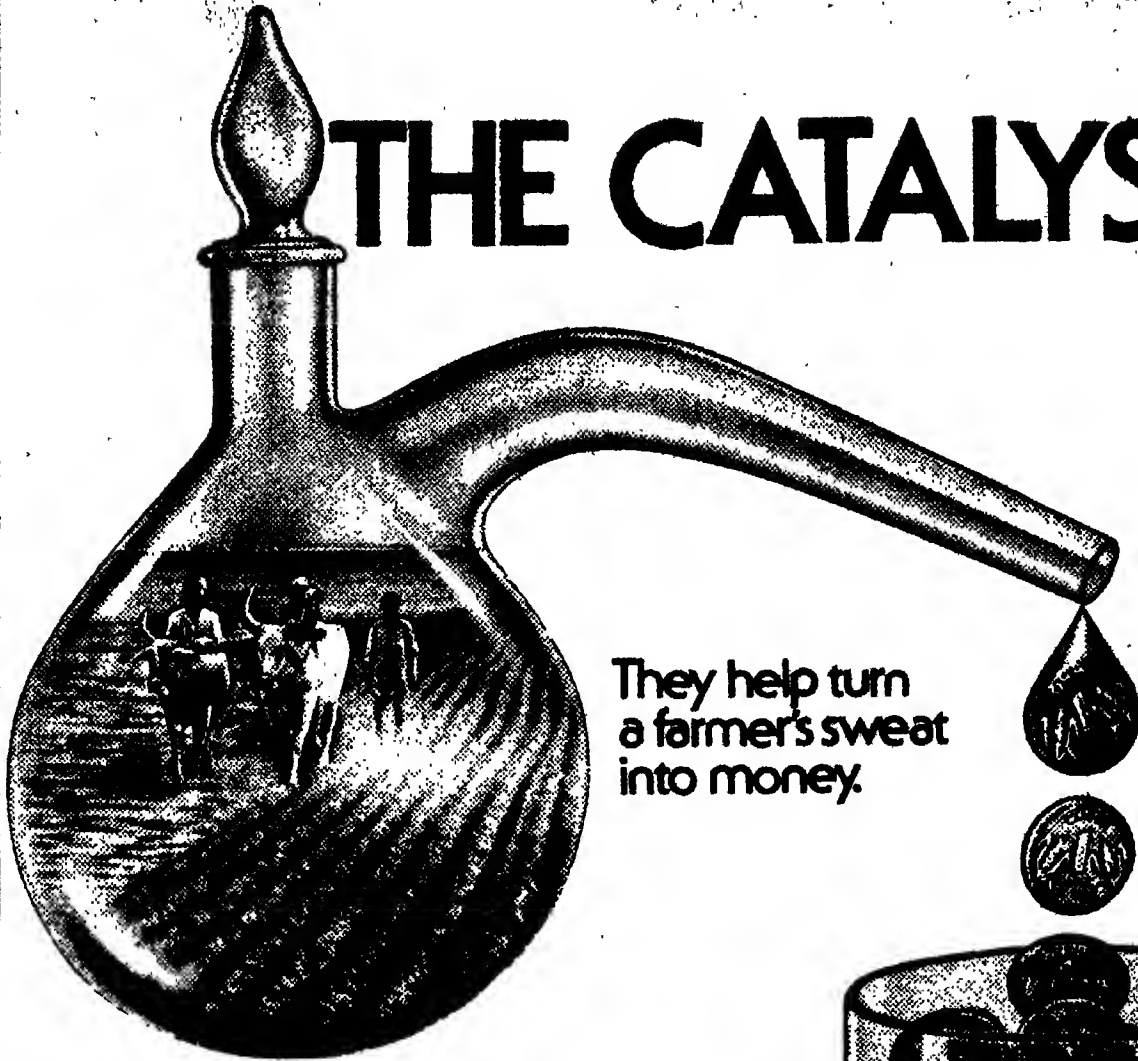
Mrs Gandhi promptly sent the horoscope and the relevant material to three trusted astrologers who man her special astrological cell these days. They studied it and equally promptly came to the conclusion that the entire horoscope was wrongly cast. No such malfeasant planets were clouding her future and there was no need for the special *puja*. Since then the CM has been finding it difficult to gain an audience with the Prime Minister.

A FRIENDLY ARGUMENT

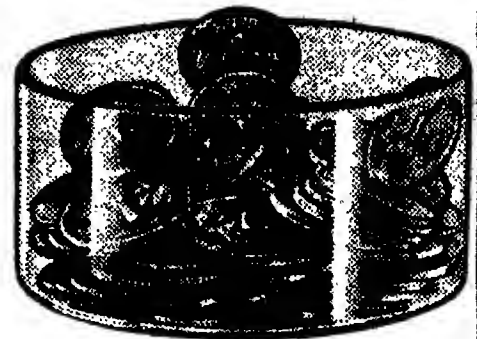
ANDHRA chief minister T. Anjiah is a mild mannered and soft spoken person who sometimes finds his volatile flock too difficult to handle. Recently one of his ministers, Mr G. Venkataswamy, and an MLC confidant came to blows right in front of him. Mr Venkataswamy suddenly walked in one day and started to accuse the senior and trusted MLC, who acts as a kind of conscience keeper for the CM, of working against the latter's interests and conspiring to overthrow him. This so infuriated the MLC that he let loose a string of abuses and soon the two came to blows. Mr Anjiah eventually managed to disengage and pacify them. What was particularly embarrassing for him was for the incident to be witnessed by a group of 'friendly' journalists who were hanging around. All Mr Anjiah could tell them was to forget the whole thing as it was just a "friendly argument."

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

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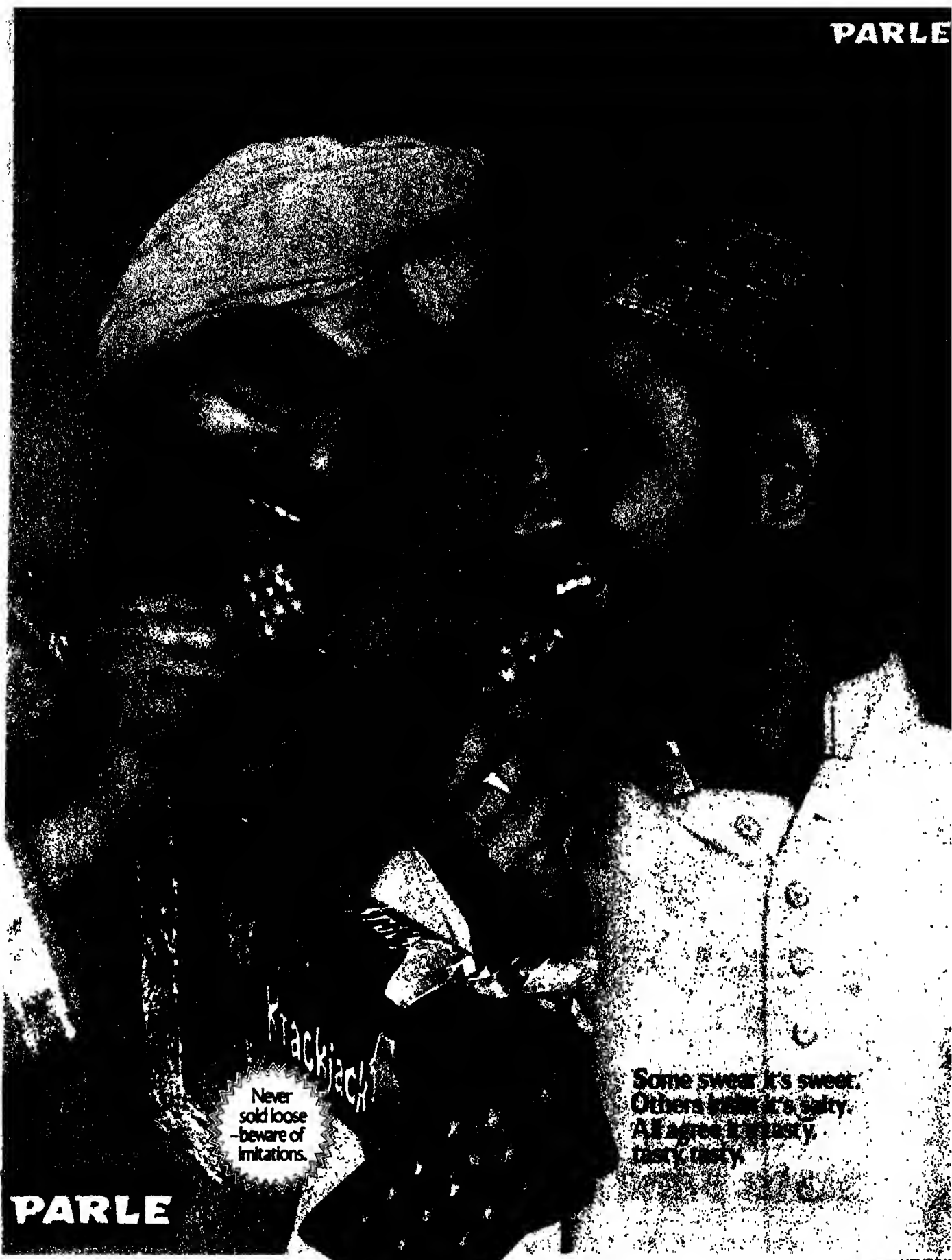
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Moshe Dayan, Israeli war hero and former minister, says it for the first time in his own words: how he made a secret trip to India in 1977 to meet Prime Minister Morarji Desai. SUNDAY broke the story first in India in its 27 April 1980 issue. Exclusive extracts from Dayan's autobiography *Breakthrough*. **Page 10**

How did Delhi receive the news of Rajiv Gandhi's massive victory at Amethi? Son-deep Shankar was out on the streets with his camera and Shubhabrata Bhattacharya with his notebook to record the celebrations **Page 16**

After many false starts the India-China dialogue will be resumed again when Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua comes to Delhi on 26 June. Given the long history of the border dispute what are the chances of peace? **Page 32**

The nude wave has hit the Hindi screen. To keep pace with the changing times, Bombay's latest heroines are unabashedly exposing themselves before the camera. And the Censor Board has also risen to the occasion with a new liberal approach. Anil Saari reports. **Page 26**



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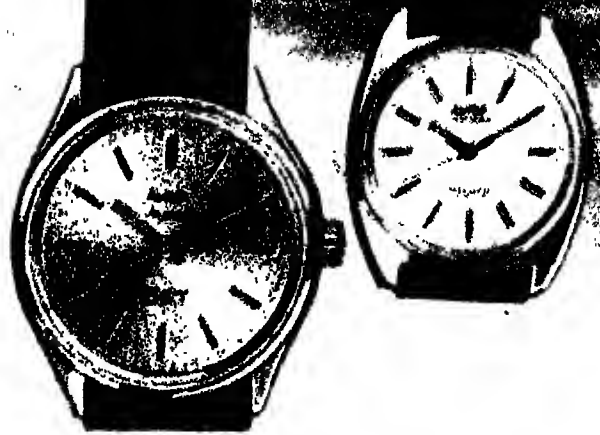
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Delhi does not like research

The best of ideas often flounders on the rock of bureaucracy: the research and policy division of the home ministry has learnt that to its cost. When it was first conceived in 1964, the idea was to analyse the vast reservoir of information the ministry and the Intelligence Bureau had, and provide "organised reference material with a set of policy options in existing and new problems."

The first director of the division, Mr B. S. Raghavan, was appointed in 1967. He was a diligent officer with an imaginative approach to his job, and thought of the possibility of collaborating with experts outside the corridors of the secretariat, drawing on "the talents of the numerous academic and research institutions." But the then home secretary, Mr L. P. Singh, in his ponderous style, scuttled the proposal. In his note, Mr Singh said: "Let us not attempt to instal heavy artillery on perfect emplacements, which might easily be outflanked by events. Let us acquire light, but efficient, machine-guns, which we can use with speed."

A sociologist, Dr M. N. Srinivasan, when consulted, was also against the association of academicians. He wrote to the home ministry: "The academic community has become extremely sensitive, often with all kinds of exaggerated notions. Many of the brighter people have had contacts with reputed universities abroad and adversely judge the treatment accorded to them in this country against that frame reference." But perhaps a via media could have been found, the bureaucracy and the academic community acting as a corrective to each other. The Fulton Committee in Britain had suggested the same course: employment of outsiders "on short-term contracts or temporary secondment to the government service."

The bureaucracy, however, can never welcome outsiders in their bastion. One argument used was that much official information was, or should be, secret and should not be made available to an outsider. For the bureaucrats the prospect of having to face and discuss alternative policy options was unsettling, so secrecy provided a good enough excuse.

Nevertheless, the division took up an ambitious project: "What is India in the 1980's?" This meant making projections in political and constitutional fields, taking into consideration developments in the



**EXCLUSIVE
EXCLUSIVE
EXCLUSIVE**

BY KULDIP NAYAR

neighbouring countries. And the division did pick up such subjects for study as national integration and social communication, agrarian unrest, centre-state relations, and problems of coalition. But despite the fact that the research drew from various official and non-official documents, including Intelligence Bureau reports, the papers prepared lacked focus, and the people preparing them did not

A realistic study of the West Bengal CPM government's attitude was prepared, but it was withdrawn because the conclusions were at variance with the thinking at the top.

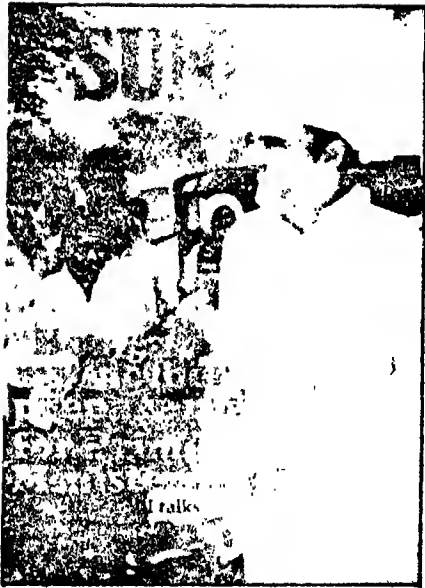
want to come to obvious conclusions lest they should annoy the framers of policy. An example: A realistic study of the West Bengal CPM government's attitudes was prepared, but it was withdrawn because the conclusions were at variance with the thinking at the top.

And since no study was released to the public there was no feedback, no discussion of the conclusions. Their publication could have evoked comment at the formative stage of decisions and even improved the quality of the decisions taken. The studies on atrocities on harijans, the Aligarh Muslim University, urban tensions in India, and "Contemporary Muslims' attitude and their place in Indian society," if released, would have added to the general understanding of the people and helped the government in the long run.

Since all these studies have no effect on actual policies (a departure from the original idea) they are no longer undertaken seriously. Lately, the division has been doing very little. In fact, posting to the division has become a way to punish a recalcitrant officer, or a breather to an efficient one looking for a better position. A few officers in the initial period occupied the job for two years each, now the average term is between three and nine months. In the past, the home secretary provided direction and it must be said to the credit of Mr L. P. Singh that he was quite particular about it. Now, on paper, the home secretary still directs the division but the real work has now been entrusted to a relatively junior officer.

And thus a valuable idea has gone awry. The project "What is India in the 1980's?" is only a set of papers gathering dust. Neither the Prime Minister nor the home minister perhaps even knows that such a study was undertaken in the late Sixties. No wonder that an officer who headed the division wrote in exasperation to the cabinet secretary: "I tried to do some basic work but never got any response for discussion from those in command. As nothing can happen unless the home secretary and home minister are interested in the subject, I doubt if creation of a policy planning division will succeed in the area of external affairs or home."

Those who are familiar with the working of the policy and planning section in the external affairs ministry know only too well that what the officer has said is true.



A better dawn

Another sunrise at Amethi (31 May) and the interview with Rajiv Gandhi were interesting. M. J. Akbar's daring questions were particularly commendable.

P. K. Mukherjee, Calcutta

In all respects Rajiv appears to be very different from the other politicians. It would be interesting to see how he fits into the larger political structure. His success may pave the way for a better class of politicians.

Partha Pratim Banerji, Howrah

From his brief interview with M. J. Akbar, Rajiv emerges a cool, collected and generous man.

Sarat Chandra Dash, Bhubaneswar

After reading the cover story I am convinced that Rajiv believes in performance, not hollow slogans. He has no lust for power and his sincerity is unquestionable.

C. Basituzama, Aurangabad (Bihar)

Rajiv is quoted under *The journey* as having said: "Foremost quality in a politician should be integrity." This remark confirms his "Mr Clean" image.

Amarendra Nath Bal, Calcutta

Barun Sengupta's contention that Rajiv

is Searching for a Mr Clean image is not really true; the common man accepts him as 'clean' and temperamentally different from his late brother. Rajiv is aware of his limitations and his style of functioning promises to be clean and free from corruption. His honesty will be a force to reckon with.

Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan

May I remind Mr Akbar that it is not a 'sunrise' at Amethi but a real sunrise. Can't he see the dawn of a new era?

Anil Kumar Jha, Bhagalpur

We can only hope that Rajiv turns out to be as forthright and unrelenting in his approach in Parliament as his father was.

Anand R. Deshpande, Solapur

The "Mr Clean" image should not last too long; if it does, Rajiv will be a misfit in politics.

S. K. Srivastava, Lucknow

Rajiv seems to be a tight-lipped, behind-the-scenes operator; his "clean image" will fade once he becomes an MP.

Ankush, Bangalore

A lot of political expertise seems to have gone into the project to launch Rajiv Gandhi.

Binod Jha, Seraiakella (Bihar)

The public can never forget that Rajiv, no matter what he may pretend to be, is only a pilot.

Bijay Kumar Shaw, Asansol

No insignificant politician like Rajiv Gandhi should figure on the cover of a reputed magazine like SUNDAY.

Sweta Sendar Samantara, Bhubaneswar

Before making a statement like "supposing a magistrate bungles, you can do nothing with the man," Rajiv Gandhi should have checked the rules and procedures prescribed by vigilance manuals for punishing erring government servants. The problem is that these are seldom applied.

M. Thakur, New Delhi

As if rising prices were not enough, we now have another rising son.

Vinu Nayal, Calcutta

The super pilot is coming. Beware.

Ashok Kumar Rath, Puri

While praying that his brother's soul rests in peace, I hope Rajiv Gandhi will let us live in peace.

A. R. Gni, Secunderabad

Diary for joy and discontent

In his *Delhi Diary* (31 May) D. E. Nizamuddin has claimed that I met P. V. Narayana Murthy at his residence along with 20 Yuva Janata leaders to chalk out plans for a split in the Janata party. This story is entirely false. No such meeting took place. The last time I went to Mr Mody's residence was on the Parsi New Year Day, 21 March, and that too because my wife is a Parsi. There were only Parsis attending that gathering and one cannot launch

a political party with Parsis alone since their total population in the country is 100,000. Besides I cannot work for a split in the Janata party because I consider myself one of its founder members.

Subramaniam Swamy, MP, New Delhi

D. E. Nizamuddin's *Delhi Diary* is the very soul of SUNDAY. So buck up Mr Nizamuddin and give us more *masala*.

Tariq Habib, Daltongunj (Bihar)

Flames from a spark

Reports like Tooshar Pandit's *Bihar-sharif: RSS spreads its poison again* (24 May) have ceased to be sensational; Hindu-Muslim riots have become such a routine affair that one cannot help reacting to them with indifference.

Banibrata Mukherjee, Silchar

It is a pity that UP and Bihar are infested with *goondas* who lose no opportunity to fan communal flames.

S. K. Wajid, Howrah

A mere rumour is enough to start a communal riot; this is the state of our 'secular' country.

Subhash Bhadra, Maunth (Bihar)

SUNDAY has once again delivered the goods by reporting on the Bihar-sharif carnage.

Hasibur Rahman Mallick, New Delhi

It is a shame that the land of Jayaprakash Narayan has forgotten his preachings so soon after his death.

Dilip Kumar Singh, Sambalpur

Our political leaders are more concerned about cow slaughter than manslaughter.

Md Qaiser Jawaid, Calcutta

The nation must hang its head in shame.

K. K. Emanuel, Allepy

No political leader misses an opportunity to emphasise the institution of democracy in our country; does democracy mean the freedom to shed blood?

M. Reyazuddin, Burnpur (West Bengal)

After the Bihar-sharif riots Dr Jagannath Mishra's government has no right to continue in office.

S. M. Fakhrullah, Gomoh (Bihar)

It has become fashionable to debate who actually started the riot. Hunting for names and incidents is absurd. The fuel is there in the traditional animosity between Hindus and Muslims; all it needs is a spark.

Nikhat Yasmin, Patna

The Nalanda district magistrate should resign immediately.

Md Ehtesham Aslam Usmani, Bihar-sharif

I am convinced that the Bihar-sharif riots were the result of internal squabbles in the Bihar government and the Congress(I).

Debashish Chaitopadhyay, Calcutta

The photograph of policemen guarding *shiva* at Gagandewan proves that *insaan se bhagwan ko bhii dar hai* (even god is afraid of human beings).

Jaypal, Sibsagar

The figures given under *The rally* have been taken from government sources; Tooshar Pandit has not investigated the casualties on his own.

Syed Md Zafeer Alam, Bihar-sharif

No nudes please

SUNDAY is a family magazine; please avoid publishing such indecent photographs as the ones with *Goodbye Goa. Come in, Kovalam* (31 May).
M. Atiq Siddiqi, Delhi

I am a fond reader of SUNDAY. It pains me to see that the magazine has deteriorated beyond recognition. I hope you will salvage your prestige by not publishing nude photographs in future.
Kshudiram Das, Purulia (West Bengal)

SUNDAY has lost all sense of decency. It is no longer possible for family members to sit together and enjoy going through the magazine.
Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan

I wonder whether the purpose was to focus on a new tourist resort or to cater to a few sex-starved readers of SUNDAY.
Jose Thomas, Trivandrum

It is unfortunate that one of the most beautiful tourist spots in south India has gone the way of Goa. Either the authorities are bent upon promoting immoral activities on the beaches or they are simply indifferent to what is happening.
Ashok Kumar Pandey, Hooghly (West Bengal)

Taxmen's tale

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya has given our personnel an unpleasant shock with his *Srinagar's income tax raids: High and low drama* (17 May). The article contained many erroneous and inaccurate statements. To begin with, it was wrong to say that local doctors refused to attend to the injured officials, when requested, they provided full assistance in both the hotels where the IT teams were lodged. Further, the report on the proceedings at the meeting between chairman (CBDT) O.V. Kuruvilla and the departmental personnel was incorrect. It is not true that the search party members denounced the planning of the raids and refused to participate in further operations; evidence of this can be had from the fact that several days after 22 April (the day they were attacked) raids continued. Nor did Mr T.P. Jhunjhunwala's presence in Srinagar raise "many eyebrows among the income tax officers;" Mr Jhunjhunwala is a seasoned officer in the field of revenue intelligence and search operations and his presence was actually a source of strength to the search party. Finally, the report that the raids on 27 April yielded "nothing much" was also incorrect; on that day all the incriminating documents and jewellery which had been snatched away from the search party by the mob on 22 April, were dug out from an orchard roughly 25 km away from Srinagar. In another raid, unaccounted cash and duplicate account books were seized.

It is regrettable that Mr Bhattacharya's report underplayed the courage and determination of our officials and staff.
J.P.Sharma, chairman, Indian Revenue Service (Income Tax) Association (Delhi unit), New Delhi

Kudos to the IT officials for discharging their duty in the face of open hostility.
Sudip Kumar Dutta, Silchar

AMU: More versions

After reading *Will AMU's VC be the Ascapegoat?* (24 May) I get the feeling that it is time for the authorities and the students to settle their differences amicably because AMU has suffered enough. Personal considerations should not come in the way of a peaceful solution.
Irfan Ahmed, AMU, Aligarh

As an ex-student of AMU I have been following the developments at the university with interest. The new vice chancellor Syed Hamid seems to have a missionary zeal: he has not succumbed to pressure tactics and has made an attempt to root out corruption. This, more than anything else, has infuriated the students who see in the VC's style of functioning an attempt to undermine their authority.
Syed Vaseem Hasan, Moradabad

It is a lie to say that the police burst tear gas shells before opening fire at AMU on 12 May; after the mild *lathi* charge, for reasons best known to them, the police resorted to bullets.
Iqbal Hasan, reader in English, AMU, Aligarh

Mohammed Aftab's life would have been saved if the police did not drag his body

across several feet of the road on which they shot him.
Mahboob Ahmad, 8 Morrison Road, AMU, Aligarh

Please note the following inaccuracies in Shehnaz Syed's report:

1. There are no residential quarters near the VC's lodge, only the Maulana Azad library on one side, the staff club on the other and the pro-VC's lodge in front; therefore it is not possible for students to hurl brickbats from "rooftops near the vice chancellor's lodge."

2. Tear gas shells were not burst before the police opened fire.

3. When Mohammad Aftab was shot the students retreated carrying him with them. But the police followed, eventually got hold of the wounded Aftab and dragged him along 10 yards of Shibli Road.

4. No student leaving the campus was threatened or beaten up at the instigation of student leaders.

5. The FIR lodged with the police categorically states that it was indeed a closed-circuit TV, not an ordinary one, which was stolen from the university.
Dr Abdul Wase, 4/645 Sir Syed Nagar, Aligarh

Reservation Limaye style

Congratulations to Madhu Limaye for *Gujarat Graveyard of Mahatma's hopes* (31 May); he should be given a permanent seat in Parliament so that he can implement his proposals on the reservation system.
Leena Sarma, Gauhati

Mr Limaye's proposals make sense, he appears to be really concerned about the backward classes. How I wish we had more political leaders like him.
N. Kaikho Mao, Gauhati

No argument could be as convincing as the one by Madhu Limaye in support of the reservation system. He has rightly

said that without the abolition of the hereditary caste system our secular democracy cannot work; nor can national unity be preserved. Those who are against reservation would do well to read Mr Limaye's brilliant analysis.
Bimal Pada Ghosh, Calcutta

While congratulating Mr Limaye for his article, I cannot help observing that "competition and merit test only within each category and not between different categories" will create more caste problems. Besides, such further divisions and distinctions are not in keeping with Gandhiji's ideals.

Bashisth Pandey, Bandel (West Bengal)

Street singer

The sound of profits (24 May) and Ashis Ray's interview with Nazia Hassan were fantastic. SUNDAY has done a great job for music lovers in this country.
S.M.Fakhrullah, Gomoh (Bihar)

Biddu and Nazia have bridged the gap between India and Pakistan; Mrs Gandhi and General Zia should take the cue.
Chowdhry Nisar Ahmed, Ambur (Tamil Nadu)

What interest can normal, educated people have in the life and family background of a singer? It was very unfair of SUNDAY to impose such an article on its readers.

Syed Ashraf Quadri, Patna

Nazia Hassan is no better than a street singer; the entire credit for *Disco Deewane* goes to Biddu. Why did HMV have to sign a Pakistani singer when there is no dearth of talent in our country?

Pankaj Mishra, Jhansi

RBI's extremists?

Tarini Mohan Das' letter (*Opinion*, 31 May) in response to *The Murderous bombs of Assam* (26 April) has rightly accused the management of RBI in Gauhati of promoting insurgency. For reasons best known to them, some of the grade A officers have also joined hands with the extremists.

T. Maheswar Rao, Gauhati

Mr Das' letter should serve as an eyeopener; the Assam agitation has even infiltrated into central government establishments.
Rabindra Goyari, Gauhati

I endorse Mr Das' proposal to conduct a proper enquiry into the goings-on at RBI's Gauhati branch.

Tarun Kalita, Gauhati

Last letter

Sensible advice to those who are planning to build a nuclear reactor: don't begin now.
P.S.Sivaswamy, Madras

The legendary General Moshe Dayan, swash-buckling Israeli war hero, turned from soldier to politician, but even in his new career he concentrated largely on the vital question of his country's ability to defend itself and its relations with its Arab neighbours. He was Israel's defence minister in two stretches, between 1967 and 1974, under Labour governments. When Menachem Begin became Prime Minister in 1977 after defeating the Labour party, he specially requested Dayan, elected from the defeated side, to join his cabinet as foreign minister. Dayan accepted. And it was he who undertook a series of clandestine visits to heads of those states known to be anti-Israel (including

MY SECRET TRIP TO INDIA



heads of Arab states, like King Hussein of Jordan). Mr Morarji Desai was among those leaders he visited secretly, and it was this visit which created such a storm when details were first published in Sunday (27 April 1980). But, so far, Dayan himself has kept silent. We publish here the detailed version of his secret trip to India in this exclusive extract from Breakthrough, his autobiography dealing with the period 1977-79 and published by Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd (price Rs 150). Dayan explains that his 1977 visit to India was at Prime Minister Desai's invitation. He later made similar trips to Teheran and London to meet the Shah of Iran and King Hussein of Jordan.

Mid-August to mid-September, 1977, was marked by a series of secret meetings which took me to India, Iran, England and Morocco. The first was somewhat odd, and not very important. The fourth augured the eventual peace treaty with Egypt.

I flew to New Delhi on 14 August 1977 for talks with India's newly elected Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. Israel has no diplomatic relations with India (though we maintain a consulate in Bombay), and it was not through diplomatic channels that the meeting was arranged. It came about through a chance encounter between two businessmen in an unlikely spot remote from the corridors of international politics.

An Israeli friend of mine, Azriel Eynav, is rather plump, and he had gone to England two months before and signed in at a 'health farm' in an effort to lose weight. (He lost more than 40 pounds in five weeks, telling

me later that all he had been allowed to eat was one grapefruit a day. He vowed never again to set foot in that accursed place!)

During his penance, he met there an Indian businessman with a more positive approach to shedding weight. He had been there 13 weeks (and dropped from 300 to 200 pounds). This Indian, he said, had many visitors, most of them fellow Indians who held important positions in their country. One, indeed, was finance minister in the government of Indira Gandhi. The Indian was quite frank about the reason for their visits: they wanted him to contribute handsomely to the election campaign funds of their political parties. He said he was close to the leaders of both parties in India, and if Indira lost the current elections, which he predicted, an associate of his would be given a key portfolio in the new government.

During the weeks they were at the 'farm' Eynav and his Indian companion considered the possibility of doing

business together. When the 'health' course was over, Eynav went to India and found that his acquaintance had made an accurate forecast. There was a change of government, Indira Gandhi was out, Morarji Desai was the new Prime Minister, and the Indian took my friend to see him. At that talk, the Prime Minister said he would like to help Israel and the Arabs make peace. Eynav suggested that I come to India to meet him, and Morarji Desai agreed.

When Eynav returned to Israel and told me of the invitation, I said I would need it in writing. Soon after, I received a signal from New Delhi saying that the Prime Minister would be pleased to receive me at his home on 14 August.

I had two purposes in meeting the Indian Premier. One was to explain Israel's views on possible peace arrangements to be discussed at the projected Geneva conference. The other was to seek an improvement in India-Israel diplomatic relations. Pre-

mier Begin approved my journey, and reported it to the cabinet at its session the previous day. It was, of course, to remain secret—at India's urgent request.

I boarded an Alitalia plane—since there was no El Al service to India—and after a six-hour flight landed in Bombay. There I was awaited by the Prime Minister's personal plane (a Tupolev 114 jet) for the onward journey to New Delhi. The aircraft was full of Indian secret servicemen. Indeed, the security arrangements were tighter than any I had known. They told me this was both to protect me—and to ensure the secrecy of my visit! So careful were they that when we took off, we flew low, and left the main air corridor, to give the impression that we would be landing at a local airfield. Only a little later did we gain height and proceed to our destination. The land looked beautiful from the air, an expanse of green criss-crossed by networks of canals and ditches. But when we landed, the sight near the airport was dismal—a jungle of hovels crowded with exhausted, emaciated and bedraggled humanity.

It was four in the afternoon when we reached the secluded private guest-house, commodious and well furnished, with only a single fault: the mattresses in the bedrooms were stiff boards. True, they were innocent of nails, but they were harder than the earth in the fields of Israel.

The meeting with the Prime Minister was set for 7:30 that evening at government house, a quarter of an hour's drive away. Morarji Desai was waiting for me in the visitors' room, a bare chamber of demonstrative modesty, the walls unadorned, the floor uncarpeted, and only a small table, a sofa and a few ordinary chairs for furniture. There was also a simplicity about the dress of my host and of the foreign minister, who joined us a few minutes later. Both wore the traditional plain white gown.



The security arrangements were tighter during my visit to India than any I had known. They told me this was both to protect me -- and to ensure the secrecy of my visit!

The Prime Minister asked me to sit next to him on the sofa and, after we were served tea, I gave him greetings from Premier Begin and also a copy of a book of mine that had been published shortly before I took office. Morarji Desai looked at the cover, and before opening it asked me the price. I replied ten dollars. "Oh," he exclaimed, "expensive."

We settled down to our talk. During the plane flight, I had prepared in my mind how to broach the subjects I was anxious to discuss. I would review the problems of attaining peace with our Arab neighbours, and I would then urge the strengthening of ties between our two countries, with the establishment of diplomatic relations, and the opening of an Indian embassy in Israel and an Israeli embassy in India.

But I never got to utter my preliminary remarks. As soon as I thanked him for receiving me, Morarji Desai began his talk. "Why do you think I was anxious to meet you?" he asked,

and immediately followed with the answer. It was because he was interested in peace in our region. Sadat had been to see him and had explained the situation, so that there was no need, he said, for me to go over it again. The facts were known to him. But he wanted to give me his views. "You must make peace with the Arabs. The Israelis have suffered from the Nazis and from persecution in Europe, but the Palestinians should not be made to pay for that." The refugees had to be settled, and we had to withdraw from the occupied territories, which would then be proclaimed a Palestinian state.

The Prime Minister continued: "I told Sadat that one could not turn the clock back, that Israel was now an established fact, and that you, the Arabs, must guarantee her existence; but Israel must make possible the rise of a Palestinian state. Yasser Arafat, head of the PLO, wanted to return to Israel, but this should not be done, for it would mean the liquidation of the state of Israel. Incidentally, how many are you? Two million Jews? Therefore, the solution is to establish a Palestinian state in the Arab territories which you will evacuate."

It was clear that on Israel's withdrawal and the emergence of a Palestinian state, he had reached final conclusions.

The Prime Minister was equally firm about the question of India-Israel relations. India, he said, was unable to take any step, however insignificant, to improve them. The Indian people would rise up against any such step. Only after Israel managed to reach a peace agreement with the Arabs would India establish full diplomatic relations with us. India had been mistaken, he said, in not having done this at the very outset, when Nehru had come to power with India's independence. But this mistaken policy could not now be changed. He could not even allow a second consulate—in



Moshe Dayan



Morarji Desai

addition to the one we had in Bombay—to be opened in New Delhi. India had 70 million Moslems, and even the non-Moslems were not sympathetic to Israel. If the news of my visit to him were to be published, he said, he would be out of office. He had taken the risk of inviting me only because he was anxious to advance the prospect of Arab-Israel peace.

It was now my turn. I explained why we could not agree to a Palestinian state and why the solution to the Arab refugees was to settle them in the lands where they dwelt at present—in the same way as we had absorbed and settled the 850,000 Jews who had come to Israel from the Arab states in which they had lived. I then reacted pretty sharply to what he had said about India-Israel relations. If he was so anxious to help in the achievement of Arab-Israel peace, he should ensure equality of relations with both parties. Otherwise, there was no point in discussing the matter with him, for his words would have no influence upon us. Now, when his help was needed on behalf of peace, he could do nothing, since he had no diplomatic relations with Israel; and once peace was attained, and India were to establish such relations, its help would no longer be necessary.

The Prime Minister smiled when I said this, but his mind remained unchanged. I suggested that his foreign minister pay a visit to our region, both the Arab states and Israel. No, he said, his foreign minister could not visit Israel, even anonymously. The only thing he agreed to was further talks with him, as well as meetings between his foreign minister and me when we would both be in Europe or the United States in September and October of that year. It was agreed that I would be in touch with them at the appropriate time.

Although we found no accord on a single subject, the atmosphere was cordial.

We turned to world affairs, and he had some interesting things to say about the Soviet Union and his meetings with Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin and Gromyko, stressing that he was not a communist but a democrat. He sought to strengthen ties with the United States. When I mentioned Burma, he said he wished to do the same with that country, and in fact his foreign minister was leaving next day for Rangoon.

As he saw me to the car at the end of the meeting, he expressed the hope that we would meet again soon. His English, incidentally, was excellent, but the Indian accent was strange to my ears, and at times it was difficult to catch what he was saying.

Despite his age—he was 82—he was alert and sharp. He knew what he wanted and showed a certain impatience when listening to counter-arguments, for he knew that anyway he would not accept them. His aides told me without any embarrassment that for many years now he had isolated himself from women and had



India had been mistaken, Desai said, in not having established full diplomatic relations with Israel at the very outset when Nehru had come to power. But this mistaken policy could not now be changed... Not that I or Israel was demeaned or humiliated, but the fact could not be ignored that I had asked India to establish diplomatic relations with us and she had refused.

thus kept his vigour. The only relative close to him and who was always with him was his 48-year-old son, who said that when they walked together he found it hard to keep up with his father.

I did not know what the people of India thought of him, but I was impressed by his personality, though not by his intellectual integrity. When he spoke of Israeli matters, he took a moralising tone, insisting that "peace is more important than anything else," and demanding that the Palestinian refugees should be given a homeland.



I had barely settled myself down for a nap, confident in the effectiveness of my 'cover,' when one of the passengers, without any show of surprise, came up to me with a "Good evening, Mr Dayan," and asked for my autograph.

He airily dismissed any practical counter-argument. But when it came to diplomatic relations with Israel, he did not hesitate to resort to practical arguments and take the easy way out. To his credit, however, it must be said that he made no attempt to delude me, nor did he indulge in ambiguities. Simple, modest and unpretentious in his ways, he wore an air of sanctity, but with it all he was tough and practical, with his feet firmly planted on the ground. Incidentally, I noticed that when he resorted to arguments which he knew to be insincere, he signalled the fact by a mischievous smile.

When we returned to our quarters, we were served with what one could call an Anglo-Indian dinner—drinks in the English manner and spicy Indian food. I felt my innards burning, but the fire was quenched by the Cassata ice-cream.

August in India is the hottest month of a hot year, and though my room was air conditioned it was scarcely noticeable. The main cooling came from giant fans, like aircraft propellers and almost as noisy, that spun, though more slowly, from an attachment to the ceiling. The way to keep cool was to sleep without sheets or pyjamas, and expose the body to the breeze from the fans. Sleep was difficult, and I tried to get the BBC wave-length on the radio, but without success. The only audible station was something called 'The Voice of the Covenant' (I think from Amsterdam) that explained in excellent Hebrew that the Jews should understand correctly the Biblical Book of Daniel, accept the New Testament and convert to Christianity. With the help of this Dutch programme—and a pill—I slept.

Early in the morning, and in the finest British tradition to which India clings to this day, I was awakened with a cup of strong tea. Over breakfast I listened to the local radio news and heard of increased fighting in Lebanon (with the Christians in their enclave supported by Israeli artillery). There was also a statement by President Carter that the United States would help, influence, advise and put forward her own programme to resolve the conflict in the Middle East. The same bulletin carried a review of the world press, and quoted the report from a Jordanian paper of an eight-point proposal by Cyrus Vance, the key point being what Morarji Desai had kept thrusting at me the previous evening: Israel's withdrawal, and the establishment of a Palestinian state. Even if this report were incorrect, I had no doubt that we would face very grave differences with the United States. However, I considered that our situation was sound. The territories were in our hands and our relations with the Arab inhabitants were such that we could continue to live with them even without a peace agreement. Our bargaining position was strong as long as we kept our nerve.

That day happened to be the thirtieth anniversary of India's independ-

ence, and it was celebrated with an address by the Prime Minister followed by an official reception to which, of course, I could not be invited. The speech was delivered before a crowd of 80,000 at seven o'clock in the morning. My hosts observed wryly that the point of the British saying that they ruled 'an empire on which the sun never sets' was that 'in the dark you can't trust the British.' Britain, they said, now held second-class rank in India; but I wondered how they felt about her prime place being taken by the United States and the Soviet Union.

I had to wait until dusk before returning to Israel, so I spent the afternoon on a brief drive round the city and its environs. But I did not enjoy it as much as I might have done had I been allowed to get out of the car, walk the streets and mingle with the people.

At dusk I flew to Bombay, again in the Prime Minister's plane, and from there by commercial flight to Israel. Before leaving, my hosts wished to give me a parting gift—ancient silver tableware—but I refused to accept it, and hope they were not insulted.

The only useful thing about meeting India's Premier was the fact of our having met. As far as I knew, the only other time an Israeli minister had talked to an Indian Prime Minister was 21 years earlier, in 1956, when Moshe Sharett and Mordechai Bentov had met Jawaharlal Nehru at an international socialist conference. Moreover, if indeed Morarji Desai meant what he said, this meeting would be followed by others, if not with him at least with his foreign minister during the UN general assembly meeting in New York.

It was an interesting visit, but it seemed to me that if I had spent my life as a professional diplomat I would have felt frustrated. Not that I or Israel was demeaned or humiliated, but the fact could not be ignored that I had asked India to establish diplomatic relations with us and she had refused. However, the unpleasantness was soon stifled by switching my mind to the abundant, positive, Israeli experiences that have given us rich and creative lives of achievement and victory, building a land and a society with our own hands and relying on our own strength—without being patronised by India.

On the return journey, as on the outward flight, I wore dark glasses and a large straw hat of the kind often seen on an American golf course, satisfied in my mind that I would not be recognised. Of course there was no logical reason for such a hat on a night flight from Bombay, but who would notice? I had barely settled myself down for a nap, confident in the effectiveness of my 'cover' when one of the passengers without any show of surprise came up to me with a "Good evening, Mr Dayan" and asked for my autograph. I regret to record that I sent him packing, and he left rather embarrassed. How could I explain that my anger was



The Shah of Iran

directed not at him but at myself for having failed in my 'Operation Disguise,' which I had thought was perfect.

I was off again two days later, this time to Teheran for meetings with the Shah to clarify certain economic and political matters. We had met before, when I was minister for agriculture and Israel was providing technical aid for the development of several branches of farming in Iran. (This was not publicised, as the Iranians did not wish our relationship to be official—or even known. We had an ambassador, but he was called 'the diplomatic representative,' and our embassy bore no plaque on the gate. Nor was it listed in the diplomatic handbook of the Iranian foreign office.)

I left Israel after dark in a military aircraft on 18 August and reached Teheran shortly before midnight. The minister for protocol received us at the



airport and took us to our quarters, where waiters dressed in white soon appeared in the central lounge to serve us fragrant tea and replenish the bowls of fruit and the country's celebrated pistachio nuts on the side tables. Despite the hour, I met with our ambassador and some of his staff to review the subjects I would be discussing with the Shah.

As I drove to the palace in the morning for our meeting, at ten I recalled our earlier meetings and remembered how interested he was in raising the standards and output of his farmers, and how knowledgeable about the new crops we were helping him to introduce. There was one occasion when his agriculture minister, who had joined us, produced figures of the quantity of water required to raise cotton. They happened to be wrong. Before I could open my mouth, the Shah corrected him, giving the proper amount.

At the palace I was shown into a study and was soon joined by the Shah, who greeted me like an old friend. He seemed to have changed little. He was lean and upright as ever, his face unwrinkled. Only the streaks

of grey in his hair betrayed the passage of time.

NEXT WEEK SECRET CONTACTS WITH THE ARABS

of grey in his hair betrayed the passage of time.

There were just the two of us at this meeting, and he spoke with complete frankness. The first topic was a proposal we had put up for a joint Iranian-Israeli industrial project, and I wanted to know where it stood. The Shah said that the US ambassador had told him he knew of it and had received Washington's approval in general terms. However, the ambassador had also said that Israel had not yet supplied the Americans with the required specifications, and so America could not yet determine its final position on the matter. I told the Shah that I had myself reported the proposal to secretary Cyrus Vance. The Shah's response was that co-operation between Israel and Iran was a political not a technical matter. He had discussed it with his ministers and it was clear that he could not enter into any joint undertakings with us without the blessing and support of the United States. Thus, until it was certain that the Americans had no objection, he could not conclude any joint arrangement with us. He had instructed his officials to clarify the issue with the American

ambassador, but he wished me to know that if the Americans were opposed to such Iranian-Israeli co-operation, his reply to me would have to be negative.

"Your Majesty," I said, "you will certainly realise that if, as a result of such co-operation, your country acquires the technical knowledge of industrial production, you will have taken a very constructive step—laid the foundations for a modern industry—and you will have done it yourselves." His eyes lit up: this was what he wanted desperately. But then they clouded over. "You must understand," he said sadly, "that we are in the same position as Israel, dependent upon the United States; and I must be sure of their support before taking a step which might involve us in serious political risks."

There was little point in continuing with this subject. I had said all there was to say, and the decision now rested with him. We moved on to more general matters.

The Shah told me he had problems with Turkey over the Kurds. He himself was willing to help the Kurds secure autonomy, and even more, but the Turks objected. They had a large Kurdish population, and feared an upsurge of nationalist sentiments.

He then had some advice for me. On no account should we agree to a Palestinian state, he said, even if Yasser Arafat was the 'good man' some Arab leaders maintained. One could not know who would succeed him. The whole PLO was a bad institution, not to be trusted.

He was equally scathing about the Saudis. Everything in Saudi Arabia was riddled with bribery and corruption. The Americans, he added bitterly, depended on them, not knowing that they were a broken-reed. Indeed, US policy in the Middle East in general was shortsighted. "If I thought the Americans might seek Saudi agreement before supplying me with planes, I'd fling the aircraft back in their faces. If they don't want to sell me arms, they can go to the devil. I can always renew my ties with the Soviet Union."

He was in a fury, and his words sprang from resentment and humiliation rather than sober political evaluation. When he had cooled down, he repeated what he had said earlier. "I know I have no option, and in spite of all I must go with the United States."

He was also bitter about Europe. The press there was full of libellous articles about Iran, he said, and it was particularly vicious over the electric power difficulties the country was experiencing. This was true. Even Teheran was inadequately served, and entire quarters were left for hours without lighting. "But who is responsible?" he asked. "We paid vast sums to European companies to build us power stations. They signed contracts, received the cash, but failed to deliver the goods." This was also true of the great American corporations. "There are contracts, but no electricity. They take money, fail to do the job, and

then their newspapers make fun of us. They attack the regime in Iran for being backward, and say the Shah is incapable of doing anything for his country."

The Shah this time was different in one major respect from the man I remembered at our meetings several years earlier. He now seemed remote from the day-to-day problems of his own country, yet very much concerned with developments in other countries. I listened intently to all he said, and this apparently encouraged him to give me a world political tour, speaking at length on what was happening in Africa, in the Far East—Vietnam, China, India—and, of course, in the oil states of the Persian Gulf. I cannot say I was impressed. He was a man of undoubted intelligence. He read widely, travelled extensively, and had met the leaders of east and west. Yet, as against his expert knowledge of the Middle East, his political analysis of the situation in other regions of the world was shallow, and accompanied by criticism and complaint.

This was directed particularly against the United States. The Americans failed to foresee or grasp the implications of Russia's moves and her growing influence, and had taken no counter-measures. The Shah did not explain what he thought America should do. Not, to my mind, did he understand the character and popular mood of the American people, and the weight of their influence on their government, especially after the debacle in Vietnam. The Shah also had little praise for the heads of the European governments and of the Arab states. Listening to him one might have imagined that all they needed to do to impose their will was wave a wand.

I left Teheran with the feeling that his many years on the throne had left the Shah with only a tenuous grasp of reality.

Three days after the talk in Teheran, I flew to England for a meeting with King Hussein of Jordan. After an exchange of messages through indirect channels, the King agreed to meet me in London, which he was about to visit, and we set the date for Monday, 22 August, so that I could attend our weekly cabinet session on the Sunday. It was just as well that the appointment was arranged for 9.30 in the evening, for my plane developed engine trouble after leaving Israel on a direct flight, and was diverted to Paris. There we had a delay of several hours because of a strike by the air control staff at London's Heathrow airport. I managed to get to the rendezvous just in time.

The holding of the meeting was to be secret—not for my benefit but for that of the King. (I am at liberty to disclose it now only because it has since been published.) As I was advised that the secret was to be kept even from the British—which also meant officers of the special branch assigned as my bodyguards—I unfortu-

nately had to mislead them. I drove from my hotel to a house, where I stayed a few moments, and left by a back door to another car that awaited me. I then continued to a private home where Hussein and I were to meet. I had been there some years before, on a similar purpose, and already knew the owner.

King Hussein was late, and he apologised as he greeted me with a handshake and a broad smile. He had had guests, he explained, and could not get away until they had left. I found him greatly changed, not in appearance but in spirit. It was not the same man I had last seen. He was now withdrawn, subdued, without sparkle, and the political topics I raised did not seem to touch him deeply. His language was clipped, his answers to my questions often monosyllabic, rarely more than Yes and No, without clear explanatory enlargement. His depression may have been due to the tragic death of his wife, who had been killed shortly before in a helicopter crash. Or it may have sprung from one of the decisions of the Rabat conference of Arab states, of which he was bitterly critical. This was the decision to recognise the PLO as the sole authorised representative of the Palestinians and withdraw that role from Hussein. Now, he said, he was concerning himself exclusively with administering the east bank of the river—his kingdom of Jordan. He was neither able nor anxious to clash with the Arab countries and the PLO on this matter. If they did not want him, they could run the affairs of the Palestinians without him.

Was Hussein, I wondered, still the King of Jordan or only the shadow of a ruler? Was he really looking after his country or was he spending most of his time gallivanting abroad? At all events, his attitude towards the subject of our discussion—the attempt to find a suitable and agreed arrangement for the problem of the west bank and the Gaza strip—seemed to be one of indifference.

We parted after about an hour and a half, and I did not expect to see him again for some time. To my surprise, our host of the evening telephoned me the next morning to say that the King would like to continue our talk, and we met again at four that afternoon. There was nothing particularly new in what he had to say this time, but he probably felt that he might not have been sufficiently explicit in our first talk, and in order to avoid any misunderstanding on my part he had decided to make his position clear.

He did. He had no intention of taking any initiative on matters relating to the Palestinians. He felt a deep obligation to help them. Most of the inhabitants of Jordan were Palestinians, with strong family, economic and sentimental ties with the west bank: thus, if they were to turn to him, he would respond. But he was no longer their representative, and he would not try to force himself upon them.

Yet for me, this second talk turned



King Hussein of Jordan

out to be very important; for apart from repeating his approach to the Palestinians, he also clarified for me his stand on the possible division of the west bank between Jordan and Israel. Did he think such a plan might serve as the basis for an Israel-Jordan peace treaty? I asked and received not only an unequivocal answer but also an instructive lesson. He rejected it out of hand. A peace arrangement based on the division of the west bank would mean that he, Hussein, would agree that part of it was to be joined to the state of Israel. I had to understand, he said, that he, as an Arab monarch, could not propose to the people of even a single Arab village that they cut themselves off from their brother Arabs and become Israelis. His agreement to such a plan would be regarded as treachery. He would be charged with 'selling' Arab land to the Jews so that he could enlarge his own kingdom.

Moreover, he continued, we had to know that not a single Arab in the west bank or Gaza would willingly seek to become an Israeli. Anyone who sought to introduce such a plan could do so only by force of arms. Was it not clear to us that those Arabs in that part of the west bank which would be attached to Israel were not the only ones who would rise up against us? All the Arab states would do so too. The sole solution in order to attain peace, he said, was for Israel to return to the pre-June 1967 borders.



"If I thought the Americans might seek Saudi agreement before supplying me with planes," the Shah said, "I'd fling this ancient back to their faces. If they don't want to sell me arms, they can go to the devil. I can always renew my ties with the Soviet Union."

He could not give up any part of the west bank that Jordan had controlled (since his grandfather, King Abdullah, had annexed it). He could not even concede mount Scopus, the original site of the Hebrew university campus and the Hadassah hospital, which had always been within Israel's control. He added, however, that it was possible to find suitable practical arrangements whereby the Israelis could have access to these institutions and run them without interference. But on the question of sovereignty, we had to restore to Jordan all the territory we had captured in the 1967 six-day war.

I raised the question of the PLO and of the establishment of an independent Palestine state. I said I assumed that such a state would be inimical to his interests, since the PLO would undermine his throne. Hussein did not refute my assumption but he showed no inclination to discuss it. He simply said, with frankness, that his representative at the United Nations would not say anything different from what was said by the other Arab ambassadors. Jordan's official position on the Palestinians was the same as that of all the Arab states. In the past, Jordan had been the official spokesman of the Palestinians, and the west bank was under her authority. This function and status had been cancelled at the Rabat conference.

What then, I asked, would he like to see happen in the west bank? "Let the Palestinians do what they want," he replied. He could live without them. He had no ambitions, and would take no measures, direct or indirect, to get involved. His watchword, in reply to all my other questions on this topic, was that the Palestinians could do what they wished without him.

An Israel-Jordan peace treaty was the central subject of our talk, but we also had an exchange on another matter. I asked him about the future of the half-a-million Palestinian refugees in his country, living in camps outside Amman, his capital. He replied that he was prepared to absorb them as permanent settlers in Jordan, but that required vast means for housing projects as well as the creation of sources of employment. Jordan itself lacked the resources and his own financial aid was making it difficult.

I finally asked Hussein about the refugees in Lebanon. Did the Palestinians there desire Jordanian citizenship or did they want to be granted it? Both he and the Palestinians did not have the papers, and he would not want by them.

I returned to Amman on the evening of salvation in a swiftness that I now knew better what we could expect from Jordan—or rather what we could not expect. I was to have a more fruitful experience two weeks later, after a secret meeting with another Arab ruler, which heightened the prospect of a peace arrangement with a neighbouring country more important than Jordan—a prospect that was eventually fulfilled.

SUNDAY SPECIAL

The Winner Comes Home

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya reports how Delhi received the news of Rajiv Gandhi's victory. Sondeep Shankar took the pictures.

At Palam, Sonia gets a kiss from Rajiv; Priyanka in the foreground



When the Indian Airlines Boeing 737 flight, IC 410 from Calcutta, Ranchi, Patna and Lucknow taxied to a halt at Delhi's

Palam airport on the dot at 10.50 am on 16 June, very, very few people knew that one of the passengers on board was the most wanted VIP in town: Mr Rajiv Gandhi, victor of Amethi. The return of the triumphant son of Mrs Gandhi had been kept a very close secret, for the simple reason that Mr Rajiv Gandhi did not want the *tamasha* of a big crowd, sprinkled with sycophantic VIPs, at the airport to greet him. Only his wife Sonia and children and a handful of personal friends (one of whom was filmstar Amitabh Bachchan), had been informed about the arrival. No politicians were present at the airport to receive Mr Gandhi.

One was reminded of the contrast on the chilly evening in January 1980 when the late Sanjay Gandhi had returned to Delhi after winning the same Amethi Lok Sabha seat. What a *tamasha* that was! The Palam airport that day had been taken over by the Youth Congress(I) boys and Mr Sanjay Gandhi's (Matador) van, which he drove himself, was escorted into town by a posse of motorcycles belonging to the Youth Congress(I) stalwarts. Mrs Maneka Gandhi was not present at the airport as she was pregnant, and welcomed her husband only at their then residence, 12 Willingdon Crescent.

On 16 June Mrs Sonia Gandhi went with Rahul and Priyanka to receive



The hero of Amethi walks down the tarmac with the hero of the silver screen, Amitabh Bachchan

Reporters get sweets as photographers get a good shot



CREATIVE EYE



A big smile greets a big garland



K. K. Birla comes out of 1, Akbar Road after greeting Rajiv

her husband on the tarmac. There was no one to form a procession. There was a little slogan-shouting, by a group of overenthusiastic Youth Congress(I) boys, who had taken a chance and reached the airport in case the morning flight from Lucknow brought back Mr Rajiv Gandhi. Their guess had turned out to be true, but their *cham-chagiri* was not appreciated by Mr Rajiv Gandhi. "Yeh kya circus bana rakkha hai? Apna kaam kariye jaake, (Have you turned this into a circus? Go and do your work)," was Mr Gandhi's irritated retort to the young enthusiasts when he found them at Palam. An imported limousine had been lined up to take him home. Rajiv Gandhi refused that vehicle, and got on to a greyish-coloured Ambassador with his family. Amitabh Bachchan too got into the car. The one "lucky" minister happened to be Mr Kedari Pande who, completely accidentally was on the same flight.

From the airport Mr Gandhi drove straight to the South Block office of the Prime Minister. Mrs Indira Gandhi had gone to office that day as usual. If she had not, it might have been seen as a hint of Rajiv Gandhi's arrival.

At 1, Safdarjung Road, all those making enquiries were politely told that Mr Gandhi would not be meeting anyone. Even the high and mighty of the land, who telephoned the PM's house to congratulate Mr Rajiv Gandhi, after the news of his return spread, were politely told by Mrs Gandhi's personal assistant, Mr V. George, that the new MP from Amethi would talk to and meet people only after four pm. The agriculture minister, Rao Birendra Singh, was the first to telephone and receive this reply. Others who rang up Mr Gandhi's office within the first five minutes of the news of his return spreading, included the minister of state for agriculture Mr Baleswar Ram, a Rajasthan minister, Mr Hiralal Deopura, the Orissa chief minister Mr Janaki Ballabh Patnaik, Mr Vidya Charan Shukla, and the union deputy minister Mr Usman Arif (in that order).

Some enterprising ministers, like Mr Sitaram Kesari and Mr Charanjit Chahana, however, did not stop their effort at trying to ring up. They simply landed up at the PM's house instead. And so they were able to meet Mr Gandhi that very morning itself.

This correspondent enquired from an aide of Mr Rajiv Gandhi if any elaborate *bandobast*, like barriers etc, were being set up for the crowds which normally throng the PM's house on such occasions. He smiled and asked, "Do you think it will be necessary?" The meaning of this reply became clear later, when no organised crowds were visible at the PM's house either that evening or the next morning. The Congress(I) leaders, who are pastmasters at collecting huge crowds, had got the "no circus" message.

The gates of the house adjoining 1, Safdarjung Road, the house at 1, Akbar Road were thrown open between four and six in the evening that day for those who wanted to call on Mr

Gandhi. The callers included top industrialists, politicians, grassroots party workers, and of course, journalists, who wanted to interview Mr Gandhi. Each caller, be it Mr K. K. Birla or Mr K. N. Modi, or an ordinary party worker, was given an equal amount of time. A smile, a handshake (or *namaste*, as the case may be), the bouquet (or the garland) accepted—and the meeting was over. Around five, Mr Gandhi came out on the lawn to meet the press photographers and three reporters who had been waiting for almost an hour. He was very cooperative with the photographers, acceded to all their requests and posed for a number of shots. In between, there was an impromptu press conference with the three reporters, in which he stressed that he was not going to aspire for any post either in the party or the government, and said that his main aim would be to solve the problems of his voters at Amethi.

Would he not take any interest in the affairs of the Youth Congress, one reporter asked.

"No, Ghulam Nabi is there for that," said Rajiv.

Would he become a general secretary of the party?

"I am a junior member of the party. How can I become a general secretary?" Rajiv replied.

It was pointed out that the late Mr Sanjay Gandhi was not a very senior member of the party when he became a general secretary of the AICC(I). "He was not very junior," Rajiv Gandhi answered. "He was, in fact, one of the founders of the party. He formed a very substantial part of the organisation's backbone. Can you name the people who remained with the organisation in its bad days? He certainly was not a junior member."

"Do you mean to say that Mr Sanjay Gandhi was the founder of the party which was formed in January 1978?" Mr Gandhi was asked.

"Yes," he replied.

After the question and answer session, a box of *laddoos* was brought and Mr Gandhi personally offered sweets to all the pressmen.

The next morning, on 17 June, many more turned up at the PM's house to greet Rajiv. But they could only meet Mrs Gandhi. No *hungama* was allowed. A pictorial book on Rajiv, compiled by Ali Siddiqui (of the "Son of India" exhibition fame) was released, but only Mrs Gandhi was present at the function.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi started his day's business on 17 June as usual at ten that morning. He had a meeting with the Indian Youth Congress(I) president, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad and the Delhi YC(I) president, Mr Jagdish Tytler, to discuss the arrangements for the memorial rally on 23 June, the first death anniversary of the late Sanjay Gandhi. The new MP in the PM's household had started doing his work. ■



Rajiv booked—by Ali Siddiqui (background; front left to right) Mrs Gandhi, Kedar Pande, A. R. Antulay and M. S. Solanki



Place: 1, Akbar road; date: 17 June; the time is celebration time

SPACE PROGRAMME

Why did Rohini fail?

ISRO took us for a ride?

New Delhi: No one thought it would be over that soon. The Rohini Satellite-two (RS-II) went up in smoke after only nine days in space. Its premature burn-up turned the post-launch euphoria into dismay and disbelief. What really went wrong will be known only after the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) completes its analysis of the flight. But a quick look at data has revealed that the indigenously developed satellite launch vehicle (SLV-3) which hurled RS-II into orbit was not flightworthy.

It was Sunday, 31 May. A bright morning sun lit up the tiny, spindle-shaped coastal island of Sriharikota washed by the waters of the Bay of Bengal. SLV-3 was on the launch pad glistening like a silvery pencil with a sharpened nosecone housing the RS-II. Some 1,200 cables neatly bundled into nine "umbilical" lines ran for some 150 metres connecting the rocket to the blockhouse—a tough-walled underground bunker accommodating about a dozen scientists at their controls. Twelve kilometres away at the control room, four huge computers were digesting the health data telemetered by the rocket and its payload, RS-II. In a corner of the control room was the range safety officer, his eyes on a chart where the computer would display the path of the rocket in flight updating its position every tenth of a second. Within his arm's reach was the "unholy" red button that he would press to destroy the rocket if it veered towards the land instead of the sea. A few kilometres away from the control room, two powerful radars were in readiness. They would swing into action immediately at lift-off.

The lift-off was scheduled for 0700 hours but then postponed to 0720 hours. Reason: Rohini Satellite-one (RS-I) launched last year and which was on its 8,403rd orbit, happened to be over the launch pad at one minute past seven. RS-I had the right of way and RS-II had to wait. After a 19-minute wait the countdown was resumed and proceeded smoothly until T minus 46 seconds when the mission director suddenly shouted "hold." The batteries of RS-II were putting out more power and the telemetry valves were getting saturated. The problem was sorted out in ten minutes, the hold was "released" and the computerised checkout started once again. Then there was another "hold."

Two of the nine "umbilical" lines

failed to detach from the rocket. "Can you send a man up there with a ladder?" a voice came in on the intercom. That was the only way to save the mission. The man who volunteered for the job was Mr Parpaya, an ISRO employee. He climbed up the ladder and gently pulled the reluctant cables out from the rocket—an extremely delicate job as at that time the SLV-3 was fully armed and its 17-tonne frame was balancing on three pins. The operation took one hour. It was 9 am—two hours after the scheduled lift-off time and a period of agonising suspense for ISRO as well as the two busloads of newsmen brought from Madras to cover the launch watching it



Satish Dhawan, Abdul Kalam being chaired by ISRO employees for his efforts in successfully putting Rohini into space.

stage motor, 11 minutes after the launch, there was wild applause in the control room. Scientists hugged each other and newsmen ran to the telephones. The fourth-stage was to give the final push to the satellite and its successful ignition meant that RS-II had to go into orbit.

"Everything went off satisfactorily and we are happy," said Col. N. Pant, director of Sriharikota Range (SHAR), in a post-launch press conference. Asked about the "holds" and interruptions during the countdown, Mr Ved Prakash Sandlas, mission director, said: "These are common and nothing to get nervous about." Dr Vasant Gowariker, director of Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), Trivandrum, where the SLV-3 was developed, said: "The ability to test and launch SLV-3 in ten months has shown the basic soundness of the vehicle."

But there was something about the press conference that gave the impression that all was not well with SLV-3 and that ISRO was trying to cover up. Those who briefed the newsmen were vague about the height reached by the rocket and the orbit parameter of RS-II. "The first and second stages of SLV-3 worked perfectly," said Mr Sandlas. The third stage did not function properly but its



on a closed-circuit television. The suspense was finally broken at one minute past nine when the mission director said: "Resume countdown." And at 0903 hours and 46 seconds SLV-3's first stage roared into life.

It was a magnificent sight. After floating over the ground for a full half-second, SLV-3 gently lifted off. In three seconds it cleared the launcher and raced into the sky on top of a 30-metre long column of orange-yellow flame. The deafening roar that echoed through the island brought the snakes out of their pits and sent the jackals and wild boars, the island's only wildlife, scurrying for safety. The rocket climbed vertically for about 100 metres over the casuarina trees. Then it tilted towards the sea and climbed faster, becoming first a tiny rod in the sky, then a dot, and finally vanishing into space on its mission to hurl the RS-II. When the control room announced the ignition of the fourth-

performance "was within acceptable limits," he said. Asked about the fourth stage's performance, Mr Sandlas said that information was yet to be obtained. Either the data was not telemetered to ground or ISRO did not want to reveal it to newsmen. Nor did the officials comment on the third stage burnout at 260 km instead of at the expected height of 295 km. ISRO also evaded questions about the parameters of RS-II's orbit.

The press conference ended abruptly and was followed 25 minutes later by a press release which said that Rohini's orbit would be known only after it was tracked for three or four days. This was unusual—during the SLV-3 launch on 18 July 1980, the orbit parameters of RS-I were given the same day—within two hours after the launch. It was the same case with the Aryabhata and Bhaskara satellites launched from the USSR. Something else was also odd about the press

conference. Mr Abdul Kalam, the top rocket designer and father of SLV-3 remained in the background. He came to Sriharikota only on the day of the launch and sat among the crowd without a smile on his face. An indication that the launch did not go off very well came when ISRO abruptly wound up its information cell at Sriharikota. The secrecy was broken only five days later with the announcement that RS-II would live only for 30 days or less. RS-II actually burned up three days after this announcement.

The setback, however, does not belittle the tremendous progress ISRO has made in space technology. The recent launch was the first in the series of the SLV-3's developmental flights. The rocket's performance was good except for what ISRO described as "disturbances in the third stage separation and fourth stage ignition."

These will be corrected before the second developmental flight. Those who are quick to criticise ISRO for the premature fall of RS-II may note that Europe's advanced rocket, Ariane, failed in its second developmental flight although its first flight was a total success. ISRO's first developmental flight of SLV-3, however, raises one question: was ISRO frank to the press about SLV-3's performance on the day of its launch? Did it withhold information about the performance of the fourth stage and the orbit parameters of RS-II to avoid the press describing the launch as a failure? By announcing that everything was functioning satisfactorily, ISRO perhaps took a chance that RS-II would be aloft for at least a few months. If this is true ISRO is likely to be accused of taking India and its people for a ride.
A Special Correspondent

according to Mr Oberoi, had been arbitrarily raised. In deference to the administration's wishes, Mr Oberoi complied. A cheque for Rs 10 lakhs was presented on 14 May, and encashed on the same day.

Yet, a fortnight later, the administration raided the hotel and threw out the staff. The hotel's cash was removed and the personal property of members of the staff sealed. Mr Oberoi alleged that the hotel general manager's wife was manhandled and the family forcibly thrown out. He also said that the general manager was forced to sign papers without even verifying its contents.

"The Chandigarh hotel, to date, is my only venture with the government. And my experience has been a bitter one. I am now initiating legal steps against the Chandigarh administration for their irresponsible, rash and illegal conduct as well as for recovery of our possessions. The law requires 30 days' notice for eviction. In our case, even this mandatory requirement was thrown to the winds by those who are custodians of the law, and whose duty it is to enforce it," lamented Mr M. S. Oberoi, a former member of Parliament and a recipient of the "Rai Bahadur" title during the British raj. "If this can happen to me, what can be the fate of the common citizen?" asked the former Rai Bahadur
S. Eknath

CHANDIGARH

Government throws out the Oberois

Chandigarh: Dawn had not yet broken when, at 4.30 am on 28 May, a posse of 400 policemen, officials, and staff of the Chandigarh administration, headed by the deputy commissioner, the estate officer, and an executive magistrate descended upon the 34-room, three-star Mountview Oberoi Hotel. The guests, many of them foreigners, were woken up, and politely asked to pack up and leave. The 37 families of the staff, living on the premises were treated less politely; they were forcibly evicted. Reasons? Failure to vacate the building after expiry of the lease, and non-payment of rent arrears and damages amounting to Rs 20 lakhs. By mid-morning, a board with the sign, "Chandigarh administration—out" was placed in front of the hotel. A police force was deployed at the entrance.

When this reporter met the visibly agitated, 81-year-old Mr Mohinder Singh Oberoi, chairman of the Oberoi Hotels, all he could say initially was, "How can they do this to us?" What he did not know was that worse was to follow. In the war of words that ensued between the Chandigarh administration and the Oberois, Chandigarh's finance secretary, Mr Sewa Singh, alleged that a cheque for Rs 10 lakhs sent by the prestigious hotel chain had bounced. And this sent the bulky octogenarian hotelier into a temper. "How can I show my face?" He asked. "The statement is absolutely false. It has tarnished the image of my company. I have no option but to get legal redress."

According to Mr Oberoi, the Oberois have occupied the building in which the hotel is housed for the last 28 years and the eviction smacked of a "conspiracy." It was in 1953, at the

instance of the Punjab government that the Oberois had agreed to convert the building, then a hostel, into a hotel. The renovation had cost the hoteliers a considerable sum of money, and an undertaking had been given by the administration that the lease would be a long one. Six years later, on 21 May 1959, a formal lease deed was executed and the building was handed over to the Oberois. It was agreed that the lease would be renewed periodically. This was an assurance, according to Mr Oberoi, that was honoured more in its breach, than in practise.

Because, soon after, a notice of eviction was passed against the company, and the matter went to court. The Oberois went in appeal to the Supreme Court which struck down the government's order. Meanwhile, the Chandigarh administration offered to sell the property. The terms and conditions were acceptable to the Oberois. The amity, however, was short-lived and the matter went up once again to court.

The decision, said Mr Oberoi, would have gone in favour of his hotel chain (which has as many as eleven hotels in India and an equal number abroad). However, out-of-court negotiations were started in February for a long-term management contract, on condition that the Oberois' withdraw the case. When this was done, said Mr Oberoi, a promise was given by the chief commissioner, in the presence of the home secretary, the finance secretary, the legal remembrancer and two directors of the hotel chain, that the Oberois would not be evicted from the premises till new arrangements had been worked out. The chief commissioner of Chandigarh also insisted on the payment of arrears of rent, which,

DOWRY DEATHS

A bride is killed!

Calcutta: Marwari dowry deaths in this city, which have been occurring frequently, may soon fall sharply in news value. True, when Kusum Jalan (22) fell to her death from her in laws' third-floor flat on 6 June 1981, the tragedy was prominently reported in the newspapers. Her death was the third incident in nine months in Calcutta.

The scenario follows a set pattern: lavish wedding of teenage Marwari girl. Harassment over dowry (in Kusum Jalan's case it was a TV set). Mental and physical cruelty perpetrated on her. Several suicide attempts (Kusum Jalan had tried burning herself and had swallowed a diamond on a second occasion. But the matter was hushed up). Successful final attempt. Allegations of murder. Demonstration by West Bengal Marwari Federation. A protest procession. And finally a public meeting with speeches denouncing the practice of dowry.

At the end of all this, there is not the smallest reason to believe that future dowry deaths are going to be prevented.

Both in the Neelam Jain case (September 1980) and in the Shashikala Jaiswal case (March 1981), the ac-

Politics of robbery

Trivandrum: Early on the morning of 23 May when the *mantra* chanting *pujaris* of the Mahadevar temple in Etumanoor, a few kins south of Cochin, opened the doors of the temple they found a pure gold replica of the Siva idol weighing 4.29 kgs and its silver pedestal were missing. The theft gave a crude jolt to those in power in the state. For if the Siva idol was not restored, like those of many other temples in the state from where idols were lifted with mysterious regularity since they assumed power, it would have far-reaching political implications.

The opposition, meanwhile, had started reminding the people about the Vimogana Samaram (Liberation Struggle) of 1959, which resulted in the dismissal of the EMS Namboodiripad ministry. They also pointed their accusing fingers at the resurgence of Naxalite activity and lastly the fool-less temples. It was the Congress and opposition leader, Mr. V. Sankaran who made the first move, which has now resulted in an interesting political game. When he first accused the Left Democratic Front ministry for failing to safeguard places of worship from thieves, little did he foresee that this politicisation would boomerang on him. For the chief minister revealed, after some thieves were caught, that they were Congress(I) supporters.

Soon after the Left Front ministry came to power there were robberies which Mr Karunakaran hoped to use for political leverage. The substance of his attack was: 'Believers are no longer safe under Marxist rule and the sanctity of places of worship were being consciously corroded.' In a frantic and desperate effort the government formed a Temple Squad, which groped in the dark for some months and was in the process of being dismantled when thieves struck again. The theft occurred at the Etumanoor temple, the second biggest revenue earner for the Devasam Board after Sabarimalai. The anger, fear and indignation seemed uncontrollable. Hindus feared that god's wrath would soon fall on them. The inevitable *jathas* and *satyagrahas* inside the temple compound followed.

Mr Karunakaran's announcement of a movement to topple the government could not be more appropriately timed. Even before any of the ministers visited the temple (incidentally both the home minister T.K. Ramakrishnan and Devasam minister M. K. Krishnan are Marxists) Mr Karunakaran was there. Two days later he led the Raj Bhavan march, the culmination of the statewide 'topple the government'



Kusum Jalan was married on 27 April 1978. She had a one-and-a-half-year-old baby and was seven months' pregnant when she died. Her first suicide attempt was two years ago and the second eight months ago. The police were not informed on either occasion. This was, apparently, to protect the izzat (prestige) of the family.

cused were released on bail. Police investigation does not seem to have led anywhere. Is the Kusum Jalan case likely to be any different? Interestingly, in all three cases, counsel for the accused was one of Calcutta's leading lawyers, Shankar Das Banerjee, former advocate-general in the Siddhanta Shankar Ray regime.

In the Shashikala Jaiswal case, when the pyre was about to be lit, the police arrived at the *ghat* to take away the body. A second post mortem examination was done and a 'suicide' certificate was issued. At whose instigation was this done? A lawyer from the Jaiswal community mentions that soon after the death, when an angry crowd was demanding the arrest of the husband at the local police station, he had seen bundles of rupee notes at the police station.

Whether it is suicide or murder, there is no indictment of those who have made life intolerable for these girls. Virtually, therefore, there is no deterrent to these incidents recurring. There is no evidence of a social boycott of those whose daughters-in-law die tragic deaths. The leading and influential members of the Marwari community are never heard denouncing the deaths on dowry. On the other hand, active members of the Marwari

Federation point out that it is they who face hostility and risk ostracism for organising public protests.

There are some more cynical dimensions to these dowry deaths. High society Marwari ladies confine themselves to 'passing resolutions' at their genteel meetings and making proposals for debates and essay competitions to 'create consciousness.' At public protests they are nowhere to be seen. At the other end is the eagerness of 'leaders,' both Marwaris and others, who make it a point to be seen and heard at public meetings whenever there is a dowry death. They seem to be doing nothing concrete for their 'movement,' such as it is, between one death and the next.

Finally, and probably at the root, is the attitude of Marwari parents that "these newly married girls make no effort to adjust themselves in their husband's homes." The onus is always on the wives. The implication is that the 'recalcitrant' bride has only herself to blame if she is unhappy. The parents rationalise by glossing over the dowry and say, "why accuse the in-laws?" Instead, society goes on. "Samaaj tho aisa hi hai. (This is how the society is)"

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The Siva idol

COURTESY: KESAVA KUMAR
jatha, which turned out to be a damp squib, shattering at least for the present his dreams of toppling the ministry.

Four days after the Raj Bhavan march on 2 June, the police caught the thieves, in a clever piece of investigation. The chief minister summoned pressmen and dropped the bombshell—two of the thieves, Stephen and Dilipkumar, were Congress(I) supporters. Soon the stolen material was recovered. And the ruling front and the Siva idol were back in their respective places. The liberation struggle petered out.

The Youth Congress(I) leaders were quick to refute the chief minister's allegation and challenged him to prove his statement. In reply the Marxist party organ *Deshabhimani*, published photostats of the election pamphlet of Dilipkumar who had contested last year for the post of editor of his college magazine with KSU(I) support. The paper also revealed that Dilipkumar had been included in the KSU(I) executive on the orders of the 'leader' (Mr Karunakaran) amidst opposition from other members. **Binoo K. John**

MAKALU SABOTAGE

CBI extorts a confession

Bombay: The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) collected around 500 snips belonging to all the Air India technicians and sent them to Bangalore for investigation, to find out which snip could have cut the cables of the Air India Boeing *Makalu*. Reports came in that one snip had similar characteristics to the impressions on the cut cables. This snip belonged to Suresh Inamdar (38), a senior technician who has been with Air India for 15 years. Mr Inamdar was arrested on 20 May and remanded to police custody for 14 days at the CBI's red-stone office at Kitab Mahal, Bombay.

The CBI investigators were jubilant. What caused more suspicions was that Mr Inamdar had taken leave for two days as soon as investigations had started at the end of April. When questioned Mr Inamdar maintained that he had gone to Pune for personal work. But the CBI would not buy his story, apparently because it didn't suit them.

Earlier the CBI had arrested four other technicians on 1 May and after making wildly imaginary allegations from a "suspected foreign hand" which the Soviet news agency Tass obligingly picked up and broadcast, to someone wanting to do away with the Prime Minister, the CBI counsel on 11 June sheepishly told the additional metropolitan magistrate, A. D. Kale, that the "probe so far revealed no sufficient evidence to prosecute the suspects." Naturally, **Kumar**

Ganeshan, aircraft maintenance engineer, technicians Unnikrishnan Alatta and Bhupendra Patel and a dismissed employee, Sydney Noronha, were discharged after 14 days in police custody because the CBI "found their movements suspicious and pleaded for time to conduct investigations in the complicated case."

Meanwhile the CBI found a new suspect, Suresh Inamdar, whom they arrested on 20 May. According to Inamdar's advocate, Harshad Ponda, on 23 May when he tried to get the *vakalatnama* signed and when his assistant tried to meet Inamdar, the police were totally un-cooperative. They were made to wait for an hour.

Suresh Inamdar



Then they were told that Inamdar had been taken out and would be brought back only at night. This was a lie, because Inamdar later told them he was in the room. Again when on 1 June the lawyers wanted to see Mr Inamdar alone, the CBI would not permit it. "They flouted the Constitution which gives a citizen the right to see his advocate," said Mr Ponda. "In the Nandini Satpathy case, the Supreme Court laid down that it is desirable during interrogation that an advocate is present so that his client can seek his advice." But the CBI bent backwards to prevent Mr Inamdar from meeting his advocates. On 3 June, Mr Inamdar was to be presented before the additional chief metropolitan magistrate Mr Kale and Mr Ponda was waiting for him. Said Mr Ponda: "We then learnt that he had been placed in judicial custody and had been produced on 2 June before the 33rd court of the metropolitan magistrate at Ballard Pier. We knew nothing about this and heard that our client was wanting to 'make a confession.' On 4 June, we gave a written notice to the CBI with a request that we would be making an application for bail. On 5 June, the CBI requested me to make it on 8 June. Then they would make no objections. So I didn't make it on 5 June. They got this 'confession' out of Inamdar and as promised they made no objections when we applied for bail on 8 June. However, on 8 June, Inamdar made a statement about his being ill-treated and he said that his confession was 'involuntary and false' and, therefore, he does not want to stick to it."

What does Mr Inamdar have to say? "On 20 May, at about 11.30 pm, I was taken to the office of the CBI for investigation into the *Makalu* sabotage case. From 20 May to 2 June, 16 officials in four shifts interrogated me, without giving me food, rest, sleep or time to attend nature's call. Before allowing me to contact my advocate, I was warned not to say a single word about the treatment given to me or contact my advocates or relatives. During the torture, they also threatened to ruin my family. Mr Malhotra, DSP from Delhi, went to the extent of saying that he would bring my eight-month pregnant wife and rape her in my presence. It was only after seven days that they got a confession out of me. I felt that unless I succumbed to the wishes of the CBI officers, I will never be able to come out of their clutches. On 5 June, I was compelled to give the confessional statement before the metropolitan magistrate, 33rd court, who was not at all concerned with the matter...It appears that the CBI officers have closed the case by falsely implicating me to save their face." Mr Inamdar has sent copies of this statement to the Prime Minister, the President and others.

From all indications, the CBI seems to have tied itself into knots. It had

made a big issue of the sabotage theory when home minister Zail Singh announced that the "sabotage of the *Makalu* was aimed at the life of the Prime Minister." A rather far-fetched possibility considering that the *Makalu* had come in from Abu Dhabi on 15 April and the cables were found cut between 18 April and 21 April. The Prime Minister was going on her foreign tour only on 5 May. One cable of the rear toilet, one at the K-600 body station and four cables in the cargo cabin were found tampered with.

The CBI naturally needed a scapegoat, says Ponda who was assisted by his advocate wife, Freny, in the case: "The CBI now has to save its face. Technically, I doubt whether the snip could be admissible evidence

under Section 45 of the Evidence Act, in the same way as typewritten material or a typewriter is not admissible evidence. Anyway, we will not know anything unless we see the chargesheet and that has not been made yet."

Meanwhile Mr Inamdar remains a broken, distraught man. He is very frightened and his speech was incoherent for several days. He was beaten up with rubber hoses, he has said, on sensitive nerves. What has shocked not only the Air India staff but innumerable citizens is that if this is the treatment meted out to an educated senior technician what must the poor who have no advocates or press connections, go through daily?

Olga Tellis

HARYANA

'Hitler' versus ex-CM's son

Chandigarh: Sons of important Indian politicians have been, in recent times, too much in the limelight for all the wrong reasons, but there are also some exceptions to the rule. Perhaps, the most notable exception is Pratap Singh, the 43-year-old second son of former Haryana chief minister and Lok Dal leader, Devi Lal. Pratap Singh has chosen to fight against injustices committed in his village of Chautala, Sirsa district, which is located at the tri-junction of the Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana borders. Pratap Singh's latest confrontation is with one of Chautala's biggest land-owners, Om Prakash, commonly known as 'Hitler,' a non-de-plume that has also been painted across the truck owned by Om Prakash.

In a letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, dated 26 May 1981, Pratap Singh has charged that Om Prakash 'Hitler' has "forcibly grabbed the land of three Harijans, Leela Dhar, Mangla Ram and Dhanna Ram, and the village periphery (*Firni*, the ring road round the village which serves as a by-pass for the villagers to reduce distances to their fields and farms) by constructing a high and long wall to obstruct the passage. Perhaps, Chautala is the only unfortunate village in (the) whole of Haryana state where even the periphery—a public property—has been grabbed and closed to traffic." Pratap Singh's open letter to the Prime Minister also says that two of the three affected Harijans have declared publicly that "they would take recourse to self-immolation if their efforts to get justice failed."

In a recent interview with this correspondent, Pratap Singh said the state government and police were no more than "idle spectators" to the persecution and terrorising of Hari-

jans in Chautala merely because Om Prakash 'Hitler' was behind this persecution. The owner of about 300 acres of farmland in Chautala, Om Prakash 'Hitler' has been accused by Pratap Singh of attacking only Harijan peasants.

In a district which sees a considerable amount of smuggling across the Pakistan border and the transportation of foodgrains across the state borders of Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan, Om Prakash 'Hitler' carries extra-special clout because of his high-level political contacts. He is a relation of Mr Balram Jakhar, the Lok Sabha speaker, through his wife. Chief minister Bhajan Lal declared in the Haryana Legislative Assembly in March that he knew Om Prakash to be an honourable man and both Mr Bhajan Lal and former CM Mr Devi Lal have attended lunches at the Chautala residence of the 'Hitler' of Chautala. The last VIP lunch at Om Prakash's house was on 7 February 1981, after Mr Jakhar inaugurated the new hospital in the village. Mr Bhajan Lal was also there.

Anil Saari



Pratap Singh

The hospital that blinds

Jaipur: Post-operation sepsis is not a new phenomena in the Ramkatori Eye Hospital, Bharatpur. Nevertheless, the hospital has acquired a notoriety: about a dozen people had to lose their eyes due to sepsis in less than seven days. Sukharam, Parmanand and Brindavan from Bharatpur, Chawli Devi from Kosi, Pratap Singh from Rajivpura, Kokli from Antra, Sringari from Kumher, Hukum Singh from Jagina, Rajni from Jharkai and Revati from Pengur had all gone to the eye hospital to have their vision restored but they returned home permanently blinded.

The "blindings" occurred between 7 and 14 March 1981. In that week, a large number of sepsis cases were noticed and the hospital authorities were forced to close down the operation theatre for six days: 16 to 21 March. How did this happen?

According to one of the patients, Sukharam (60) who was operated on in that fateful week, the cases of blinding happened because he was unable to pay the fee the doctor had demanded before the operation. Said he: "Everyone is bothered about earning money in the hospital. While I was on the operation table, I was asked by (Dr) Bansal to pay his fee. But I had no money and, therefore, could not fulfil his desire. The result was that I lost my eye." Recalling the operation, Sukharam continued: "After the operation when I complained of pain in the eye to the doctor on duty, he rebuked me saying that I was not the only patient who needed looking after in the ward. The doctors remain busy in fighting with each other. Hardly anyone cares for the patients."

This is just one of the cases. And it is all due to the conditions in the wards and operation theatre of the hospital. Dogs and patients cohabit with each other. There is no provision of maintaining the minimum standards of cleanliness and hygiene in the hospital. In spite of all this, Dr S. P. Johri, CMHO, Bharatpur, does not agree with the theory that anything abnormal occurred in the hospital. He told this correspondent: "Sepsis cases are not new to Bharatpur hospital alone. Even in the most advanced countries they occur."

While the local newspapers have reported the story in great detail, largely due to the efforts of Amar Khatri, the young journalist who first exposed the blindings in *Navyoti* of Jaipur, the Youth Congress(I) leader of Bharatpur, Mr Arun Singh, has staged *dharnas* at Bharatpur and Jaipur demanding "exemplary punishment to the erring doctors whose misdeeds have blinded more than a dozen persons in less than a week. They have turned Bharatpur into Bhagalpur," he said.

Milap Chand Dandia

SUNDAY SPECIAL

WHO'S AFRAID OF STRIPPING?

Very neatly, the Hindi film industry has stepped aside from the controversy about whether there should be kissing on the screen or not. The stars and starlets are now simply taking off their clothes for discreet and not so discreet nude and semi-nude shots, reports ANIL SAARI

Komilla Wirk: green signal



Katy Mirza: great as ever





Padma Khanna: a cut below the others



Seema Kapoor: caught in a crevice



Sophia Khan: shaping her future



Anita Raj: hip, lip hurray!

Scenes liberally laced with sex just short of copulation; dresses which stretch across the body like cellophane; increasing glimpses of the nude body: the Permissive Society has finally reached the Hindi film screen to the roar of cash clattering into the box-office safes. Thanks to a certain amount of liberalism on the part of the Central Board of Film Censors (which once seemed to consist solely of preaching puritans), nudity seems to have arrived on the Hindi screen. Heroines like Hema Malini, who not too long ago would not display anything more adventurous than a bare ankle, are now swinging around in shoulderless dresses, bare backs and hemlines that have reached the knee and will surely move further up. Once the high point of immodesty used to be the tightly worn sari clinging to the heroine's body in romantic rain which drenched the cloth and revealed the curvatures; or the vamp in a one-piece gold swimsuit decorated with feathers doing an all-purpose cabaret. Now the sari has given way to western dresses, for the simple reason that it is easier to display a young lady's curves in them. Hot pants and nighties seem obligatory these days, and the old concept of the revealing neckline has been destroyed by the nighties which are as close to topless as can be.

The change in film fashions has, in part, been inspired by the simple fact that in real life India has become much more liberal about its clothes: look at the fashionable ladies of metropolitan India to find out. The screen, of course, habitually stretches reality, so today anything short of total exposure on the screen is not considered to be so dangerous that it would affect the box-office adversely by keeping away angry or disgusted audiences.

Padmini Kolhapure is not merely the latest superstar among heroines, but also an actress with talent and without too many inhibitions. She is an excellent representative of the new morality, or the new view. As she put it: "There is no harm in dresses which reveal a little bit. I think 'exposing' means 'actual exposing' and as far as that is concerned, where it is necessary perhaps one has to do it... Yeah,

films are becoming more permissive; they're more modernised, not like the older kind, and they will get modernised further."

Padmini has gone to the very top, with lead roles in films being made by the best banners in Bombay. Raj Kapoor's new *magnum opus* *Prem Rog* centres around the character she plays. She also has the lead in films like *Ahista Ahista*, *Suntan* and *Shrimati*. Her astonishing rise coincides with the trend of stories built around women: in most cases, around the marital problems of women. Padmini does not have to play the "decorative piece," which would have been her inevitable fate during the just-gone era of the action-dominated film. She insists that she does not see herself "as a sex object in the films I am doing," even when it is an out-and-out musical entertainer like Nasir Hussain's *Zamane ko dikha denge* (although this film is not yet complete, this was the very first film she signed as a heroine).

The Indian film actress has obviously come of age. Only a few years ago Bombay's actresses reacted strongly against Justice G. D. Khosla when he provoked the "kissing controversy" by suggesting that it would be perfectly all right to show a kiss provided it was justified. Today, Padmini Kolhapure is not the only young actress who would not think twice about undressing if it were required in a film. The very interesting difference is that where, in the past, all such stripping was primarily the work of vamps or the professional "cabaret" dancer (like Helen, or, more relevant, Jayashree and company), now the top, respectable stars are willing to show flesh. Shooing at a Juhu bungalow for Mahesh Bhatt's *Artha*, in which she plays a film actress once again, Smita Patil screamed and ranted in a very revealing nightie with the camera switched on—prompting a co-star to step across and button up her open housecoat in between takes.

This nude wave in the commercial Hindi cinema is also the child of the recent sex wave in Malayalam film, some of which have been dubbed into Hindi and shown very successfully over the country, and the commercially successful offbeats (or 'art-films

made recently in Hindi. Sex has become the great selling agent for Hindi films with a serious theme: witness, *Aakrosh*. About Smita Patil's over-publicised bathing scene in Rabindra Dharmaraj's *Chakra*, a film about Bombay's slum-dwellers, there is a story going around in Bombay's film circles that the director wanted Smita to do this particular scene in order to ensure the sale of the film to distributors who would get turned on by it. (The filmmaker was correct.) The story, as recounted by another offbeat filmmaker, went along the following

lines: the director told Smita, 'O. K. Smita, let's do it because we have to sell the film,' and Smita replied, 'Well this is to sell the film!' as she took off her wrap and stepped in front of the camera. The film has much else to commend it, but all the publicity for *Chakra* was based on this shot.

Not that there are no tensions involved. Smita herself has said that she had her differences with the director of *Chakra* about the bathing scene. Padmini Kolhapure had a tiff with directors Aruna-Vikas and producer N. B. Kamath over her totally nude scene

in *Gehrayee* (The camera looked at her from the back, but Padmini was obviously in the butt.) But it isn't as if such scenes exist in every film being made by these actresses. Padmini, who refuses to talk any more about the *Gehrayee* controversy, claims that she has not been under any pressure to strip after her sensational exposures of the body beautiful in *Insaaf ka Tarazu* and *Gehrayee*. Still, pressure or not, stripping has come to stay, at least for the foreseeable future. One can hardly believe that Raj Kapoor will make a totally chaste movie. *Prem Rog*, one of Padmini's most important films under production, is a Raj Kapoor film and sophisticated erotica has always been an intrinsic element in the 'RK' magic. (Actually the erotica was not very sophisticated in *Satyam Shivam Sundaram*.)

Kalpana Iyer, now being tipped as the most promising new dancer in the Disco generation Hindi films, is more candid in response to the question whether nudity is fast becoming a major force at the box-office. "I wouldn't say that there is a pressure from the producers; it is more a fact of catching up with the times," Kalpana told SUNDAY recently. "A certain audience has always liked glamour and entertainment. I have no hesitation about wearing revealing clothes because I know where to draw a line and I know that I have a good figure and filmmakers are capitalising on it... In my personal case, I have been accepted from the beginning as a glamorous person, and glamour sells; but I do think there is no point in revealing one's body without reason in film after film."

In Kalpana Iyer's case, as in the case of other girls who have come to films from modelling, they appreciate that the cinema's need for sex-appeal is not very different from what is often required in advertisements, but it is also true, Kalpana said, that in films "there is much more nudity than in modelling. As a model, the furthest a girl might have to go is wear a swimsuit. But in the film industry, one has to go much further. However, everybody gets the respect he deserves. One is judged much more by one's behaviour off the film sets. It doesn't matter if one is hep or orthodox in real life, it is up to you to demand and get respect. They'll respect you, no matter what you are because they are only concerned about the work you put in the film. In real life I am a very conservative person. The only bad habit I have is that I smoke." Whatever she may be in real life, being a sexy dancer in films makes Kalpana one of the modern sex-symbols that the filmmakers exploit commercially. And, as a dancer and as an actress she has to be professional enough to perform whatever is required on the studio lot, whether the film's sets are closed or open to outsiders. "I'm doing my work and it is a job I enjoy doing, so there is no question of stage fright when I am dancing. Maybe one reason for my

Kalpana Iyer:
I am the greatest



Sarika: surface value

Prema Narayan: point of no return

success is that I'm not frightened of the public."

If by exposing the body of a beautiful actress a film could be successful at the box-office, everybody would have been a millionaire. Nobody can be successful just by exposing the female anatomy. It never works. There must be something else in the film to make it run. Raj Kapoor's *Satyam Shivam Sundaram* is a perfect example of that." That was Hrishikesh Mukherjee, the eminent filmmaker and chairman of the Central Board of Censors talking to **SUNDAY** about the current liberalism of the censor board.

Indian censors are much less censorious about kissing, sex, nudity and even political viewpoints. However, the newly formed board under Hrishikesh Mukherjee is strictly against "coupling of sex and violence" and word is being sent out to filmmakers all over the country that if sex and violence are blended together, the censors would simply ban the scenes and, if need be, even the films. "Sex and violence coupled together is a poisonous combination. We are going to be liberal but we are not going to give a licence to filmmakers. Violence itself ought to be curbed to a minimum," said Mr Mukherjee, who himself makes commercially successful films without much dependence on either sex or violence.

It has not been easy for the censor board to reach its present consensus on what should appear on the screen. There are members who are totally against sex but will accept violence, and there are others who feel exactly the opposite. Members of Parliament and other VIPs are also in the habit of imposing their views on the censor board. "You don't know how many people complain against the board's decision to allow certain films. So many people have complained about the last rape scene in *Insaaf ka Tarazu*," admitted Mr Mukherjee.

Yet, film censorship is finally accepting the realities of modern life. Mr Mukherjee knows his is a 'policing' job but he is willing to accept that "kissing may be shown in films if it is not done only for the benefit of the audience, if it is an integral part of the story and if it is shown beautifully." He adds: "There should be no objection to it from the censors. In Satyajit Ray's *Devi* there is a kissing scene but it has been done so beautifully that you feel like crying when you see it."

The change in the censor's approach has made it possible for films like *Chakra* and *Gehrayee* to take a candid look at the well-proportioned actresses. But, Mr Mukherjee makes it clear that "this change in censorship is connected to the filmmaker's intentions. We will see the film in its entirety. If something is there merely for the audience's pleasure, we will not allow it. We are intelligent enough and mature enough to understand the intention of the filmmaker. That is why *Chakra* was passed by the censors. The utter



Sophia Khan: cleavage power

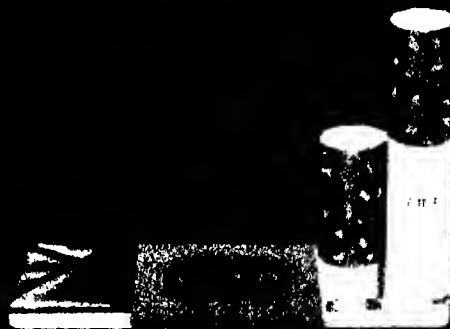


Hrishikesh Mukherjee: assessing the relevance of contours

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sincerity of the filmmaker is clear. If a commercial filmmaker had made the film then the sincerity would have been completely missing and we know what he would have made of Smita Patil's bathing scene."

In his personal capacity, Hrishikesh Mukherjee observed that he was inclined to agree with Justice G. D. Khosla's comment in his report on film censorship that "to show a sexy film—of course, it must be a film for adults only—the maximum that can happen is that a boy will masturbate after seeing the film." But, sex and violence blended together have a destructive effect on the minds of the audience: "It can be imitated. Rape, for instance; to show it in films can provoke similar responses among immature filmgoers." Hrishikesh Mukherjee further pointed out that the famous play *Oh, Calcutta!* has been running at a London theatre for some seven years now but the British censors have banned its film version. The argument is: while theatre is limited to a restricted audience the film can reach every nook and corner of the country. Moreover, a certain amount of aesthetic representation is intrinsic to a stage performance, whereas such restrictions do not necessarily apply to a film. The film would also tend to attract a far greater number of younger people than the play does. But even in the play, the nude artistes in *Oh, Calcutta!* cannot move around the stage. Nudity has to stand still and cannot be dramatised.

Sometime later this year, the Indian censor board plans to announce a new category of films to be labelled "UA," (for universal exhibition, but implying that the film has adult elements in it). This certificate would inform parents who, Hrishikesh Mukherjee strongly feels, would also be responsible to a certain extent in moulding the tastes of their children. Films with the "UA" censor certificate will, however, be for unrestricted exhibition and the teenagers going on their own to an "UA" movie would not be stopped. The Indian "UA" certificate, which is similar to the "Parental Guidance" certification applied in the USA and the "AA" certificate in England will, according to Mr Mukherjee considerably reduce the number of films with a "Universal" exhibition certificate and bring the number of "U" films in India closer to that in the west. At the moment, 90% Indian films have a "U" certificate, compared to 3% in the USA and 10% in England. The Indian censors also plan to make the "U" film a cleaner affair once the new certificate comes into operation.

Political films are likely to receive considerable support from the present censorship guidelines—for the first time in the history of the Indian cinema. Political viewpoints, as in Utpal Dutta's latest film *Baisakhi Megh* (Bengali), will be allowed by the censors, provided the films do not attack other political concepts or parties. "A communist filmmaker," says Mr Mukherjee, "can preach his own ideol-

Insaaf ka Tarazu factor

The one film that finally made the Bombay film industry accept the commercial viabilities of nudity and sex is B. R. Chopra's *Insaaf ka Tarazu*, a smash hit for an Adults Only film, and one of the few 'A' certificate Hindi films to turn in a sizable profit.

This Hindi remake of *Lipstick* has persuaded the commercial filmmaker that the family audience is now willing to accept a theme woven around sex. The general belief among Bombay's film producers is that a Hindi film can be a big hit only if it is accepted by the family audience. Therefore, so far no one has gone beyond the titillating dances, the breathless love scenes between the vamps and the villains and the toned down erotic scenes between the hero and the heroine. Hindi film producers have been very shy of using a story that was not essentially emotional or action-oriented. In fact, B. R. Chopra maintains that he still subscribes to this dogma, insisting that he "did not expose nudity in the film *Insaaf ka Tarazu*. I just went to the nearest limit of decency. After all, rape cannot look like rape if you don't show it visually to a certain extent. Specially in the second rape sequence in the film (where Padmini Kolhapure wears a bikini) we had no action, we did not make her naked."

Chopra, the film's producer-director, believes that the subject

of the film was topical; the public conscience had been horrified by the Maya Tyagi rape case: "It came at a very correct time psychologically and, according to some people, *Insaaf ka Tarazu* has made young people really aware about the horror of rape, they have come out of the film really conscious of its terror."

As far as the new trend of exposure and nudity is concerned, Chopra feels that sex has always been there in cinema to the degree found acceptable by the public; he recalls how Vyajanthimala first bared her shoulders for *Amrapali* in the Sixties: "These things follow norms set by society. At that time a woman would wear revealing clothes mostly in mythological and historical films. In Shantaram's *Shakuntala*, for instance, Jayshree wore fairly revealing clothes which were designed to recapture Kalidas's period, but that did not look like exposure at all and it was not called vulgar or obscene. Only the woman's midriff would be shown, the breasts would be covered fully. I think the new heroines, today's actresses, only reflect the current taste in clothes when they wear what they wear in films. Look at the way respectable women dress today."

Chopra adds that we might as well recognise that the nude is an attractive thing: "The thrill of life is based on the beauty of the woman's naked form."

ogy in a film but he cannot attack another political party. Similarly, a Congress(I) filmmaker can project his political beliefs, provided he does not attack others. To allow that would amount to passing a film preaching Hinduism and at the same time denigrating other religions, or vice versa. My attitude is that the acid test of freedom of expression comes when a film has a political comment to make. A man should certainly have the right to preach his ideas and even to do political propaganda provided specific comments against specific individuals or parties are not made." The preconceived notion that political films do not run at the box-office, has been shattered during the last one year! Jabbar Patel's *Simhasan* (Marathi) is an example. The change in film censorship is likely to encourage both political cinema and realism in films. For instance, the old taboo about showing a corrupt policeman will no longer be followed by the censors, provided the film makes it clear that the corrupt man is not representing the entire community of policemen in the country.

In the same spirit, the censor board under Mr Mukherjee is expected to

take strong objection to the glorification of the subjugation of women, the depiction of racial and communal discrimination, unnecessary violence, obscenity and the encouragement of superstition. These attitudes only reflect what is there in our Constitution itself according to Mr Mukherjee.

Hrishikesh Mukherjee who has been in the industry for the last 30 years, feels that he has learnt a lot during the few months he has been the chairman of the censor board: "Our country is a very strange country, you know. It has so many different norms of morality. For example, in Rajasthan women cover their faces totally but half of their breasts is left uncovered. Or take the example of the *ghotul* practice among the Bastar adivasis. No, the adivasis of Bastar have a very free approach to sex, and in the *ghotul* young boys and girls sleep in the same room. But what would be the impact of showing this in a film to people living in urban India? Can you imagine what impact it would have on the middle class audience?" Obviously the new daring in Indian cinema has not reached a point where it can dare to show that. Till then, Kalpana Iyer's figure must suffice.

Mr Hua comes to Delhi. At last.

26 June will see another round of the much interrupted, hesitant India-China conversation to re-establish peace and friendship.

SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA looks at the past to try and gauge the future.



ASHOKE BOSE

China's foreign minister Huang Hua has been a professional diplomat, and has played a role in shaping the Peoples' Republic of China's attitude to the world ever since the communists captured power in 1949. When he reaches Delhi on 26 June, he will need all his experience to help solve even a few of the many differences which have divided the world's two most populous nations for the past two decades.

Huang Hua was a lieutenant of the late Premier Zhou Enlai, and has the unique distinction of being probably the only top man in Beijing's foreign office who was not affected by that upheaval called the cultural revolution which shook China in the second half of the Sixties. When eventually China was granted its rightful place in the United Nations, it was Hua who was sent to New York to represent his country in the general assembly and the security council. Today Hua has reached a position which few professional diplomats can aspire to; he is one of the vice premiers of China, with specific charge of the foreign affairs portfolio. His visit to India is, therefore, an indication of the seriousness with which the Chinese are trying to improve relations with us. It is an interesting change from the past.

Within two years of each other, two very different kinds of revolutions in India and China succeeded. Mahatma Gandhi helped India cast off the colonial yoke through his *satyagraha* in 1947; Mao Zedong drove out first the Japanese and then the oppressive Chiang-kai Shek regime by 1949. India and China became the symbols for the oppressed and colonised nations of the world who were trying to throw off white rule; and the white world itself had become shaky after the ravages of the second world war. It was natural for India and China to turn to each other in friendship.

The days of 'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai', however, came to a rude end when the Chinese committed armed aggression on India, both in the east and in the west, in late 1962. Chinese designs on parts of Indian territory should have been obvious to the Indian leadership as early as 1954, when Beijing published a map which showed the whole of Assam, parts of the Uttarakhand region in UP, and the Aksai Chin region of Ladakh in Jammu and Kashmir as Chinese territory. Besides, the Chinese map also showed Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Thailand, the Philippines and the whole of Indo-China as being part of China. When the then Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, pointed this out to the Chinese during a visit to Beijing, he was told that the map was of Manchu Dynasty vintage and had been published by mistake. The Indian leader's gullibility, however, received a rude jolt in 1962. (The map, incidentally, has not been withdrawn by Beijing till today.)

Since the 1962 war, China has been taking one anti-India posture after another. It bent over backwards to befriend and arm Pakistan. During the 1965 Indo-Pak war, the Chinese tried psychological warfare against us by threatening to dismantle certain structures on the border with us in the middle of the fighting with Pakistan. In the meantime, China and the Soviet Union, which had been drifting apart since 1959, became sworn enemies, especially during the cultural revolution. This, among other things, helped India and the Soviet Union, gravitate towards each other in these years. In fact, the Chinese and the Russians had had a difference of opinion on India way back in 1960 when Premier Khrushchev had openly told China in an international meeting of the communist parties that the USSR did not approve of the Chinese view of the border question with India.

After 1962 China vehemently supported Pakistani claims on Jammu and Kashmir. In the east, the Chinese armed and trained Naga and Mizo insurgents. There were other signs of Chinese anger against India. During the cultural revolution, in 1966, two Indian diplomats, Vijay Menon and Krishna Raghunath, were roughed up by Chinese red guards. India, for its part, never took any overtly anti-Chinese posture—indeed, it went to the extent of campaigning for China's claim for a place in the UN—which was not being given to the Beijing regime till a decade back because China's present ally, the USA, was keen on supporting the farce called Taiwan. Moreover, while improving its relations with the Soviet Union, India never took sides in the Sino-Soviet dispute which at one point flared up into a war across the Uri river.

When Huang Hua comes to New Delhi on 26 June, therefore, it will be an attempt by the guilty party to undo past mistakes. To that extent, the Chinese foreign minister's visit certainly will be of tremendous importance. But what will remain to be seen is whether, at the end of the visit, the pre-visit euphoria will be entirely justified.

China made the first bid to improve relations in 1970. That was the year when Mao walked up to the then Indian charge d'affaires in Beijing, Mr Brajesh Mishra, during the May Day parade, shook hands, smiled, and said that a dialogue should be started between the two countries. The now famous "Mao smile" evoked a ray of hope that ties would improve. Indian and Chinese diplomats and dignitaries replaced cold looks with smiles, a la Mao whenever they came across each other in international forums. But a year later, in 1971, Bangladesh found India and China in different camps. Chinese support was one of the mainstays of the Yahya Khan regime, and long after the end of the 1971 war, the Chinese continued to champion the Pakistani cause.

The Chinese also objected to the integration of Sikkim into the Indian union, describing it as an "annexation." It is ironical that while India endorsed (and continues to do so) the blatant Chinese annexation of Tibet, Sikkim has become a moral issue with the Chinese.

It was at India's initiative that matters began to look up after 1975. After the proclamation of Internal Emergency, Mrs Gandhi began paying personal attention to the improvement of ties with neighbours. That was the time when India amicably settled the dispute over the Kachathivu island with Sri Lanka by unilaterally ceding the territory to its southern neighbour. India offered to restore diplomatic relations between India and China to the ambassadorial level (the ambassadors of the two countries had been recalled by both governments following the 1962 war). In 1976 China agreed to the Indian proposal, but then too India had to make the conciliatory gestures. The Chinese wanted India to send its ambassador to Beijing first. India sent a senior diplomat, Mr K. R. Narayanan, as its ambassador to Beijing in September 1976. The Chinese ambassador, Mr Chen Chao-yuan, arrived in New Delhi only in early 1977.

Since 1977, there has been steady improvement in Sino-Indian ties. Many delegations have travelled between the two countries—trade teams, journalists, parliamentarians. On the occasion of the Indian Republic Day in 1978, after a long time, the message from the Chinese referred to the "traditional friendship" between the two countries. That message from the Chinese party chairman, Hua Guofeng, to Prime Minister Morarji Desai, was an important watershed. In March that year, a delegation of the Chinese Peoples' Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, led by its president, Mr Wang Ping-Nan, visited India for a fortnight at the invitation of the Dr Kotnis Memorial Committee. This visit though not at the official level, was another important occasion as Wang Ping-Nan, who is a senior Chinese communist party member, extended an invitation from the Chinese government to the then Indian foreign minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, to visit Beijing. This invitation was followed up by the formal invitation from foreign minister Huang Hua.

The visit was scheduled to take place in the autumn of 1978, but Vajpayee postponed it. Vajpayee ultimately went to Beijing on 13 February 1979. Little headway was made towards solving the outstanding disputes, particularly the border question, during Vajpayee's trip. The Chinese, of course, tried to play on Indian sentiments by offering to reopen the routes to two Hindu places of pilgrimage, the Mansarovar lake and the Kailash Parbat, which lie within Chinese territory. (These, incidentally, are still not open. Perhaps Hua may make a formal announcement during the forthcoming trip.)

While Vajpayee was in Beijing, the Chinese committed aggression on Vietnam. The timing of the border clashes was embarrassing to India, and it must be said to Vajpayee's credit that he did some quick thinking, cut short his visit, and returned home. From New Delhi, Vajpayee issued a statement disapproving the Chinese action on the Vietnamese border. Why did the Chinese attack Vietnam during Vajpayee's visit? They probably wanted to take the Vietnamese by surprise, expecting the heirs of Ho Chi Minh to be lulled into believing that there was no possibility of an attack during the Indian foreign minister's visit. Or perhaps they expected Vajpayee to continue his "goodwill" visit to China and thereby sour India's relations with Vietnam on the one hand and with the USSR on the other. Whatever it may have been, the Chinese plans did not succeed.

Soon after Vajpayee's abrupt return, there was internal instability in India, leading to Chaudhury Charan Singh's caretaker government. Such a period, certainly, was not congenial to normalisation of strained relations. During this period of instability in India, there were reports of Chinese intrusions into the Chumbi valley in Bhutan, which has a treaty with India which makes the defence of Bhutan an Indian obligation. The intrusions into the Chumbi valley, which is a narrow tongue of Chinese territory between Nepal and Bhutan, were certainly not a gesture of goodwill towards India.

The Russian intervention in Afghanistan in late December that year further complicated the situation. The initial

Chinese reaction was one of panic. Huang Hua made an airdash to Pakistan to assess the situation personally. In the meanwhile, the elections in India had put the Congress(I) in power, the short period of instability in this country was over, and a new phase of efforts at normalisation with China began.

The initiative again came from India. Mrs Gandhi seemed to be picking up the thread from where she left it in 1977. For India, better relations with China appeared to be a logical imperative following the Soviet military action in Afghanistan, which certainly had brought super power rivalry to India's doorsteps. In the address by President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy to the opening session of the new Parliament on 23 January 1980, the Indian government asserted that it would give high priority to the improvement of bilateral relations with its northern neighbour. The Republic Day reception at the Indian embassy in Beijing came three days later, foreign minister Hung Hua personally attended, and the Chinese leader told the Indian ambassador that the "new situation in the region imposes greater obligations on both of us to improve relations."

Two events of international importance provided opportunities for Mrs Gandhi to meet Chinese leaders last year. The first opportunity came on 18 April 1980 at Salisbury, during the independence day celebrations of Zimbabwe. Huang Hua called on Mrs Gandhi and spent 30 minutes with her without any aides. (Huang Hua has the advantage of speaking fluent English, which most Chinese diplomats can't do. So, again he will be in a position to hold top-secret meetings in India, without aides.) After the Salisbury meeting Huang Hua told the press that he had referred to the invitation extended to him by the Janata foreign minister, Mr Vajpayee, during the latter's visit to Beijing in 1979, and Mrs Gandhi had promptly told Hua that he was welcome to visit India. Within a few weeks, on 9 May, Mrs Gandhi met the Chinese communist party chairman, Mr Hua Guofeng, at Belgrade during the funeral of Marshal Tito. That occasion too was utilised to make efforts towards normalisation of ties.

The secretary (east) in our foreign office, Mr Eric Gonsalves, made a trip to Beijing on 20 June last year to prepare the ground for the visit of Huang Hua, scheduled to take place in July, 1980. In the meantime, on 16 May 1980, the external affairs minister told a meeting of the parliamentary consultative committee attached to his ministry that the process of normalisation with China was not being done at "the cost of ties with the USSR." In mid-1980, India accorded formal recognition to the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea. Soon afterwards, perhaps as a direct result, Huang Hua put off his visit, without citing any reasons, saying that he was "too busy" at home to undertake a foreign trip just then. The real reason for the cancellation was apparent. But perhaps India also wanted to tell China that while it was prepared to talk to her, Beijing's close links with Islamabad notwithstanding, Beijing too should be prepared to accept that India was a power in the region with whom bilateral relations could not be established on the basis of preconditions. Finally, in April this year, the Chinese sent feelers that Huang Hua now wanted to visit New Delhi. And so, Hua comes on 26 June.

But before 26 June, China's Prime Minister Zhao

Chinese border outpost at Nathula with Red army soldier



ALOK MITRA

Why Sino-Indian trade never flourished

By Sreedhar

After the liberation of mainland China, an eight-year-old Sino-Indian agreement on trade and travel was signed in April 1954. According to this agreement (i) the Chinese government was to establish trade agencies in New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong, while the Indian government would do likewise in the Tibetan towns of Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok; (ii) markets for the two countries were specified; and (iii) the six routes which could be followed by traders of both countries were specified. The agreement could be renewed after eight years.

This was followed by a two-year trade agreement, signed on 14 October 1954, under which, all commercial and non-commercial payments between the two countries were to be made in Indian rupees or pound sterling. To facilitate such payments, the People's Bank of China was to open accounts with Indian banks authorised to deal in foreign exchange.

India could export to China rice, pulses, tobacco, metallic ores, vegetable and essential oils, drugs and medicines, electrical apparatus and other appliances, machinery, machine tools, ferrous and non-ferrous manufactures, cotton piece-goods, jute manufactures, bicycles, motor vehicles, cement, tyres and tubes, centrifugal pumps, hurricane lanterns, sewing machines, agricultural implements, mica and Indian films. In return, it could import, if it wanted, rice, soyabean, machine tools, machinery, medical apparatus, antimony, graphite, felspar, arsenic, silk and silk piece-goods, wool, hides and skins, paper and stationery, chemicals, tung oil, cassia, menthol crystals, resins, porcelain, glass and glassware, hosiery, stitching needles, vegetables and vegetable products, canned goods, printed matter and books and Chinese films.

Though the large variety of goods listed by China were not, in fact, available for immediate export, the Chinese were confident of the trade potential. The basis for this optimism was that the industrial development, planned in the first five year plan (1953-57), was progressing according to schedule and China hoped that prescribed targets would be reached without difficulty. Some items, like rice and machinery, figure in both Indian and Chinese lists. It was presumed that each would supply to the other according to the necessities that would arise from time to time regarding these items. For instance, in 1953, when India suffered from food short-

ages, it imported rice from China and the Chinese gesture was appreciated. Similarly in 1954, when China suffered from heavy floods, India offered rice to mitigate the hardship caused.

A significant feature of the agreement was the separate trade arrangement made with Tibet, although the Chinese claimed it was part of China. Since foreign trade is completely controlled by the central government in China, the Chinese side wanted Tibet to be also brought under the same regulations. India's view was that Tibet's problems were different and should be dealt with separately. As a compromise, it was agreed that there would be only "customary trade" between India and Tibet, enabling a large number of petty traders to move across the border to earn their living. The Chinese also wanted transport facilities at the Calcutta port for bringing supplies to Tibet. India agreed to the request with the proviso that only goods of Chinese origin, and not available in India, could be sent. Both the countries also reached an understanding that the goods coming from China through Calcutta port would be released in the hills beyond Kalimpong, from where it would not be economical for any trader (or smuggler) to bring them back to India.

The formal trade agreement was followed by a barter deal of Chinese silk for Indian tobacco. An agreement providing for the export of 9 million lbs of Virginia tobacco worth Rs 3,000,000 from India and the import of 90 metric tons of raw silk worth Rs 3,600,000 from China was signed in New Delhi on 19 October 1954. Of the 9 million lbs of Indian tobacco to be exported to China, 4.7 million lbs were to be from the 1953 crop and the remaining from the 1954 crop. China was supposed to deliver a minimum quantity of 30 metric tons (if possible 50 metric tons) of raw silk by 31 December 1954 and the balance in three equal instalments before 31 March 1955. Along with this barter deal, it was also announced that another agreement for the export of 1500 tons of Indian rice to Tibet had been concluded.

But the agreement failed to stimulate trade between the two countries to any considerable extent. During the year 1954-55, the total trade turnover between the two countries was only Rs 4.99 crores: Rs 2.03 crores worth of Indian imports from China and Rs 2.96 crores worth of exports. Though it crossed the Rs 10 crore mark the next year, it started dwindling later.

The trade agreement was extended for a period of two years on 25 May

1957 and for one more year on 25 May 1959. This, however, had no appreciable impact on the trade.

1960 saw the beginning of the deterioration in relations, and the 1962 border clashes marked an almost total end of Sino-Indian trade relations. Trade was resumed only when the Janata came to power (because of groundwork done earlier) in June 1977. The figures since then:

Year	India's exports (dollar mn)	India's imports (dollar mn)
1977	2.46	1.04
1978	15.44	1.12
1979 [⊕]	26.79	1.00
1980 [⊕]	38.00	65.00

⊕ Provisional

The figures show clearly that bilateral trade between India and China has always been less than one per cent of their total trade.

The reasons for this low level trade can be attributed to the different developmental models they have chosen. Mao, in his search for rapid development, depended on the Soviet Union totally during the 1950s. However, when Sino-Soviet differences surfaced in 1959, and Soviet technicians were withdrawn from China, the process of development was brought to a grinding halt. From the beginning of 1960s to the mid 1970s, China got quite isolated from international economic activity. The Maoist model failed to build a strong economic base, let alone make China self-reliant. The post-Mao leadership is trying to skip some intermediary stages of development, to hasten the pace. How far this will be successful needs to be carefully watched. In these circumstances, the Chinese economy continued to depend upon primary products as its principal source of export earnings.

On the other hand, for India the Nehruvian model of development was able to build a base and in certain selected sectors self-sufficiency has been achieved, largely due to carefully assigned roles to both the private and public sectors. Having achieved this, a systematic effort is now being made to diversify exports.

In such conditions China wanted to interact with the west rather than with another developing country, whose intermediate technology, is not of immediate relevance to it. As a matter of fact, they look upon India as their competitor in the battle for exports to developed countries.

Ziyang has made a rushed tour of Islamabad, Kathmandu and Dacca. What was the sudden necessity for this trip? Apparently, the Chinese want to reassure their current friends that their special relationship will continue. Beijing has been trying to line up Bangladesh and Nepal in an informal alliance against India. Pakistan, of course, is its close ally, physically linked by the Karakoram highway which passes illegally through portions of Indian territory currently under Pakistani occupation. (Zhao flew from Pakistan to Nepal without overflying Indian territory, by a longer route, perhaps to symbolise China's efforts at developing "regional cooperation" between Pakistan and Nepal.)

Zhao may have kept quiet on the Kashmir question at Islamabad. But does that silence mean that the Chinese have substantially changed their stance? Or is it merely a momentary silence of convenience? Earlier, the Chinese used to openly advocate the "right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir." Now they appreciate Pakistan's "efforts to solve the problem in accordance with the UN resolutions." Which is not a very different thing to say. The UN resolutions on Kashmir, passed by the general assembly but repeatedly vetoed by the USSR in the security council, are all against the Indian stand.

And in Kathmandu, Zhao supported Nepal's move for a "peace zone." From whom does Nepal fear aggression? If China supports the "peace zone," then apparently the Nepalese are afraid of India! The Indo-Nepalese border is an open border as distinguished from the closed border Nepal has with China. Nepalese citizens enjoy special rights in India, including the right to jobs and property. They don't need a visa to travel to India. The trade and transit treaty with landlocked Nepal, while being advantageous to the only Hindu kingdom on earth, is certainly not very congenial to this country. The goods imported by Nepal through our ports and carted through our territory, often are smuggled back into India through the open border. While Nepal calmly enjoys the privileges, it seems to ignore all obligations.

At Dacca, Zhao repeated the "package deal" theory about the settlement of Sino-Indian border disputes. This theory, first elucidated by China's present number one Deng Xiaoping in an interview in Beijing to the editor of the defence journal *Vikrant* in June last year, envisages that China would retain the status quo in the west, in Ladakh, turning the line of actual control into the international border, and in the east recognise the McMahon line as the boundary. In a nutshell, the "package deal" is nothing but an attempt by the aggressor to legitimise the fruits of the 1962 aggression. There are certain disturbing aspects of such a settlement. Firstly, in Arunachal Pradesh (NEFA), in most places the Chinese points of actual control are situated on the ridge and the Chinese troops have the advantage of being on a higher level than the Indian *jawans*. Again, in the western sector, the Galwan valley, the Chipchap valley and the Shyok valley are definitely parts of the Indus system, which has always been part of India. The Chinese claims to occupation on these three valleys have to be examined closely (China lays claim to 155,000 sq km of Indian territory, of which 25,000 sq km is at present under actual Chinese occupation in the western sector).

The visit of Mr Huang Hua will, therefore, be a test of both Indian and Chinese diplomacy. The Chinese will have to make their stand clear on Sikkim, on Bhutan and on the question of their support to the insurgency in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram. True, the Chinese have told Mr Subramanian Swamy, the Janata MP (who has played a substantial role in trying to bring the two governments to a conference table for the past three years), that they were not supporting the insurgents "any more." But the statement has yet to be fully tested.

However, a dialogue between Huang Hua and Narasimha Rao will certainly be another important watershed in Sino-Indian relations. In real terms, both political and economic, Indian and Chinese interests in the region are not at the moment complimentary. The world view of the two nations is not the same. Nevertheless, if the Huang Hua visit thaws some of the ice in the perpetually snowbound mountains which separate us from our northern neighbour, it will be a step towards peace, which is always welcome.



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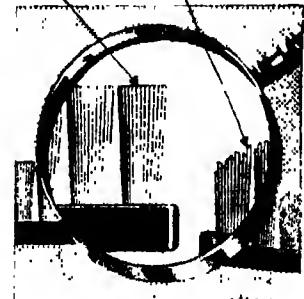
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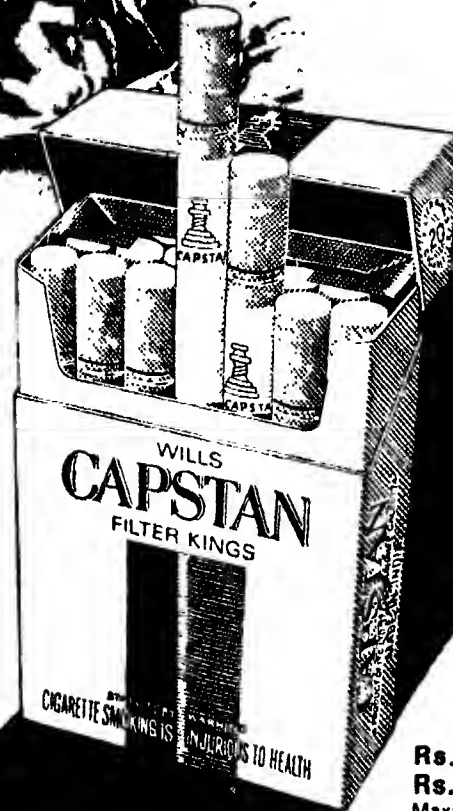
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What will Mrs Gandhi do now in West Bengal?

What will Mrs Gandhi now do with West Bengal's Left Front government after its impressive victory in the Assembly and Parliamentary by-elections? Will she allow it to complete its five years, and supervise the next state Assembly elections? Or would she still go ahead and dismiss the government so that the Assembly elections could be held under the centre's supervision?

The CPI(M) and the Left Front government obviously want to stay till June 1982; and they have tried everything to achieve this. Initially, they even tried to befriend Mrs Gandhi. But till the end of April a dismissal still seemed imminent. The Congress(I) decided to boycott the municipal elections in the state, and the centre seemed most reluctant to hold the Parliamentary and Assembly by-elections. And Mrs Gandhi stepped up the pace and intensity of her attack on the West Bengal government.

They replied in kind, attacking Mrs Gandhi and her government with a vengeance. They even talked about forging a national anti-authoritarian alliance including an "untouchable" like the Bharatiya Janata Party. They started strengthening their underground machinery and began to get ready for a political war with the centre and a more physical war with Congress(I) supporters in West Bengal. And then came the sudden announcement of the by-elections. The CPI(M), which had virtually given up all hope, gained a new lease of life.

The Left Front was relying on the logic that it would be difficult for Mrs Gandhi to dislodge its government if it could put up a good show in the municipal, Parliamentary and Assembly polls, and they were keen that these elections be held. But even after repeated requests from the state government the election commission was showing no signs in the first half of the year of holding by-elections in West Bengal. The CPI(M) was so furious at this that chief minister Jyoti Basu repeatedly accused the chief election commissioner of being a "stooge" in the hands of Delhi.

But the elections were announced, and the CPI(M) jumped into the fray, eager to prove to the world that it still enjoyed majority support. And they succeeded beyond their expectations. The CPI(M) and the Left Front have not



By **BARUN SENGUPTA**

only been able to retain all their seats, they have also wrested Darjeeling and Midnapore from their opponents. They were able to poll a higher percentage of votes than in the past in almost all the eight Assembly and one Parliamentary constituencies. Their performance was even better than in the municipal elections, both seatwise and vote percentagewise. This was despite the fact that the Congress(I) was very much in the fray, unlike in the municipal elections.

However, even after this, the CPI(M) leadership will not mind making suitable concessions to Mrs Gandhi, whatever they might say in public, to ensure survival for a full five years. Mr P. Ramamurti, their politbureau member, had been maintaining regular contact with Mrs Gandhi. Mr Jyoti Basu tried to keep the PM in good humour and assure her about the good conduct of his party in his state till he gave up all hopes of his government's survival. It is only when he was convinced that Mrs Gandhi would dismiss his government at the earliest possible opportunity that he started publicly attacking the central government and the Congress(I), sometimes even mentioning the Prime Minister by name, in the

bitterest possible terms. There are indications that the CPI(M) leadership will not mind returning to a soft line towards the central government if it gets even a hint that its government in West Bengal is safe. As the CPI(M) leadership has already bought peace with Calcutta's big business for the survival of its government, why should it mind making concessions to Mrs Gandhi?

The uncertainty is not over the CPI(M)'s intentions; it is over Mrs Gandhi's. Of course, she has never publicly said that she will dismiss the Left Front government; rather, she has asserted on many occasions that she has no desire to topple any state government. But no politician believes her when she says this, and indications were available from quarters close to her that elaborate secret preparations were underway to topple Mr Jyoti Basu's government by mid 1981. But she had to go in for by-elections in UP to bring Mr Rajiv Gandhi into Parliament as early as possible. And so by-elections could not be avoided any longer in West Bengal. So Rajiv Gandhi, MP, may have saved Jyoti Basu, CM.

Can Mrs Gandhi dismiss the Left Front government in West Bengal before June 1982? It should be clear by now to Delhi that the Congress(I) cannot win back the state from the CPI(M) so long as elections are held under the latter's supervision. If the next general elections are held in the state with a CPI(M)-dominated government in power, then they and their allies are sure to get more than 65 per cent of the Assembly seats. Will Mrs Gandhi allow the CPI(M) another term in power in this politically and strategically important state?

A Left Front victor, Shyamal Chakrabarty (right); being greeted by friends



PALLAV DUTTA

Saudi contract for BHEL

The public sector Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (BHEL), which often comes in for criticism, has bagged its third contract in Saudi Arabia—the construction of the Rs 14 crore first phase of the Gizan Central Electricity Project. The contract involves the expansion of the power network in the southern region of the Arab kingdom, giving electricity to 72 villages and towns. In 1980, BHEL successfully completed a Rs 72 crore power station.

Journalists get state pensions

The Left Front government in Kerala has been quite liberal in doling out pension to weaker sections of society. But it has also displayed its generosity to one section which is not particularly weak: journalists. The state government recently announced a third list of journalists who would receive monthly pensions of either Rs 150 or Rs 250. Sensing the government's soft corner towards the fourth estate, the state working journalists' union has asked the government to include all journalists under the regular pension scheme. Will the CM's generosity extend so far that it begins to look like bribery?

Meanwhile, in Orissa, the chief minister, J. B. Patnaik, has declared that monthly pension to old and indigent artists would be increased from Rs 20 to Rs 200. The number of artists who will get pension has also been increased from 20 to a hundred. But, only those artists would be eligible whose annual income is less than Rs 2000 and family income less than Rs 3000.

A sports encyclopaedia in Malayalam

Sports writers and literary figures in Kerala are putting their heads together to compile the first sports encyclopaedia in Malayalam within two years. The well known sports commentator, Syamalavalam Krishnan Nair, who retired from All India Radio last year, is the guiding spirit behind the two-volume encyclopaedia; he will be the chief editor. Says Mr Nair: "Such a publication will go a long way to tackle qualitative and quantitative inadequacies in basic sports writing." Helping Mr Nair is an advisory panel comprising, among others, the noted sports enthusiast C. S. Abraham, scholar Soornad Kunjan Pillai and the special I. G. of police, M. K. Joseph. The editors are re-organising the services of all foreign embassies in Delhi, the National Institute of Sports, Patiala and the Ram Lakshmi Bai College of Physical Education, Gwalior. If you want to help by sending any special bit of information, you are welcome to do so.

GOOD NEWS

Shashi Kapoor to build small cinema halls



Shashi Kapoor

Not many film luminaries use part of their too-easily-earned fortunes to promote less commercially viable arts. Shashi Kapoor is an exception. Following the success of his Prithvi theatre at Juhu, Shashi is now working on plans to build a complex of four small cinema theatres which will screen those films which cannot easily find halls to reach audiences. The smallest hall will have a capacity of about a hundred seats, and will be used to screen old films regularly. The biggest will have nearly 400 seats. Shashi hopes the complex will also help the film society movement and provide cheaper preview facilities for young filmmakers.

Haryana's successful tourism corporation

The Haryana government's tourism corporation has just ended the financial year 1980-81 with a profit of over Rs 10 lakhs. The turnover of the corporation's 30 popular tourist resorts went up to Rs 3.50 crores, against Rs 2.60 crores achieved in 1979-80, while the operational profit went up from Rs 24.16 lakhs to Rs 45 lakhs in 1980-81. Meanwhile, the consultancy wing of the corporation has bagged a contract with the sugar mill division of the

A blind man's victory

Om Prakash Soni, 28, of Bharatpur lost his eyes when he was only 11, but his untiring efforts and irrepressible zeal have enabled him to become a highly skilled technician. He first studied at the school for the blind at Mt Abu; after a brief spell there, Soni was sent to Delhi for training in light engineering. He did very well academically at both the places, but once he passed out he could not get a job. Prospective employers would question his ability to actually work on machines, since he was blind.

After two futile years, one employer asked him to take a practical test. The principal of the ITI, Bharatpur, after subjecting him to a dozen tests eventually certified that Soni was capable of working on machines with the same ability as a man with normal vision. Only then did the Rajasthan State Electricity Board employ him in its metre testing division at Bharatpur. Soni says that it is because of his mother that he is a skilled and employed technician today: "The credit is hers. Ever since I first went to the blind school she has inspired and exhorted me to strive relentlessly."

FICCI doubles worth of cash awards

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) has doubled the amount of its cash awards given for outstanding contributions in the field of economic, social and scientific development from Rs 10,000 to Rs 20,000. Reasons: first, inflation; second, an award is often shared. The awards, instituted in 1967, are given every year to scientists, with special reference to the value of their work to industry. The awardwinners of 1980 include Dr R. S. Murthy, director, Soil Conservation Research Centre, Nagpur, who shared the prize with his associate, Mr S. Pande for life science and agriculture, Dr Shukla of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Kanpur and Mr Alladi Ramkrishnan of IIT, Madras for physics and Mr S. G. Ramchandra of Kirloskar who got the award for mathematics and technology.

Delhi Cloth and General Mills Ltd. Consultancy services will be provided to redo the DCM head office in Delhi. The corporation has also recently added to its chain of motels. Its nine lakh Garud motel at the Badkhal lake near Delhi was inaugurated on 25 April, and, as recognition for its efforts to promote tourism, the corporation was awarded the Travel Agents' Association of India (TAAI) Award for 1981.

The Government

Minister oversteps his brief

Mr R. V. Swaminathan, union minister of state for agriculture and cooperation, has not been given charge of the food for work programme (rechristened the national rural employment programme by the Indira government); this programme is the responsibility of his colleague Mr Baleshwar Ram, the other minister of state for agriculture. Yet, Mr Swaminathan recently announced in Madras that the government would soon take a decision on resuming foodgrain supplies under the rural employment programme. The overall charge is, of course, held by the cabinet minister for agriculture, Rao Birendra Singh. This is not the first time that Mr Swaminathan has embarrassed Mr Singh by talking out of turn on matters that do not concern him. Last year the minister of state prematurely announced the government's decision to import sugar. An agitated Mr Singh had first to deny it and then eventually swallow the bitter pill of ordering the import of two lakh tonnes of sugar.

Kedar Pande's bad luck

There is nothing unusual about union cabinet ministers going on foreign jaunts but the railway minister, Mr Kedar Pande, seems to have been particularly unfortunate. He went to Nairobi with President Sanjeeva Reddy as his minister-in-waiting. On his return he had to learn from none other than the Prime Minister about the horrible train accident in north Bihar, considered the worst in history. What made Mr Pande's absence from the country look worse was that his June trip came close on the heels of his trip in May to London. He can least afford to be away from his post now as there is a distinct deterioration in the performance of the railways: the daily average of wagon loading has fallen from 28,000 in March to 25,000 in May.



Wanted: Politician chairman for STC

The ministry of commerce is looking for a politician who can be made part-time chairman of the autonomous State Trading Corporation. If this happens it will mean a break with tradition, for the giant trading concern has always had a full-time chief executive. Why a politician? Here is one theory. With the STC turnover touching Rs 1,677 crores in 1980-81, more than half of which is accounted for by imports, the amount of commission and possible payoffs is becoming very large. So, a politician would be best suited to handle such delicate matters.

Since the retirement of its last full-time chairman, Dr S. C. Bhattacharjee, in January, commerce secretary P. K. Kaul has been officiating as the corporation's chairman, while the day-to-day administration is looked after by additional secretary Miss Roma Majumdar. Mr Kaul has had a long innings at the commerce ministry, right from the Emergency days. When the Janata came to power, far from falling from grace, he became the righthand man of commerce minister Mohan Dharia. The departure of the last government again left him untouched. During this period he has seen two STC chairmen come and go.

An absurd suggestion

The chairman of the Agricultural Prices Commission, Mr A. S. Kahlon, has come up with a novel suggestion: fix minimum support prices for farm products on a three-year basis instead of annually, as is done now. His logic is that this will bring about price stability and enable farmers to make slightly longer-term investment plans based on assured returns. But this goes against some basic realities about farming whose economics changes drastically from crop to crop with changes in weather and carryover stocks. It makes some sense to fix, say, the cash compensatory support for the export of engineering goods and chemicals to protect them from international competition on a three-year basis, but surely not the support price for foodgrains. As foodgrain prices have steadily risen from year to year, fixing their support price every three years would render commercial agricultural operations wholly uneconomical.

Is he fit for the job?

It is rather strange that a bureaucrat should be the part-time head of the proposed joint venture company, Indian Tea and Restaurants Ltd, being set up to take over and run the tea centres in London, Sydney and Cairo. Stranger still is the fact that the bureaucrat should be Mr S. P. Gugnani, additional secretary and financial adviser in the commerce ministry, who is an expert neither on tea nor on restaurant management. For some time now the centres, other than the one at Cairo, have been running at a loss. So it makes sense that their management should be taken over by a company which will be jointly owned by the Tea Board and the Hotel Corporation of India Ltd; the two between themselves have the necessary expertise. But where does Mr Gugnani fit into all this? Nowhere, unless we agree that what matters is that the job requires extensive foreign travel, Mr Gugnani loves foreign travel and he pulls considerable weight with his ministry.

KHAAS BAAT

Shatrughan Sinha is perhaps the happiest person in the industry. He is the proud father of male twins, which makes the happiness two-fold. This is probably the first time that a star has had a pair of twins. When asked if he wanted one of the twins to be a girl, the star replied, "Goodness no, I have always wanted a boy and now I am twice blessed." The news has, of course, overshadowed the rumours that Shatru has married *Reena* on the sly; and to most, this is certainly a welcome change.

Parveen Babi:
all roads point to stardom



Shatru: happiness is being a father of twins



Vinod Mehra and **Bindiya** have celebrated their first anniversary. Most people who had only heard of the divorce between Vinod and his ex-wife are asking the inevitable question: celebration of what? Nobody seems to be sure if it was a marriage anniversary celebration or not. Anyway, now that Bindiya and Vinod have had an open house party, there will be some more speculation as to whether the two have got married or not.

The new stars have proved themselves to be two-faced: they curse and criticise their so-called friends behind their backs, but the very next moment they are seen enjoying themselves at these 'friends' parties. Examples—*Raj Babbar*, *Mazhar Khan*, and friend, *Deepak Parashar*.

Parveen Babi is no longer the erratic person she used to be, but is more at peace with herself than ever before. Perhaps, it is because of her Australian boyfriend. At last she has found someone who can give her all the security and affection that she had been hankering for so long, and which *Danny* and *Kabir* could not give her. The change has come in good time too. Producers are vying with one another to sign her up so Parveen's chance of making it big appears to have come at last. We wish her all the luck and hope she will be able to become a superstar soon.

Krishna, the popular Telugu actor, has decided to produce a big budget Hindi film: *Awaaz*. Krishna's maiden Hindi venture, *Thakkar*, was a moderate success which is probably why the actor is producing a second Hindi film. *Awaaz* is the Hindi remake of the controversial Kannada hit, *Antha*. *Hema Malini* is to star opposite *Jeetendra* in *Awaaz*. Other popular stars who have been signed up are *Parveen Babi* and *Sarika*. The film is going to be remade into Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil. Already the Telugu version has created a sensation among the top distributors of Andhra Pradesh because the theme of the film has striking resemblance to an incident that has recently occurred in the state.

Although *Akkineni Nageshwara Rao* has been accepted as a top ranking star over the last four decades, for a long while he did not have a hit film to his name. Finally, thanks to his performance in *Pre-mahhishekam*, directed by *Dasari Narayana Rao*, he has come to the forefront. The film has had a long run and is about to celebrate its silver jubilee in twenty centres in Andhra Pradesh. The film will be remade in Hindi. The Hindi version too will be directed by *Dasari Narayana Rao* and it will star *Jeetendra*. Incidentally, *Rao* is *Jeetendra's* favourite director who gave him a box-office hit in *Jyoti Bane Jwala*, the Hindi remake of a Telugu superhit film.

"I didn't enter the film industry to make plenty of dirty money...I had a car of my own and a house too. So why do you expect me to sign across the dotted line and do stupidly-written roles?" says a rather irritated *Pratap Pothen* whenever producers approach him with roles that are particularly inconsequential. Most producers are, of course, aware of *Pratap's* fascination for sincere roles and thus do not approach him with whatever they have on hand.



Jeetendra: popular among southern directors

K. R. Vijaya is trying her utmost to save her family from the blow that is due from her husband, *Velayudhan's*, sinking business. Although *Vijaya* has joined the ranks of senior artists, she is still very much in demand. She was the main attraction of the much-discussed Telugu musical *Thyagayya*, and has starred opposite *Sivaji Ganesan* in

two recent hits: *Sathyam Sundaram* and *Kalthoon*. By a stroke of bad luck her home production company was forced to wind up following a series of flops. Nevertheless, she still remains a very talented star who possesses that rare quality among heroines: punctuality. This probably means that *Vijaya* has some more years in the industry.

Hema: popular in Hindi remakes



Sumalatha: making it big?



Despite the high hopes that *Sathyakala* had pinned on the Tamil release *Thanimaram*, the film managed to be only an average affair. Fortunately for *Sathyakala*, her recent release *Vidiyum Varai Kathiru* is doing quite an impressive business.

Looks like *Sukumar*, *LMGR's* nephew, does not possess his uncle's acting talents. Not one of the three Tamil films released recently became a box-office hit. Undaunted, *Sukumar* has turned a producer. Surprisingly, in spite of his failure as an actor, he plays the hero in his feature film. His heroine is one *Saira Banu*, only a namesake of Bombay's glamorous heroine, *Saira*.

PIOUSJI

THE WORLD

Qadhafi behind Giscard's defeat

In the recent elections for the French Presidency Giscard d'Estaing had to contend not only with his socialist rivals at home but also with the Central African Empire's exiled emperor Bokassa who made a determined effort to undermine Giscard's re-election prospects (*World*, 24 May). And now Col Qadhafi of Libya claims that he had set up Bokassa against Giscard, helped him to publish damaging documents about his relationship with the then President of France and thereby contributed to Francois Mitterrand's victory. In a recent interview with the French leftwing daily, *Liberation*, Col Qadhafi said that his country had "rejoiced" over Giscard's defeat which "marked the fall of French military colonialism and the end of exploitation in Africa."



Colonel Qadhafi

Sacking for Khomeini

Ticket office clerk Farideh Mirbod (35) and finance department clerk Nazi Amir-Ansari (36) of Iran Air's London office lost their jobs recently because they were found to be "opposed to the Ayatollah's regime in Iran." Both women filed petitions with an industrial tribunal in Chelsea and later Mrs Mirbod told the tribunal: "I was interviewed by a visiting inquisitor

from Tehran. I thought he wanted to know about my job but the man said, 'No, I want to know who goes to Hyde Park.' I'd never been there but I'd heard that at that time many Iranians were going to Speaker's Corner and criticising the Ayatollah's regime. He wanted me to give names...but I didn't know any. A few days later I received a suspension notice."

Inflation cure

In a letter to the country's treasury minister, Italy's powerful National Consumer Union (NCU) has called for a "simple solution" to growing inflation: printing bigger currency notes which would play a "psychologically important" role. An NCU official later explained: "If you have a note which is so big that it has to be folded twice before you put it into your wallet, you are going to think twice before pulling it out to spend." He referred to Italy's famous "bedsheet banknotes," the largest in the western world (50 sq inches each), which were withdrawn from circulation in 1969.

Hijack foiled

It is still not clear as to which Gulf country the small arms and ammunition were being shipped from Britain recently; but the International Maritime Bureau has confirmed that it foiled a plot (presumably by IRA men) to hijack the consignment to Ulster and scuttle the ship in such a way as to make it look like an accident which would entitle the shipowner to claim insurance. Though without any evidence of direct action, the bureau spread the word among Irish terrorists that it was aware of the plot and also forced the shipowner to travel on the vessel till it reached its destination.

Briefly

Bread, no butter

US secretary of state Alexander Haig is not opposed to the policy of unrestricted sale of American grain to Russia; however, butter is a different issue. The US agriculture department is keen to get rid of

its butter surplus (growing at the rate of 10 million pounds a week) but Mr Haig is not willing to have it sold to Russia because that would mean "sending the wrong signal to Moscow."

Monroe's bra sold

Marilyn Monroe's pink mesh bra (size 36 D) which she had left behind at a salon in Greek Street, London, in the early Sixties, along with her evening bag and white gloves, was auctioned recent-

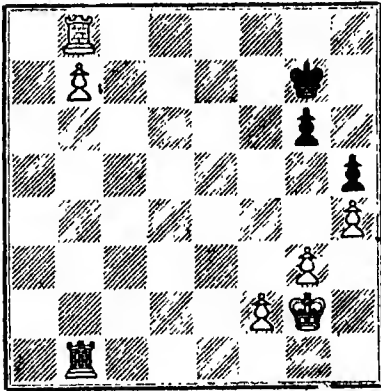
ly at the famous Sotheby's Belgravia. The lot fetched £520 from Stanley Marsh III of Texas who is known for his eccentric tastes; he said he was buying the bra for his wife.

Rearguard action



Six hundred West German and Swiss ecologists staged a demonstration on 7 June this year near the French Fessenheim nuclear centre close to the French-German border at Strasbourg; 11 of them decided to take time out to expose their buttocks to motorists on the highway.

chess



Once upon a time two extra pawns were sufficient to win a game of chess, but in the season of Santa Claus even the most scientific of values can be obscured. With this in mind I give the following endgame puzzle which may well question some of your preconceptions about rook end pawn endings (see diagram) White (to play) has two pawns more, but can he win? Warning: the answer is not simple

Let me give a little background information to help you on your way
 Firstly, if White gives up his QNP the ending of the three pawns versus two is always drawn. So White cannot move his rook. Black, on the other hand, is also very restricted. His rook can never move off the QN file unless it is with check, or else White will move his rook and promote the QNP immediately. Secondly, Black's king can only live on the two squares KN2, KR2. Why? Because if he strays to the third rank then White wins by a rook check and promoting the pawn, while K-B2 allows the trick 1 R-KR8, RxP 2 R-R7+ end 3 RxR

So Black's situation is precarious. But it is not so easy to nudge him over the precipice. By the way, if you feel the festive impulse to cheat by burrowing away through your endgame books, you are quite safe: you will not find the answer in any of them.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



reporting a pairs event in Colorado, Canadian Eric Kokish describes a pretty and unusual defence played by a team-mate, George Mittelman.

Dealer, South Game ell

♠ 3 2
 ♥ K
 ♦ A 9 8 6 4
 ♣ A J 6 4 2

♠ 8 5 4
 ♥ Q 9 2
 ♦ K Q 10 5 3
 ♣ 9 7

♠ A 9 7 6
 ♥ A 3
 ♦ J 7
 ♣ K 10 8 5 3

♠ K Q J 10
 ♥ J 10 8 7 6 5 4
 ♦ 2
 ♣ Q

The bidding went

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
No	No	No	1♠ (1)
2♥	2♠	double (2)	No
3♥	No	4♥ (3)	No
No	No (4)		

- (1) The idea of opening One Spade rather than One Club in fourth position is to make it more hazardous for opponents to intervene. East is hoping to snatch a part score.
- (2) This is a typical competitive double. As the bidding has gone, North cannot want to double Two Spades for penalties. The message is 'We can compete in one way or another. I have values in both unbid suits and can stand a rebid of your suit.'
- (3) Doubtful. I would have thought, opposite a passed hand in effect, North is raising Two Hearts to Four Hearts.
- (4) At rubber bridge West might double, but in a pairs you expect a good score already if you can beat a contract that may not be reached at other tables.

The modern style is to lead low from three cards of partner's suit, but when the suit has been supported it is sensible to lead the top card from three small. West led ♠ 8, therefore, and East ducked. South played a heart to the King and Ace. Now East led another low spade, enabling West, when he came in with ♥ Q, to lead a third spade and obtain a ruff.

Bridge: The Elements of Play, by G C H Fox (Robert Hale, £4.95) is a simply written account of the play of the cards, reflecting the author's expertise as the leading light of the English Bridge Union Teachers Association. **Trick 13**, by Terence Reese and Jeremy Flint, has been published in a new edition by Bibliogora, PO Box 7, Hounslow TW3 2LA, £3.95 plus 20p p & p. The publishers describe it as a novel of murder and chicanery among international bridge players.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



Although philately has been a popular pastime for well over a century, the modern hobby may be said to date from 1935, when 60 British Empire countries issued special stamps to mark the silver jubilee of King George V. The stamps from the Crown colonies were in the same basic design showing the King's portrait and a view of Windsor Castle. The issue was widely publicised and attracted many new collectors. They could then have bought the 250 Jubilee stamps for about £6. Today's price is nearing £1,000. A more modest silver jubilee falls due this week, when



the STAMPS column celebrates its 25th anniversary. It first appeared, as NEW STAMPS on 11 March 1956 and since then has featured some 1,300 different stamps: old and new, cheap and expensive.

C. W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- 1 What is a photogram?
- 2 What are sarcomas usually associated with?
- 3 What is the Spanish literary movement, best characterised as expressionism, known as?
- 5 What is the word used to mean the application of biological processes, especially of control, to technology?
- 6 What is doomwatch?
- 7 When was the New Apocalypse?



1 It is an abstract or near abstract photograph produced without a camera by the action of light and shade on sensitised paper.

2 Cancer Cancers have been crudely subdivided into tumours of epithelial tissues (carcinomas) and tumours of cells belonging to the connective tissue and bony laminae (sarcomas).

3 Ultraism The movement flourished around 1919-1923. The ultraists purged all rhetorical romantic and anthropomorphic elements from poetic language. An element which exists in more than one mode or structural form.

5 Bonus: The word was coined by Dr Hans J. Cremer from two words Biological and Electronics.

6 It is a word which was popularised through a BBC television series of the early 1970s about a semi-official watch-dog agency which monitored development in all fields of scientific research and acted whenever it felt that human ignored or flouted values of social responsibility and undisciplined style.

7 It was a short-lived poetic movement during World War II, best characterised by its youthful, grandiloquent and undisciplined style.



BROACH: A young girl has refused to marry the young man, chosen to be her husband as some members of the *baraat* (bridegroom's party) came drunk for the wedding celebrations. The girl was waiting to get married to the young man at Borbhata village.—*Hindustan Times* (Rajesh Karnik, New Delhi)

NEW DELHI: About 1,500 candidates from Bombay, Bangalore and Bhopal, who had applied for the Civil Services examination to be held next week, were astonished to receive letters from the Union Public Service Commission admitting them to the National Defence Academy examination. Anxious letters to the commission eventually rectified the error. Candidates at Hyderabad were misinformed about their examination centres. In some cases, the centres and the locations did not match and a few locations did not exist. These are but a few of the faults of the computers installed by the commission.—*Statesman* (Erwin K. Suchang, Shillong)

MORADABAD: A 16-year-old boy was shot dead by two police constables, who were allegedly under the influence of liquor at Kanth town. The constables have been dismissed from service and arrested by the Senior Superintendent of Police, Mr Dharamvir Mehta. They were on patrol duty when they drank liquor and shot dead the boy for fun.—*Hindu* (G. Nagarajan, Nagpur)

NEW DELHI: One person was killed and two were injured when residents of Katra Dhanpat Rai in the Azadpur area attacked each other with knives and lathis over sleeping space in the alley. The injured, Mairajuddin and Muzaffar Ali were taken to hospital. The dead man was identified as Naseem Ahmad. The clash occurred following a quarrel over the placing of a cot. One of the residents accused his neighbour of usurping his sleeping place. Words were exchanged. More persons entered the fray and a clash followed. Nine persons have been

arrested. The police are looking for two more.—*Indian Express* (Lakshmi Kamalakar, Dehradun)

DEORIA: An examinee appearing in Padrauna Inter College as a private candidate refused to marry his fiancée on the ground that his prospective brother-in-law did not help him in copying. It is reported that before the settlement of marriage the brother of the girl had promised to come to be examination centre and help the boy but due to certain unavoidable reasons he could not come and help him. This infuriated the examinee who refused to marry saying "those who did not help in examination cannot make good in-laws"—*Northern India Patrika* (M. P. Yadav, Lucknow)

RAMPUR: A constable, posted at Agra, was enjoying his leave in a novel way. Attired in his uniform, the constable caught people at random from cinema houses and local post offices asking them to remove their watches. He told them to collect the watches from the *kotwali* (police headquarters) after producing proper cash memos. But the local police, acting on complaints, nabbed the alleged cheat before he could dispose of the watches. The police also confiscated a gun belonging to the constable.—*Times of India* (Rupa Batra, Dhanbad)

BARODA: The city police received a surprise packet in the mail: 18 tolas of gold ornaments, returned by a burglar. According to Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr M. K. Tandon, the gold ornaments were posted from Ahmedabad in an ordinary envelope with a 35 paisa stamp. The envelope was received at the Maarpur police station. About 21 tolas (250 grammes) of gold ornaments had been stolen. The burglar appeared to have decided to keep the rest. The police had to pay a fine of about Rs 6 to the Posts and Telegraphs Department as the burglar had not affixed enough postage stamps.—*Statesman* (Rajinder Singh, New Delhi)

TRIVANDRUM: Union information and broadcasting minister Vasant Sathe said the Congress-U has become "Congress (Queue)". They (Congress-U men) were queuing up for admission to the Congress(I) which went to show that their IQ was improving the minister said. Mr Sathe said that the Congress (U) men will find out which is the real Congress when reality draws on them. "Chavan Saab" he said "has seen reality the others soon will"—*Indian Express* (B. S. Bharathi Shankar, Bangalore)

While other parties are streams by themselves, the Congress(I) is the mainstream.—Y. B. Chavan

Mr Pawar is a man and not a mouse. He is a man of principles and his stand is praiseworthy.—Rajni Patel, Congress(U) leader on Sharad Pawar's decision not to join Congress(I)

There can be no person more loyal to Mrs Gandhi than I am.—A. R. Antulay, Maharashtra CM

These people, the opposition-wallahs, never wanted him (Sanjay Gandhi). And maybe because of that he is no more.—Mrs Gandhi
Unity among the opposition parties cannot be achieved at the leaders' level. It is the electorate which can provide a definite direction for opposition unity.—A. B. Vajpayee, BJP president

There is nobody other than Indira Gandhi who can keep the country united. We don't have any leader of her calibre.—Faroq Abdullah, MP and president of National Conference in *Current*

By 1985, it (BJP) should be ready to take over the government.—Ram Jethmalani, BJP leader in *Sunday Mid-day*

Like the Kennedys, he (Rajiv Gandhi) has inherited a tradition of service to the nation.—Kalpnath Rai, AICC(I) general secretary in *Blitz*

The American government is not a policeman. It ought to correct its own behaviour before it talks about the behaviour of others.—Colonel Qadhafi in *Time*

We are on a tightrope and we cannot stay there forever. When the Soviets start teaching Pakistan a lesson, Pakistan must have at least a fair chance.—President Zia-ul-Haq

Our continent is a theatre of political commotion.—Edem Kodjo, secretary-general, Organisation of African Unity

The German debt to the Jewish people can never end—not in this generation.—Menachem Begin, Israeli PM

We regard China's strength, security and well-being as fundamental to the global balance that is the basis for our own security.—Alexander Haig, US secretary of state

It's wrong to underestimate the Aussies. Pick up 11 blokes from Bondi beach, pitch them into a test match and you can be sure they'll give you one helluva fight.—Ian Botham

Beginning 5 July



ARIES (15 April—14 May)

You are advised to be cautious this week. Guard against deception from friends and associates.

Follow your intuition and make use of any good influence that comes your way. Postpone decision-making this week and do not make any changes unless absolutely necessary. No new undertaking should be planned. **Good dates:** 5, 7 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



LEO (15 August—14 September)

This is not a very lucky week for you. You are advised not to enter into controversies with your superiors and elders. Exercise caution in business matters. Do not hesitate to seek advice from an elderly person. Prospects for romance are not particularly bright this week. The end of the week may bring you a pleasant surprise. **Good dates:** 5, 8 and 9. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and North.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January)

A fair measure of good fortune is in store for you this week. Let your intuition be your guide and try to set right mistakes you have committed in the past week. You will earn the respect of your employers and those in authority. The health of your family may cause you some anxiety. Keep an eye on your expenditure. **Good dates:** 8, 10 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June)

This is a fairly successful week for you. Your efforts will be crowned with success provided you concentrate on your work. Your financial condition, however, will improve at a slow pace. Do not do anything hastily. Exercise tact and patience in dealings with your elders and superiors. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 6, 8 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 4. **Favourable directions:** South and East.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October)

A pleasant week lies ahead of you. The financial front is not going to improve drastically. Let it not discourage you. Socially, this is a very active week. Friends and relations will brighten the week for you. This is not a good week for pursuing legal matters. A friendship with a very attractive person of the opposite sex is in the offing. **Good dates:** 7, 8 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February)

Rewards will not be in keeping with your efforts. You will experience both physical and mental strain. Do not lose your temper. Suits and debts will cause you great anxiety. You may not find an easy solution for your problems. Avoid any questionable romance. Keep an eye on the health of the female members of your family. **Good dates:** 5, 10 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July)

A week of steady and at times rapid progress is in store for you. You will gain through property matters or insurance policies. Your intuition will prove reliable especially in love affairs. The domestic front will be peaceful. For those in service, a promotion towards the end of the week is likely. **Good dates:** 5, 10 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 7 and 9. **Favourable directions:** West and North.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November)

This is not a favourable week for you. There will be serious delays and obstacles. But do not be discouraged. This is a good week for travel. Curb extravagant tendencies especially in connection with your romance. Personal happiness will depend on your ability to curb temptations. **Good dates:** 6, 9 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March)

Your boundless energy and ambition will bring you a fair amount of success this week. Guard against overstrain. Be cautious in your dealings with elders. A secret matter will progress considerably. Young people will contribute to your happiness. A new friendship is in the offing. **Good dates:** 5, 6 and 9. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 6. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



CANCER (15 July—14 August)

Stellar influences make this a very lucky week for you. Push your business interests to the utmost. A promotion for those in services is not unlikely. Exercise tact and patience in your dealings. A person of the opposite sex will prove extremely helpful. You are advised to check extravagant tendencies. A letter will bring you good news. **Good dates:** 7, 9 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December)

This week promises to be remarkably successful. There will be at least one big opportunity coming your way. Friends will prove helpful. Legal matters will be solved and suits will be settled in your favour. You will find yourself in a position to repay some of your debts. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 5, 8 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



PISCES (15 March—14 April)

This is a fairly good week for you. You will be able to deal with your financial problems successfully. The domestic front will remain fairly peaceful. The chances may get transfer orders. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 7, 9 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 7 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and North.

AMRITLAL

For those born between 15 June and 14 July: Geminites are usually soft-hearted, broad-minded but fickle. They have artistic talents, are intelligent and have good speaking powers. These people are usually attracted by secret and mysterious elements. Those below 35 years are likely to face a lot of obstructions and hindrances in their day-to-day lives. They will have peace from the 36th year onwards. Actors, film-directors and doctors will gain prestige and respect this year. For these people, however, financial gains are out of the question. Many Geminites will gain spiritual enlightenment. Chemists and engineers are likely to change their place of work very soon. They will do so primarily for financial gains. These people should, however, be careful about spending money.

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goodness. Cadbury's Drinking Chocolate: The most
relaxing way to wind up your day. With a good night...



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Press wars

It erupted all of a sudden. It has only local significance today but it can have a global impact if allowed to prolong.

The war between one agency and two professional bodies in the capital over a piece of government territory last week came into the open. Only then did we know that the prevailing peace in press circles was just an uneasy lull.

The dispute is over a piece of land. The news agency says that it belongs to them and the government has concluded an agreement with them. The press bodies say that they have undisputed, inalienable right over that land.

If the dispute is allowed to continue, the news-flow will be affected. The government may have to appoint agents and immediately start some spot news buying from the international market. The cabinet may review and assess the new situation that has arisen out of this pressure on our foreign exchange reserves.

However, steps are being taken, it is learnt, to see that the "limited war" is not spread further. I say "it is

learnt" because the details of such operations have strategic importance and it should not be given out in the interest of peace. And we want to continue our tirade against war and war-mongering. And we newsmen never scoop so low to conquer!

It was soon decided that the government should send a peace delegation to see that the matter was negotiated and settled peacefully, for, what is involved is news production and propagation. Five non-interested organisations were contacted to use their good offices.

The leaders of five non-interested organisations gathered and put their heads together to find an acceptable solution to the vexed problem. Initial contacts were made with the headquarters of warring groups. The spokesman said, "We have reason to believe that initial response was reasonably favourable."

"Solutions emerge as a result of our discussions with both parties who are not friends," was the reply by the spokesman. "What we note is that there is dialectical consensus on some

important issues."

"This is important for the success of the talks. Being a very delicate issue we shall proceed as the matter develops," was the answer. "We have contacted both parties simultaneously."

"Could you declare the land as no-man's land?"
"That will be running away from the problem."

"But how did the government sign an agreement with the agency when there were other parties to the understanding?"

"The freedom of the agency is different from the freedom of the press."
"Then how do you go about it?"

"We shall continue to shuttle between the two and make sincere efforts and ultimately Dharma will triumph."

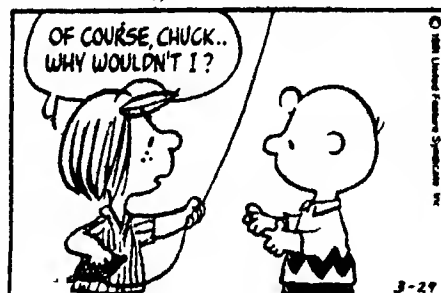
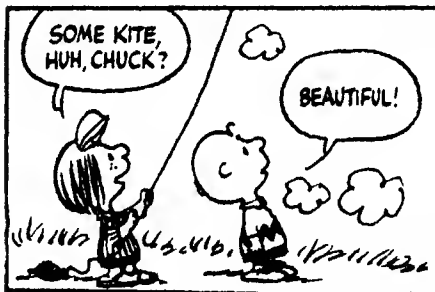
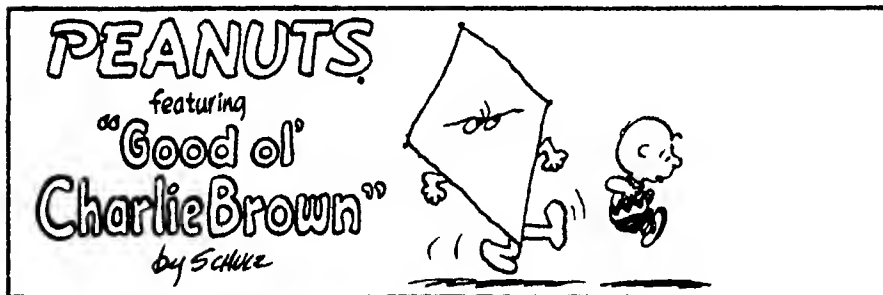
"Dharma?"

"It has always come to our help since ages immemorial."

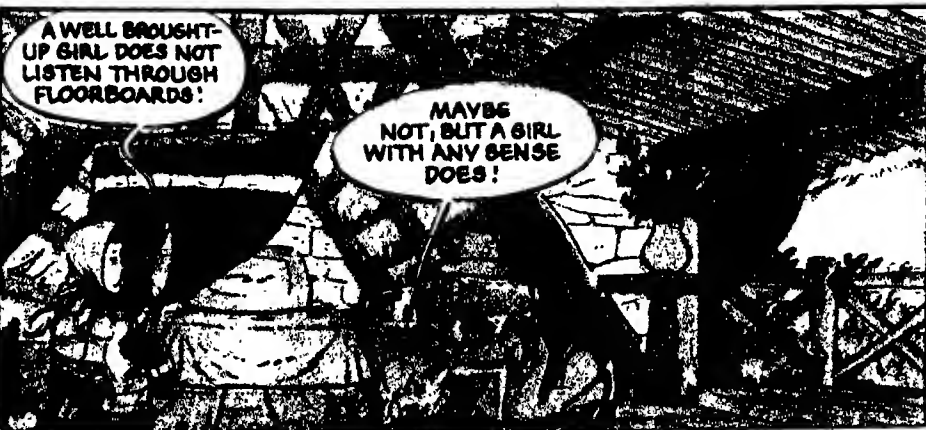
"Earlier the act of Dharma helped the proprietors to grab the place allotted to the press bodies, they say," I pointed out again.

"Dharma takes different forms in different times. This time genuine Dharma will triumph."

V.K. MADHAVAN KUTTY







SARIN TO SOLVE PHONE PROBLEMS

WHEREVER there is trouble, the central government seems to have one common answer: send Mr Harish Chandra Sarin, an ICS and former defence secretary, to the spot: Telengana in 1971; Gujarat in 1974; Assam in 1980. Now, it seems the communications ministry headed by Mr C. M. Stephen is considered to be in as bad a shape as those states in their strife-torn days. Mr Sarin has been appointed the head of a committee which will look into its ills. And Mr Sarin did not take long to get acquainted with the problem: it took the government two full days to inform him about his new appointment since his telephone was out of order.



H. C. Sarin: quick education

KALPNATH RAI WANTS EMERGENCY IN BENGAL

IF the Congress(I) general secretary, Mr Kalpnath Rai, has his way, a state of "internal Emergency" will be declared in West Bengal soon. On 5 June, both Mr Rai and the union home minister, Mr Zail Singh, were in Allahabad in connection with the Lok Sabha by-election there. Newsmen asked the home minister if there was any chance of an internal Emergency being declared and Mr Zail Singh categorically stated that there was "no question of reimposing internal Emergency." But Mr Rai chipped in, "Except in West Bengal, where the law and order has collapsed." Mr Zail Singh looked embarrassed and quickly reiterated: "As the home minister, I cannot say that." But then, as the home minister, neither can he stop the irrepressible Mr Rai from putting his foot into his mouth.

THE ILLEGAL MARRIAGE OF MLAs

AS we had anticipated (*News SUNDAY 21 June*), the young MLA from Kanpur General constituency, Ms Sumanlata Dixit, and fellow-MLA, Mr Bhola Pandey (of the Varanasi Indian Airlines Boeing hijack fame), who got married recently, have been served with show cause notices by the UPCC(I) chief, Mr B. N. Pandey. This is because Mr Bhola Pandey is a married man and bigamy is a cognisable offence. When a senior Indian Youth Congress(I) leader met Ms Dixit at Amethi during the recent campaign, he chided her for marrying a man who had a wife and two kids and thereby jeopardising her political career (she is also a general secretary of the Youth Congress(I)'s UP unit). Ms Dixit nonchalantly told the central officebearer that his information was wrong, Mr Bhola Pandey had only one child.

YASHPAL KAPOOR: STILL OUT

DID you know that the managing director of the *National Herald* group of newspapers, Mr Yashpal Kapoor, had taken six weeks' leave on the eve of the by-elections in mid-June to go campaigning? But the Congress(I) leadership politely asked him to stay away from the campaign trail. So, Mr Kapoor decided to visit Amethi as a "journalist," accompanying the *National Herald* editor, Mr Hari Jaisingh, who had been granted an interview by Mr Rajiv Gandhi. But when Mr Gandhi learnt that the managing director had come along with the

editor, the interview was cancelled. Apparently this old staffer of Mrs Gandhi has still many miles to go before he regains the confidence of the Nehru-Gandhi household.

Yashpal Kapoor: out in the cold



TAX RAID HEROES

ON 25 May, a function was held at the Pyarelal Bhavan auditorium in New Delhi which reminded one of the prize-distribution ceremonies in Hindi movies. The central board of direct taxes (CBDT) had decided to honour the "heroes" of the Srinagar income tax raids conducted in late April. Each participant in the raids was given a certificate by the chairman of the CBDT, Mr O. V. Kuruvilla, conveying the "appreciation of the central government" for his "exemplary devotion to duty." Describing the search as "one of the biggest of its kind," the certificates stated that, "during the search the officers successfully encountered and overcame mob violence which was engineered by interested parties." Copies of the certificates are being placed on the confidential character files of the officers. Normally, central government officers are told about either the "displeasure" or "appreciation" of "the President of India." Why did not the chairman of the CBDT refer to the President in these certificates? Was the language and the form of the certificates in tune with that normally used by the government?

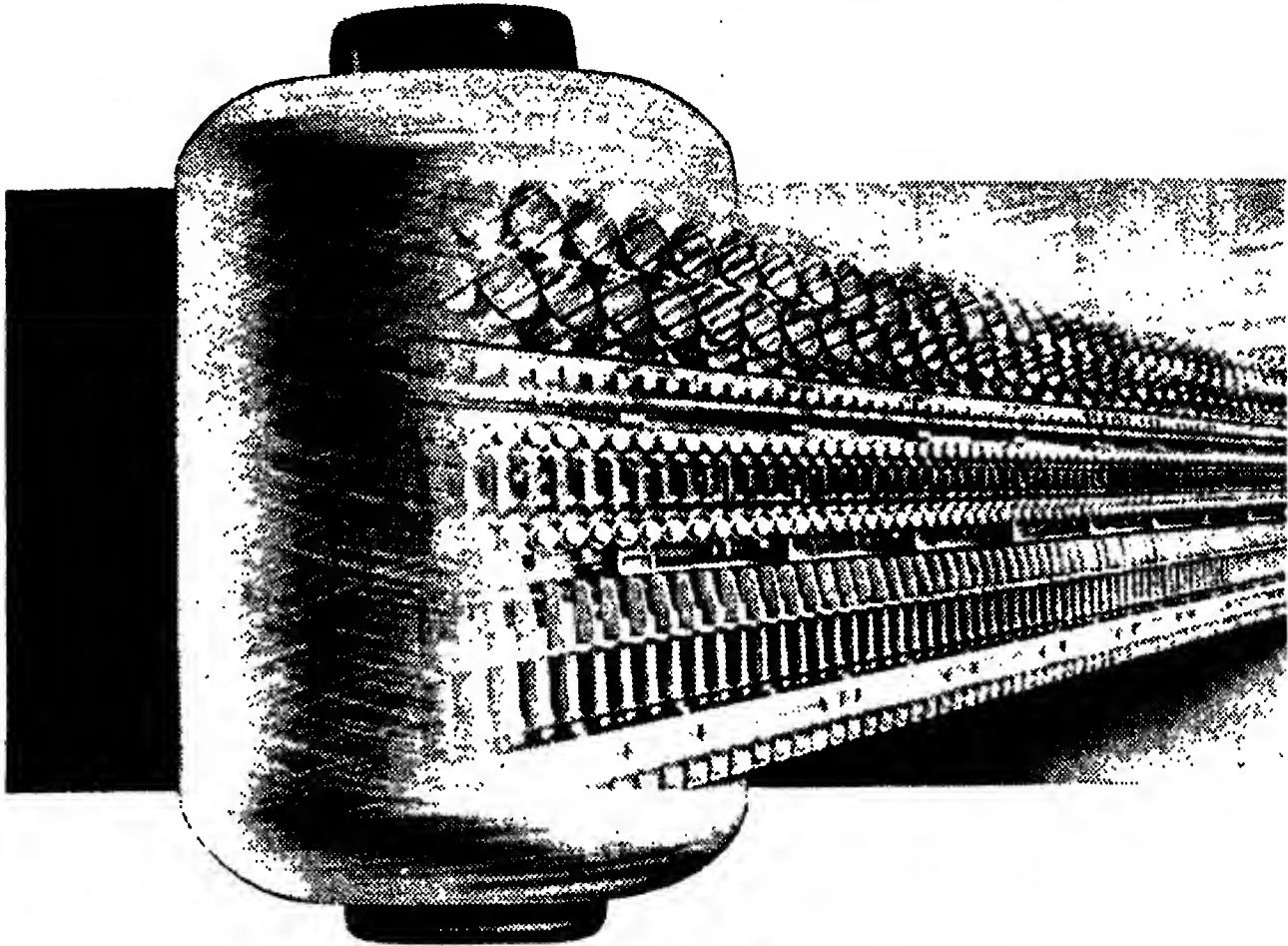
RAW BOSS IN TROUBLE?

THE Congress(I) government has at last got a chance to get even with the director of the research and analysis wing (RAW), Mr N. F. Suntook, who was appointed to the post during the Janata days. Mr Suntook had treaded on the toes of his predecessor, Mr Ram Nath Kao, and Mr Kao's famous deputy, Mr Shankaran Nair. Both these gentlemen are now non-official advisors to the Prime Minister on security matters. After the death of President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh, the PM's advisors have reportedly been wondering if there has not been an intelligence failure. The government had no inkling of Zia's impending assassination. Incidentally, when Mr Kao was at the helm of the RAW, Indian intelligence could neither predict nor prevent the murder of the Bangabandhu.

TAILPIECE: Did you know that the vice-chairman and managing director of Maruti Udyog Ltd, Mr V. Krishnamurthi, has been rechristened "Krishnamaruti?"

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

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SUNDAY

**The Summer
of 1948**

by John Arlott

**Who Killed
Palm Dhar ?**



**Bahuguna's
Victory**



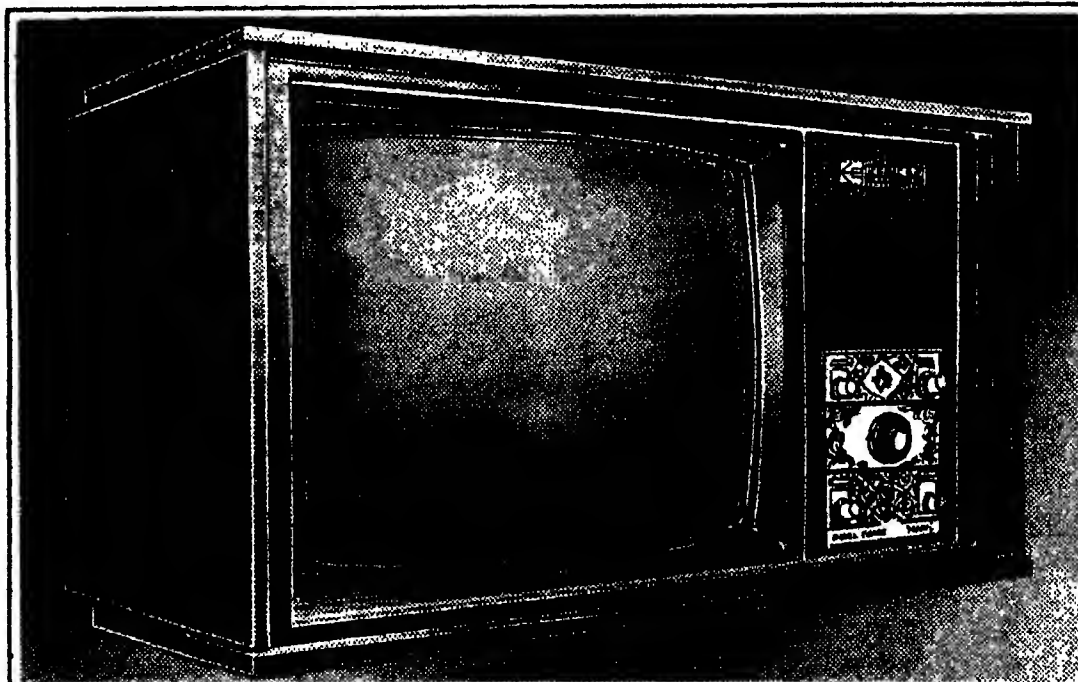
**The
Destruction
of Y.B.Chavan**

*How blue films are shown
in regular theatres*

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Mrs Gandhi has destroyed Y. B. Chavan's political career by keeping him waiting at the doorsteps of the Congress(I). How did he come to suffer such a humiliation? Where did his calculations go wrong? Why did he quit the Congress(U) in the first place? Olga Tellis reports. **Page 8**

The battle for the Ashes in the English summer of 1948 was one of the most memorable with legendary names leading the attack on both sides. John Arlott remembers. **Page 16**

On the night of 10 June, Palm Dhar, a 28-year-old Calcutta hotel dancer, burnt to death in her single-room apartment. Why did she die and who killed her? **Page 20**



H. N. Bahuguna may not be in Parliament yet but the success of his historic election petition has meant a tremendous victory for him. How did the Congress(I) go about systematically rigging the Garhwal by-election and how did the Bahuguna camp fight back? Anil Saari gives a blow-by-blow account. **Page 12**

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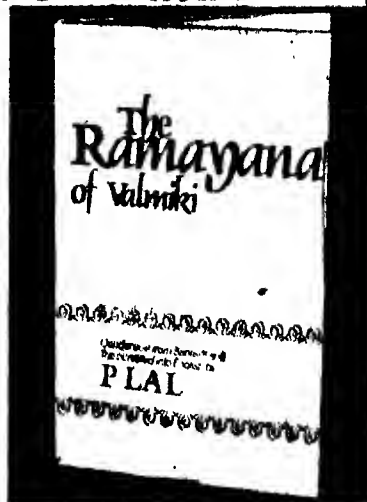
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**EXCLUSIVE
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EXCLUSIVE**

BY KULDIP NAYAR

Tank spares can again land up in wrong places

“Tentatively approx 3,000 tons of Centurion spares are to be dispatched to Bombay. The consignment being FOB Bombay you may liaise with railway to procure wagons at short notice...” This is what army headquarters letter no Bo A/94008/27/OS-ID dated 21 August 1980 said. The three thousand tons of tank spare parts have since been shipped to Auto Levy of Toronto

But it appears that we have not heard the last of the spare parts yet. Major General Mohoni, who dealt with the case and opposed the sale (for Rs 70 lakhs as against the book value of Rs 6.40 crores) was first demoted and then transferred out of Delhi. He has now been retired.

Still worse is the unconfirmed news from Toronto that Auto Levy is negotiating with countries like Israel and South Africa to dispose of the spare parts. They can also be used to retro-fit old Centurion tanks. Israel has found modified Centurion tanks better than the Russian T-72 used by Syria

India has no way of stopping Auto Levy from selling spare parts to an unfriendly country because the end-use certificate has not been obtained in this case. This certificate is an undertaking on behalf of a buyer that the spare parts will not fall into the hands of an enemy or “undesirable” country. In fact, the defence ministry was in such a hurry that it did not even obtain the sanction of the external affairs ministry, a requirement under the government’s procedures.

During the Janata rule an end-use certificate was obtained for the sale of 90 Centurion tanks in 1977. But the defence ministry at that time did not bother to look into the credentials of the Spanish firm with which the deal was made. India’s mission in Madrid had warned that

there was no firm by the name mentioned in the end-use certificate. The ship carrying the tanks did not go to Spain but went straight to Durban (South Africa) from Bombay.

As regards reconditioning old Centurion tanks, one wonders why India herself is not doing so. She has the facilities and the knowhow for it and the cost will be small compared to the price of a new tank. In 1977, a scheme was prepared for low-cost “retro-fitment” of Centurion tanks. The expense involved was estimated at Rs one lakh per tank. But for certain reasons the scheme was dropped.

According to military experts, the Centurion tank can be suitably modified by replacing the existing petrol engine and gear box and by mounting on it the 105 mm gun produced in the country and fitted to the Vijayanta tank. The army base workshop in Delhi has spare capacity which, a source alleges, is utilised to repair Ambassador cars and build truck bodies! In fact, the 125 Centurion tanks India still has were nearly sold last year. The noise in Parliament stopped it. Auto Levy was again the firm involved. Vickers of Britain were also

keen on buying them on behalf of Morocco and were said to be offering more.

Another disturbing news is that some papers concerning the deal are not traceable. The 23 May 1980 meeting on it, attended by top officials, was crucial. Major General Mohoni found after the meeting that his “objection” that the price was low had been treated as an “observation.” When he discovered this from the minutes, he sent a letter pointing out that what he said was that if the spare parts were to be sold as scrap alone, they would fetch a higher price. The minutes were never corrected.

The representative of the finance ministry, Mr C. L. Chowdhary, additional financial adviser, present at the 23 May meeting, did not object to the minutes but said in an internal note for his section before leaving on a trip abroad that the price offered was low and that a careful scrutiny be made when the file came up for processing.

When the file reached the financial adviser’s office, it was marked to the secretary (expenditure) who showed it to the finance minister. It was suggested on the file that the sale of spare parts, along with Centurion tanks, would be more beneficial. However, the then minister of state for defence, Mr C. P. N. Singh, ordered the delinking of the two. The army’s reservations on the price being low were not brought to the notice of the finance minister when the file was referred to him again.

Now pressure is being exerted on the government to sell the old 125 Centurion tanks because they are beyond redemption. Since the defence ministry declared only early this year that it was not selling the Centurion tanks, changing the decision so quickly would look rather odd. But one gets the feeling that the government may not be able to resist the pressure for long because the buyers from abroad have influential Indian parties to push their case

The Centurion tank





Tragic end

The meaning of the bullet (7 June) was excellent. I fail to understand how General Zia did not get wind of the conspiracy against him.
Nikhil Bihari Panda, Rourkela

A word of praise for the beautiful cover photograph, it clearly portrayed the personality of General Zia.
Vivek Sen, Kalyan Nagar (West Bengal)

The cover story made exciting reading, it was like an extract from one of Alistair Maclean's novels.
Shahid Anni, Bokaro

Thanks to SUNDAY for the brilliant cover story.
Yasobanta N Dhar, Bhubaneswar

It was painful to read the report on Zia's assassination.
Sampa Roy, Bokaro

It is a pity that Bangladesh has once again been thrown into an abyss
Mohd Mobeen Ahniad, Bangalore

Zia's death came at a time when Bangladesh was showing signs of political stability. The future of that country depends on its forthcoming elections.
Leela Muthuswamy, Tiruppur

The people of Bangladesh will not find another leader with the stature and personality of General Zia.
Ishtiaque Ahmad, Calcutta

Zia was a dynamic leader who did a lot for his country, particularly in the sphere of economic development and international relations. For the people of Bangladesh his death must have been really tragic.
Suptiyo Bauerjee, Puri

Zia's assassination clearly indicates that the effort to reconcile democratic and military norms is futile.
Debasish Ray, Vanvihar (Orissa)

The cover story was informative, Zia's fate was no different from that of other dictators in the past who ruled by the gun.
Bhabagrahi Jena, Karanjia (Orissa)

While congratulating SUNDAY for the detailed report on Zia's assassination, I am looking forward to an exclusive story on Maj Gen. Manzoor Ahmad who, it seems, was not actually responsible for the crime.
Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan

The cover story, though otherwise graphic, contained a number of loopholes from which I conclude that Zia's assassination was not masterminded by Maj Gen. Manzoor Ahmed; it was perhaps someone in Dacca who wanted to get rid of Zia and discredit Manzoor in the process. If Manzoor was alive and put on trial he might have revealed some startling facts.
P K Chakrabarti, Calcutta

Left turn

Tooshar Pandit's Kerala: RSS vs CPI(M) (24 May) was a belated assessment of the situation in the state. More interesting was chief minister Nayanar's interview in which he said that the RSS is behind the murder of CPI(M) activists. But who is responsible for the killing of RSS workers? As regards the RSS gaining strength in Kerala, the truth is that the leftists have failed miserably as administrators.
Abdul Razak, Muvattupuzha

Tooshar Pandit interviewed the Kerala chief minister, but what about the other side of the story? Surely he could have spoken to local RSS leaders as well. It seems SUNDAY is a CPI(M) mouthpiece.
Anil S. Kulkarni, Nagpur

What price SUNDAY?

It is regrettable that the price of SUNDAY has doubled over the last seven months. Has the price of newsprint also doubled over this period?
Ashoke Sanyal, Coochbehar

It has become necessary to win the last letter prize in order to meet the rising cost of SUNDAY.
Anjum Ahmad, Aurangabad (Bihar)

The concept of dynamism has been well illustrated by the rising price of SUNDAY.
Anil Jain, Calcutta

Previously SUNDAY was referred to as 'Anyday'; now it can be called 'Anyrate'.
Chinmoy Hota, Karanjia (Orissa)

The price-hike bug has bitten SUNDAY.
Umesh Naidu, Dhanbad

While SUNDAY regrets raising its price to Rs two, readers regret that owing to hectic national and international activities they are forced to demand more from the magazine.
D Das, Hooghly (West Bengal)

Mr Clean going places?

Thanks to M. J Akbar for his cover story, *Another sunrise at Amethi* (31 May) I am convinced that with his much-publicised "Mr Clean" image Rajiv Gandhi can get nowhere, only God can help him succeed in politics.
Kamal Kishore Chandel, Bilasi (Bihar)

Rajiv's political debut will in no way help the Congress(I), he can never fill the vacuum created by Sanjay's death.
T. V. S. Murthy, Samhalpur (Orissa)

Dynastic rule should be incorporated in the constitution of India as a salient feature.
M Shams Raza, Araria Court (Bihar)

It should be remembered that the end of 'dynasty' is 'nasty'.
Rabi Chakrabarti, Calcutta

Reading Mr Akbar's comparison between Rajiv and his father, the late Feroze Gandhi, I was reminded of the latter's role as an ordinary MP. In those days I was associated with the then minister of state for external affairs Dr Syed Mahmud. One day Manubhai Bhimani came to Dr Mahmud with documentary evidence against industrialist Mundhia and asked him to take up the matter in Parliament. Dr Mahmud expressed his inability. So Mr Bhimani went to Feroze Gandhi who, without any hesitation, agreed, later he played an important part in exposing Mundhia. I hope Rajiv will follow in his father's footsteps; instead of aspiring to become a minister or the Congress(I) president he should concentrate on exposing the corrupt practices of industrialists.
R N Roy, New Delhi

M J Akbar's questions to newcomer Rajiv ('How can my mother prepare me for Prime Ministership?') were like bouncers to a tailender.
S. Satpathy, Karanjia (Orissa)

No matter what he claims to be, Rajiv is not above others in any way except in family status and influence.
S Ananthaswamy, Bangalore

Rajiv's entry into politics is not surprising, after (one) sunset there has to be (another) sunrise.
Samanta Kumar Majumder, Shillong

Most of our oldtime Hindi film actors are introducing their sons to filmdom; so what is wrong with Mrs Gandhi's efforts to launch Rajiv in politics?
Veenu Bhatia, Ambarnath

Conversions: bold step

Congratulations to SUNDAY for bringing such issues as *Tamil Nadu's converted harijans* (7 June) to public notice. *M. Bhaskara Rao, Calcutta*

The harijans of Meenakshipuram have taken a bold step. I hope the local Muslims will accept them within their fold and set an example of brotherhood. *S. M. Fakhrullah, Gomoh (Bihar)*

I wonder how the news of the conversions has been received all over the country. Will it result in a hate campaign against Muslims? *Utpal Kenwar, Ranchi*

The national press did not give much importance to the conversions in Meenakshipuram, once again it was SUNDAY which carried a detailed report. It was sad to read about the plight of harijans who have had to adopt a new faith. I hope the Muslim community in Tamil Nadu will accept them without any reservation. *Nusrat Jamal, Aligarh*

There is censorship

In his letter (*Opinion*, 7 June) Mushirul Haq has over-reacted to Pakistani poet Fehmida Riaz's claim that *Even the Koran is censored* (10 May) in her country. Obviously what Ms Riaz meant was that those portions of the Koran which speak of tyranny are not allowed to be reproduced or quoted in newspapers or other journals in Pakistan. *A. K. Ray, Calcutta*

Exclusive mischief

Kuldip Nayar's efforts to draw comparisons between the army, IAF, IAS, CRP and BSF in *The army's promotion grievances* (*Exclusive*, 7 June) were misdirected. Each one of these services has its own service rules, therefore if one service provides certain facilities to its personnel, it doesn't follow that the other should. The need for a change in defence service rules may be genuine; but comparisons, apart from being irrelevant, can only cause unending controversy. *D. B. Chetti, Kaiseong*

After reading his views on the problems of defence personnel I can no longer regard Mr Nayar as a seasoned journalist, he has joined the ranks of those who specialise in creating misunderstandings and discord. As an ex-defence personnel I found his comparisons between defence and civil services mischievous. The army has a specific role to play and should not be equated with other administrative services. As for the "stagnation in promotions," Mr Nayar should realise that the army became top-heavy because when the British officers quit in 1947 the vacuum had to be filled by junior officers jumping ranks. *K. R. Bhagat Singh, Bokaro*

Our men-in-uniform have found a good spokesman in Mr Nayar. Earlier they were only critical of IAS and IFS personnel, now, if Mr Nayar's article is any indication, they have also turned against the IPS, CRP and BSF officers. *Anand Sharma, New Delhi*

It seems that true Indians constitute the only minority community in our country; they should close ranks to fight growing communalism.

Ramesh Deshpande, New Delhi

Reading the illiterate harijan farmer Vellaichami's view, "we were not losing anything since we had nothing to lose," I was reminded of Karl Marx's famous words to the workers of the world "You have nothing to lose but your chains." *Bimal Pada Ghosh, Calcutta*

Tooshar Pandit's report revealed the harijans' frustrations, but is largescale conversion the only solution to their problems? Is it as soothing a balm as they think it is? *Ashok Kumar Pandey, Hooghly (West Bengal)*

Mere conversion to another faith is no answer to caste problems. Are there no caste distinctions among Muslims? *C. Jagannathan, Rajapalayam (Tamil Nadu)*

Some reservation(s)

Madhu Limaye's proposals for a new reservation system (*Gujarat: Graveyard of Mahatma's hopes*, 31 May) were contradictory: I could not understand his suggestion to abolish the caste system by "special opportunities and reservation" based on caste distinctions. And his proposal to make inter-caste marriage an essential qualification for gazetted service is absurd, can't a gazetted officer, or a person aspiring to be one, have the liberty to marry the girl of his choice? *Manoranjan Sinha, Swan (Bihar)*

From his *Analysis* Mr Limaye appears to be a typical politician sounding very profound while advocating a new reservation policy based on castes and sub castes. Unfortunately, harijans and other backward people who are the centre of Mr Limaye's concern do not have the money to buy SUNDAY and are not educated enough to read his valuable opinion. *Samir Nath Dutta, Panaji*

Intellectual degradation

I am grateful to SUNDAY for publishing first Mahasweta Devi's version (*No, thank you, says Devi*, 19 April) and then Bhabani Sen Gupta's reply (*The account was not credible*, 7 June). Reading the latter I realised that our intellectuals have very low ethical standards. Not once in his 'counter-offensive' did Prof. Sen Gupta logically refute Mahasweta Devi's allegations against him, he relied on sarcasm (referring to her as "Devi"), boasts (of being known as a "serious and respectful student of Indian communism") and slander (mentioning that Mahasweta Devi borrowed money from his wife). I wonder whether Prof. Sen Gupta has any sense of decency. At any rate he has exposed himself further by hurling such personal remarks at a one-time "friend."

Sajal Chattopadhyay, Bombay

Prof. Sen Gupta's very own words can be used to describe his reply to Mahasweta Devi's charges: "Abnacadabra laced with a couple of newly-minted lies." *Kanailal Datta, New Barakpur (West Bengal)*

One wonders whether Prof. Sen Gupta's remarks can ever be taken seriously; sometime ago he had claimed that no one except Chanakya Sen has written political novels in Bengali—and by now we all know that Chanakya Sen is his very own pseudonym. Nevertheless, his highly personal remarks against Mahasweta Devi deserve a rejoinder.

As far back as in 1979 Mahasweta Devi had mentioned Prof. Sen Gupta's Ford Foundation offer to me. Yet quite simply, it is still a matter of one person's word against the other's. The truth can only be known after checking the classified files of the Ford Foundation. But having known Mahasweta Devi personally, I can say that she has a keen sense of social responsibility and is scrupulously careful about returning things, hospitality included. She is always prepared to help people in need; and that is more than what one can say about other people. As for exchanging gossip, there is no reason for Prof. Sen Gupta to take a holier-than-thou attitude, most of us enjoy this pastime. *Fila Datta, Calcutta*

Piousji trips—again

Piousji has always been giving us wrong information about south Indian films in *Khaas Baat*, not satisfied with that, he has poked his nose into Hindi filmdom in the 7 June issue and committed a big blunder. *Mangalsutra*, according to him, is Anant Nag's second Hindi film ("Ankur being the first"), I would like to remind him that between *Ankur* and *Mangalsutra* Anant Nag acted in *Nishant*, *Manthan*, *Bhamika*, *Kondura* and the Hindi version of *Kannaswara Rama* (not to mention *Kalyug*). *V. Jeevananthan, Coimbatore*

Kalthoon is not music composer M. S. Vishwanathan's film; Piousji should know that it has been produced by S. S. Kruppuswami for S. S. K. Films and directed by Sundarajan. *K. N. Nathan, Madras*

Not religion

It would be appreciated if reports like *The return of the bhagwan* (7 June) are not classified under *Religion*. Religion is something much more pure than what numerous godmen and *bhagwans* like Balyogeshwar preach and practise. *Sunrit Mullick, Calcutta*

It is unfortunate that the self-proclaimed *bhagwan* Balyogeshwar has returned to the country to exploit our illiterate people. *B. B. Chhetri, Silguri*

Last letter

During my recent visit to Calcutta I found Mukherjee, Banerjee and Chatterjee; but where was the energy? *Nitin C. Shukla, New Delhi*

The Destruction of Y.B. Chavan

His greed for power proved to be his undoing,
says OLGA TELLIS

20 June was scheduled to be the Big Day, the day when all the tortuous premarital negotiations would finally fructify into a formal marriage. The Congress(I) parliamentary board at its meeting would say okay to the application of Yashwantrao Balwantrao Chavan (once labelled by overenthusiastic admirers the Shivaji of the twentieth century) to join the ruling party. Instead of a marriage, the bridegroom suddenly found that the wedding had been indefinitely postponed, leaving him and the *baraat* he had brought all the way from Maharashtra in utter confusion while the onlookers laughed.

Actually, Mrs Indira Gandhi cannot be blamed for the humiliation which Mr Chavan is currently facing, a humiliation which has virtually destroyed his political career to such an extent that he can only be someone's pawn for the



Chavan: timing the 'homecoming'

rest of his life. It is the end of a career which has seen Mr Chavan play the knight, the castle, even the decisive bishop. And this end was not brought about by Mrs Gandhi: it was self-inflicted.

We have learnt, through enquiries from all sources including close associates of Mr Chavan, that at no point did Mrs Gandhi invite him to join the Congress(I), or give him any indication that he was particularly wanted in her party. Why should she? Not only had Mr Chavan refused to help her during her days out of power, but he had become deputy prime minister under Mr Charan Singh, and then campaigned virulently against Mrs Gandhi in the 1980 elections, both for the Lok Sabha and the Assembly. Indeed, Mr Chavan's sudden recognition of Mrs Gandhi's qualities was clearly motivated more by his greed for power than any change of heart, a fact which



Chavan, Babuji and Mrs Gandhi: once upon a time

Mrs Gandhi hardly needed to be reminded of. On her part, she did not promise Mr Chavan anything, even after he prostrated himself, so there is no question of accusing her of going back on her word. If she succeeded in destroying him and severely damaging the Congress(U), it was only because they were willing to be destroyed—and Mrs Gandhi is a very old and successful hand at this game. Mr Y. B. Chavan behaved exactly like the Greek shepherdess who was so willing that she could not be raped.

The story begins with the visit to India of the man who was Prime Minister of Britain just before Mrs Thatcher, James Callaghan. Mr Callaghan came early this year, and in the course of the visit met Mr Chavan whom he had known for a long time. He asked Mr Chavan what it was like to be in the opposition after such a long stint in power, and Mr Chavan replied that he was extremely unhappy in the opposition because he could not really attack Congress(I) policies, as he had no differences with those policies. Mr Callaghan suggested that if this was the case, Mr Chavan should join the Congress(I). Mr Chavan seemed to agree in that conversation (there were witnesses) that this would be the most logical thing to do.

According to another source, there was a follow-up to this conversation. When Mr Callaghan met Mrs Gandhi later, he did actually suggest to her that she might consider taking back leaders like Jagjivan Ram and Y. B. Chavan into her fold. Apparently, she reacted strongly against the idea of taking back Jagjivan Ram, but was noncommittal about Chavan. Chavan could have taken this as a cue. And he did notice, of course, that whenever he

met Mrs Gandhi at diplomatic or other parties, she was cordial to him, if not particularly warm. And there always had been a great deal of gossip that Mrs Gandhi wanted Mr Y. B. Chavan and his protege Mr Sharad Pawar with her in order to check the challenge they might put up in Maharashtra.

On the last day of the budget session in March, Maharashtra's chief minister A. R. Antulay asked Mr Sharad Pawar, who had come to meet him in the course of regular work, why he (Pawar) did not join the Congress(I). Mrs Gandhi was in Bombay at that time, and the suggestion was immediately interpreted as a signal from Mrs Gandhi herself. Mr Pawar clarified to SUNDAY that it was "his impression" that the suggestion came only from Mr Antulay, and did not have higher sanction, but other interpretations could be, and were, given.

The confusion was compounded when, while delivering a series of lectures in Pune, after this "conversation" with Antulay, Sharad Pawar forecast that in five to ten years, all the Congressmen who were now in splintered groups would get together. Later, at a press conference, he amplified on this by saying that the "process has already started." Who or what Sharad Pawar was referring to was never made specific, but it was assumed that he was talking about himself and his mentor, Mr Chavan, ditching the Congress(U) to join the Congress(I). Predictably, Mr Antulay was not going to let this dust settle down. On 5 May he told journalists that a "proposal for merger was being discussed." However, when Mr Pawar rang up Mr Antulay to ask what he meant by this statement, the chief minister blandly replied that he was merely making a follow-up statement

on Pawar's own observations in Pune. Pawar then categorically condemned all talk of a merger, and explained that he had been suggesting something quite different when he spoke of all Congressmen joining hands. (One trouble with statements by politicians is that they are open to any interpretation.)

In the meanwhile, Mr Y. B. Chavan was being goaded by many of his followers to give up this rewardless opposition politics and join the Congress(I). Life in the opposition was becoming difficult: they were being edged out of the lucrative control of cooperative institutions and statutory corporations. Mr Chavan himself was unhappy out of power: he honestly confessed to his friends in the Congress(U) that he was eager to get back into power.

At a diplomatic dinner hosted by the President of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, Mrs Gandhi, fresh from a west Asian tour, asked Mr Chavan what was all this talk of his about the Congress(I). Mr Chavan had been saying in Satara, Kolhapur and elsewhere that the present situation demanded a reconsideration of "our" attitude towards the Congress(I) in a national perspective. He replied that he would come and see her personally and tell her about it. Then on 19 May at 3.30 pm he called on her for 20 minutes during which time he probably explained his desire to join the Congress(I). To which Mrs Gandhi replied that he could send in his formal application.

At a press conference at his house on 28 May, Mr Chavan explained himself in detail. "I realised after these (1980) elections that the Congress(U) ceased to be a national party in the real sense. It only had regional units.

Chavan's Congress(U) turn

Madhu Jain reports on Chavan's problems within the Congress(U)

Something had to give. One of them Shad to go. When Jagjivan Ram joined the Congress(U) in June last year, just before the Assembly elections, the Congress(U) boat began to rock. Y. B. Chavan and Babu Jagjivan Ram had been strong personal rivals for much of their long public careers and now they were at the old game out of sheer habit, this time fighting for the shadow rather than the substance of power—the post of Congress(U) president. The internal rivalry came out in the open when Jagjivan Ram announced that he would test his strength and contest the party leadership. He also wanted the venue of the AICC(U) meeting shifted from Aurangabad to somewhere in Haryana or Uttar Pradesh.

But the man already in the saddle was in no mood to give in. He was as wily as the other two and first made common cause with them in fighting a common enemy—the challenge of youth in the person of Sharad Pawar. In fighting off Pawar's challenge, Urs used to good advantage help from Jagjivan Ram.

Mr Chavan first aired his views about the Congress mainstream being with Mrs Gandhi to a group of his partymen in Satara, Maharashtra. These remarks were not to be made public, says a party insider, but a follower of Mr Chavan, who wanted him to join the Congress(I) and was not very close to Mr Pawar, leaked them to the press. There were also two small groups who were opposed to Mr Pawar and wanted to manoeuvre Mr Chavan into the Congress(I). One group is reportedly led by Govindrao Adik, an MLA and former general secretary of the MPCC(U) and younger brother of a minister in the Antulay cabinet and the other is led by veteran Maharashtra politician Shivaji Rao, increasingly better known these days as father of Smita Patil.

Another reason for Mr Chavan's growing uneasiness in the Congress(I) was the increasing prominence of Mr Sharad Pawar. Was there enough room for both of them, coming as they did from the same state and with the same power base? It is not as if Mr Chavan was "jealous" of Mr Pawar, at least not consciously. Everybody knew of Mr Chavan's fondness for his protege. But with the disciple growing up and having his eyes definitely set on the post of the party president, maybe it was time for Mr Chavan to go back to where he really belonged.

While Mr Chavan's relationship with Mr Pawar was very complex, his attitude to Mr Devaraj Urs soured with the growing importance of Mrs Nirmala Prasad, Mr Urs' adopted

daughter and a member of the Indian Foreign Service. "This lady started to talk on behalf of our party and became virtually its president. Mr Urs was completely overwhelmed by her," said a party member. Then Nirmala Prasad and Babuji's son Suresh Ram came to an understanding and forged a link between Babuji and Mr Urs. Mr Chavan resented all this: what was particularly annoying to him was the increasingly important role that Suresh Ram had begun to play in the party.

Another issue which must have pushed Mr Chavan to the brink was the controversy over the UPCC(U) president, Mr Shyam Dhar Mishra. Mr Mishra has been convicted in a murder case in Benaras and most party members, including Mr Jagjivan Ram at one stage, wanted him removed. A resolution was even passed calling for his removal but Mr Urs, it seems, wanted him first to go through all the courts as V. C. Shukla had done. Some partymen feel that this was more a matter of personal convenience for Mr Urs than any great consideration for legal principles.

What ultimately triggered Mr Chavan's departure was a letter from Mr Urs asking him to explain his remarks that the Congress(I) was the only Congress and that the Congress(U) had no national role to play. Otherwise Mr Chavan would have waited for the Parliamentary board meeting of his party and the by-elections to be over before making his announcement. Insiders, however, insist that it was an astrologer's prediction that finally influenced Mr Chavan's timing. The astrologer said that Mrs Gandhi was passing through bad times and the stars were particularly propitious for Mr Chavan. Now was the time for the old guard to move in.

While Mrs Gandhi has destroyed one senior political opponent of hers after another, the Congress(U) still has a crop of young leaders with some following and repute. They are involved in rebuilding the party and want to take it left of centre to where the original Congress was, before Mrs Gandhi took over total control. These younger Congress(U) politicians are better equipped than their counterparts in the Congress(I). For instance, Sharad Pawar, A. K. Antony, P. R. Das Munshi, Dharam Vir Sinha, Ambika Soni, Margaret Alva and P. K. Unnikrishnan are more durable politicians than, for example, Jagdish Tytler, Kamal Neth and Arun Nehru. So, the biggest battle remains to be fought. If Mrs Gandhi cannot beat them then probably Rajiv Gandhi will have to win them over.

This was my basic assessment of the results and the main reason for reconsideration of the party position. Our party had no national role to play." Asked whether he had received any offer from the Congress(I), Mr Chavan said, "I have not had any negotiations with anybody, I have not asked for any promises nor has anybody made me any promise. I have examined the merits of the issue as I saw it. No offer was even expected." Was he after power? Mr Chavan replied: "I have seen enough of power and office, there certainly has been a lot said on both sides, but ultimately we have to go by the people's verdict. The question of which is the real Congress has been decided by the people themselves."

But the press did not accept Mr Chavan's explanations and they insisted that overtures were being made to him from various quarters. Even when Bihar's Mr Baliram Bhagat moved the resolution seeking to rescind the expulsion order against Mrs Indira Gandhi in the last Lok Sabha, it was immediately suggested by the press that Mr Y. B. Chavan had inspired this to curry favour with Mrs Gandhi. The truth, according to a close friend of Mr Chavan, is that Mr Bhagat had an election petition pending against him. And he knew that Mrs Gandhi could have it withdrawn if she wanted to. When the issue of rescinding the expulsion order came up for discussion within the Congress(I), Mr C. M. Stephen and Mr Bhisma Narain Singh wanted a Congress(I) member to move it.

But Mrs Gandhi said that the Congress(I) should not do it on their own. It was then that Mr Bhisma Narain Singh decided on Mr Bhagat. He had little choice and saw the advantage. Mr Chavan had nothing to do with this. After Mr Bhagat moved the resolution, Mrs Gandhi did not even see him. Yet this was taken as an indication of Mr Chavan's peace overture.

Vasantdada Patil, Vasant Sathe, S. B. Chavan and A. R. Antulay all welcomed Chavan's idea of joining the Congress(I). Yet when it came to the crunch they all ditched him. Mr S. B. Chavan worked through Mr Narsimha Rao who comes from the same area as he and Mr Antulay worked through Mr Pranab Mukherjee. Yet both the gentlemen put their foot down against Mr Chavan's entry at the parliamentary board meeting. Mr Vasantdada Patil also said that the



Urs, Chavan and Babuji

eastern regions, which he is in charge of, were against large-scale entry of Congress(U) member. Mr Antulay was afraid of Mr Chavan coming into the Congress(I) because the 40 legislators he controlled could gang up with other Marathas and have Mr Antulay out in less than a day, and there would be nothing that even Mrs Gandhi could do about it.

Why did Mr Chavan send in his application with such haste even after knowing the fate Siddhartha Shankar Ray met? According to Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, Mr Ray met Mr Rajiv Gandhi who is understood to have told him to stand for the bye-election from the Srirampur constituency. But Mr Ray was doubtful. He felt that Mrs Gandhi would probably not agree to it. To this Mr Rajiv Gandhi replied that he would find a way out. So Mr Ray sent in his applica-



tion. Mr Kamlapati Tripathi put up the application before Mrs Gandhi and asked what should be done about it, to which Mrs Gandhi reportedly replied: keep it, I will decide on it after my return from West Asia. Meanwhile, Mr Ray, who was to go to London to see his ailing father-in-law, cancelled his trip hoping to get the ticket. Mr Pranab Mukherjee had also told him he would be welcomed. However, when the final selections were made Mr Ray figured nowhere. Sharad Pawar was also willing to join the Congress(I), but only as a group. He repeatedly said that if the majority decides, "I will accept." According to Mr Govindrao Adik, once his lieutenant: "Since the parliamentary elections we have been toying seriously with the idea of merging with the Congress(I). Mr Pawar was not averse to it but he always said it should be done with dignity and honour. The offer must come from the Congress(I). Even when Mr Antulay asked him to consider joining the Congress(I); he asked him on what basis would the cooperation or merger be. Mr Antulay said that we would just forget the past. And the matter ended there. Mr Pawar conveyed the details of his encounter with Mr Antulay to Mr Y. B. Chavan and it was decided that Mr Chavan would pursue the matter. But Mr Chavan undermined the whole operation with his haste to enter the Congress(I). Had Mr Antulay's suggestion been pursued with thought and dignity, maybe for Mr Chavan there would have been a han-

'Mrs Gandhi does not believe in human dignity'

Sharad Pawar tells Olga Tellis



Q: What do you feel about the humiliation of Mr. Y. B. Chavan at the hands of Mrs Gandhi?

A: My own assessment is that Mrs Gandhi does not believe in human dignity. If a person has a mass base and has done work among the people, she will see to it that he loses his credibility first and only then will she admit him into her party.

Q: Was Mr Chavan invited to join the Congress(I) by Mrs Gandhi? Did she ever at any time give any indication that she would like to have him in the party?

A: I don't think so. It is my impression that there was no approach from Mrs Gandhi's side. Mr Chavan took the decision knowing the situation. He sincerely felt that there was no future in Congress(U). After all, he spent 50 years in the Congress organisation and he felt honestly that hers was the real Congress. I have never heard Mr Chavan saying there was any offer from Mrs Gandhi. Of course, he has been discussing the question of joining the Congress(I) with me for some time. He took his decision on his own. He did not wait for any invitation.

There is one more point I would like to make and that is, as a person who spent his entire life in one organisation, it was very difficult for Mr Chavan to digest the idea of sitting with other political parties. He felt that if one has to sit with another party then why not with a like-minded party like the Congress(I).

Q: How do you envisage the future of the Congress(U)?

A: The task of building the party from scratch is a challenging one, but if one feels that what one is doing is correct then one can accept the challenge. I will initially concentrate on my state. It will take years to rebuild the party but I will do it.

Q: Don't you feel this will be difficult, more so because there is no ideological difference between the two Congress parties?

A: There is a big difference in the functioning of our two parties. You read what Gundu Rao has said about Mrs Gandhi's style of functioning. Ideologically too, what we have observed in the past year is that she talks about the poor but actually works for the rich. Take for instance her policies on labour. Ultimately a person is judged by her actions. She has also not taken any strong measures to control ris-

ing prices, nor is she willing to concede remunerative prices to farmers for their produce.

Q: Don't you think it is the system that works against the poor, and unless one breaks the system one will continue to talk about the poor and poverty but take steps that don't help the poor? For instance when you were the chief minister you were not able to do anything to alleviate the conditions of the poor.

A: If you remember, prices didn't go up during our regime. There was also plenty of food in stock.

Q: Do you control any of the levers of power in rural Maharashtra that will facilitate the rebuilding of your party, like cooperative institutions and so on?

A: No. As you know those who left us in the recent crisis were mainly those who belonged to the legislature, those who controlled cooperatives and those who were members of the zilla parishads. In a way, it is good because now I don't have to worry about the government trying to take action or dislodge us from these institutions. But, about rebuilding the party, you will see the first results in about eight months after the zilla parishad elections in Marathwada.

Q: One notices that many of the people who resigned from the Congress(U) to join the Congress(I) are coming to see you. Will there be a reversal of the exodus?

A: There is one thing that I don't want to hide from you. The Congress(I) parliamentary board decision has definitely created uncertainty in the minds of those who were planning to leave the Congress(U), so it is bound to stop the exodus. Then, people like Anna Patil, who resigned, have decided not to join any other party for a while. It is possible that in three to four months many of those who resigned might return to the Congress(U).

Q: Was there any approach made to you from Mrs Gandhi to join her party?

A: I've read various reports in the papers. But they are not true. She sent no feelers, nor did she ever ask me herself. It is true that a common friend did try to arrange a meeting between me and Rajiv Gandhi, but on one occasion I was not free and on another he could not be present. So we never met. I have friends in all parties. I do not believe in making enemies.

Bahuguna's Victory

When the election commission ordered a re-poll in the Garhwal by-election even before counting began it not only created electoral history in India but awarded a stupendous victory to H. N. Bahuguna. Anil Saari narrates how the Congress(I) tried to rig the polls and how it was thwarted.

“**M**ain, Sipahi Ashok Kumar (UP police) Sumani police station se jaan bacha kar bhaaga kyonki vahan par sardar goondey goli chalate hue polling par kabza kar liya (I, Sepoy Ashok Kumar (UP police), fled from the Sumani police station to save my life, because of an attack by guns by many sardar goondas who took possession of the polling booth).” This statement by a UP police constable is one the innumerable pieces of information submitted to the chief election commissioner (CEC), Mr S.L. Shakhder, by Mr H.N. Bahuguna and his advocate son Vijay Bahuguna charging that the Congress(I) had rigged votes in 58 booths in order to defeat him in the famous Garhwal by-election of 14 June. Eventually, the election commission



H.N. Bahuguna

agreed. Its secretary, Mr K. Ganesan, checked the allegations, found them to be justified, and on 20 June, in a historic decision, the election commission ordered a re-poll. It was the worst rebuff that the Congress(I) has received since it came back to power 16 months ago.

Mr H.N. Bahuguna's is the first election petition to be accepted before the counting of votes began—and the first to meet with such unusual success. Which must make it the second most important election petition in India's electoral history: the pride of place, of course, must still remain with Mr Raj Narain's election petition after the 1971 polls. But if there was some reason in the argument that Mrs Gandhi's punishment was far harsher than the crime, this time there was very little scope for doubt. The misuse of official machinery at Garhwal to help



the Congress(I) candidate was so blatant that not even partisans of the Congress(I) could say much in defence. The intensity of the rigging was only more evidence of the extraordinary importance that the ruling party had attached to the defeat of a man called Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna. One reason, of course, was the fact that if he had won, it would have been proof that it was possible for a Congressman to directly challenge Mrs Gandhi and survive in politics. This was something that the ruling party was in no mood to allow. And so when the campaign managers of the Congress(I) felt that they would lose in a fair election, they decided to rig votes and ensure victory.

Police battalions from Haryana and Punjab and armed storm-troopers from outside Garhwal were so aggressively on behalf of the Congress(I) before and during the by-election, that a large number of presiding officers, whose polling stations were captured by the Congress(I) stormtroopers, gave written statements to Mr Bahuguna's campaign agents supporting the charges of booth-capturing. Though the CEC's order for a re-poll does not elaborate on the commission's findings, it does admit that the secretary's "detailed report referred to booth-capturing as established, based on contemporaneous, documentary evidence, like presiding officers' diaries, their independent reports, sector magistrates' reports, reports of the observers, the RO (returning officer) and the AROs (assistant returning officers)." The order also says, "the RO of the constituency, who is the DM (district magistrate) of Pauri Garhwal district, has stated in the report to the commission that he had not made any request for Haryana and Punjab police being posted during the election to Garhwal district and confirmed that their deployment in the district of Pauri Garhwal was not made by him."

The CEC also tacitly exposed the nature of the counter-charges made by Congress(I) workers on 17 and 18 June that Mr Bahuguna's supporters had captured polling booths in the Badri-Kedar Assembly segment of the Parliamentary constituency. Mr Shakh-dher's order admits candidly, "It is relevant to mention that when Mr Bahuguna met me on the 16th, he suggested that the proposed team headed by Mr Ganesan should also visit Gopeshwar where the election records of Badri-Kedar have been stored. Immediately I asked the UP government to place a helicopter at the disposal of the team so that the investigation could be done quickly. Unfortunately, the UP government did not place the helicopter at the disposal of the commission."

Mr Bahuguna's aides recall that there were 11 helicopters being used by the Congress(I) workers during the election campaign to reach the far-flung areas of the constituency. "Where did these 11 helicopters come from, we would like to know?" The aides ask. They add that they "saw the

chief minister of UP, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, providing free transport on the voting day to the voters in his own vehicle." According to Mr Vijay Bahuguna, Madhya Pradesh chief minister Arjun Singh, also posted in Garhwal to defeat Mr Bahuguna, "sat in the IO's* (investigating officer's) chair at Srinagar and dictated FIRs; on 11 June for the arrest of all our office-bearers" and Haryana chief minister Bhajan Lal stood by when the police beat up Bahuguna supporter Vivek Khanduri, president of the DAV college students' union at Dehradun.

Vijay Bahuguna set up office at Pauri on 8 May, where the district election office was located, to begin his father's election campaign. He told SUNDAY: "At Pauri I was keeping a



Vijay Bahuguna

Planned booth capturing

Booth capturing in the Garhwal Parliamentary by-election was carried out like well-planned commando raids, according to Mr. H. N. Bahuguna's supporters. The information they received suggests that there were six or seven teams. Each team travelled in three vehicles and each moved in a different direction. As they approached a polling station the team of storm-troopers would begin firing indiscriminately in the air. Terrorised by the firing, the voters would flee from the booths and the storm-troopers would enter the polling station. The police force posted at the polling station, generally a force of ten constables, would not interfere at all and would usually let the storm-troopers do whatever they liked, be it manhandling the presiding officer or locking women up (as happened at Jakh) or looting money (as has been charged by the cashier of the Garhwal Mandal Co-operative Society).

very close watch on each and every step that the election office was making. I was writing to the CEC to take steps. I was also keeping a close watch on the strategy of the Congress(I) to rig the elections. We thought that at the maximum they would indulge in bogus voting but we did not think that they would rig the election with the support of the police. By 13 June we understood why so many musclemen had come from outside and what was the intention of bringing them in about 300 vehicles (buses, trucks, jeeps and cars). They were armed. I immediately sent a telegram to the CEC. But for my efforts we could not have established any case of booth-capturing." As a lawyer practising at the Allahabad High Court for the last 12 years, Mr Vijay Bahuguna specialises in handling election petitions and never forgets that "the law on election petitions is a very technical law. Unless you have unimpeachable documentary evidence, you can't succeed." And it was because of this vigil and anticipation that Mr Bahuguna was able to present the necessary photographs and documentary evidence to the election commission.

Voting in the Pauri-Garhwal hills began at 7.30 am and within two hours Congress(I) workers had begun capturing booths. By 11 am polling was over in many of the 56 booths that were captured. At polling station No. 8, at Bhandai, only 69 votes had been cast between 7.30 and 9.30 am. At 9.30 am a gang of goondas arrived with guns and other arms and forced the voters to leave the polling station. As the presiding officer has conceded in writing to Mr Bahuguna's polling agent at Bhandai, the police stationed at that centre also moved out of the polling station's premises. When they were asked why they were allowing the booth-capturing to take place, they pointed their guns at the voters and asked them to be quiet. After that, according to Mr Bahuguna's agent and the presiding officer, the goondas stamped all the ballot papers. At 10.20 am, when the inspector of a reserve police force was informed of this, he simply ignored the complaint.

Further, Mr Bahuguna's petition to the CEC points out that though there were only 1064 registered voters at a booth at a place called Dikhauni, the presiding officer has recorded 1070 votes cast. At Bhardi, 283 votes were polled against 281 registered voters. At Nawakhad, too, 283 votes were polled against 281 voters. At Kyosu voting was 100 per cent (329 voters listed), and at Sumani 632 votes were cast against 635 voters. At Jamakhad 486 votes were cast against 490 voters, at Champara 381 votes were cast against 383 voters. Mr Bahuguna's petition states that these figures indicate the extensive booth-capturing.

The presiding officer of polling station No. 17, Khanda, wrote on 14 June to the returning officer at Pauri, that at about 11 am a band of fully armed people approached him and, under

UP police were disarmed

All UP police constables who were to be posted at polling stations on 14 June were disarmed the previous night, says Mr Vijay Bahuguna. He told SUNDAY that orders for this were issued over the radio. At each polling station, only one constable of the UP police was posted and he was armed with just a lathi. The rest of the police force was from other states. In the Pauri area it was mostly the Haryana police. UP's minister of state for home affairs, Mr Rajendra Prasad Tripathi, was present at Pauri on the night of 13 June 1981. So he would have known about the dis-

arming and it is logical that the UP government knew about the booth capturing plans, says Vijay Bahuguna.

The UP government "did not exist" as far as the Garhwal by-election is concerned. Though there were trucks full of the UP Provincial Armed Constabulary and of the UP police, these had been kept back in the police lines. On actual duty, charges Vijay, the UP policemen were heavily outnumbered by "outsiders": the Border Security Force, the Central Reserve Police Force, the Haryana police and the Punjab police.

threat of death, forced him to sign the ballot papers. He had told the police stationed at the polling centre not to allow this but the police ignored his appeal. Instead, they simply kept out of the way of the entrance to the booths. He further says, "Pointing a pistol at my chest they forced me to sign on the counterfoil and then they stamped these ballot papers and put them in the ballot boxes."

The report by the presiding officer of polling station 95 at Gaharkal also clearly implicates policemen. It says: "On 14 June 1981, around 2 o'clock, six or seven Sikhs and sepoys from Haryana in civil dress reached polling station number 95, Gaharkal. As soon as these people arrived, the Haryana police (referring to the police force posted at the polling station) closed the area and did not let any voter enter." The officer further said that the armed intruders stamped ballot papers (numbers 625185 to 625200) which carried his signature in favour of the Congress (I) and inserted them

into the ballot boxes. Then, the intruders snatched another bundle of ballot papers (serial numbers 625201 to 625250), stamped these in favour of the Congress (I) again and put some of these into the ballot box, taking away the rest with them. In this, they were given protection by the Haryana police present at the polling station, says the presiding officer.

At polling station No. 26, Kyark, the presiding officer reported that voting had been carrying on peacefully till 12.30 pm, when a band of ten armed people captured the booths, forced the presiding officer to sign a number of ballot papers, put their thumb impressions on them and inserted them in the ballot box.

Dilip Singh, a 32-year-old Garwali who has worked as a domestic servant in Mr H. N. Bahuguna's house for the last 12 years and who was in his village during the election campaign, also discovered that many of the armed storm-troopers spoke in English. "They spoke very little Hindi. They

looked like officers and carried wireless sets," he said. Dilip was spotted at the Jakh polling station by some local Congress (I) workers who pointed him out to the storm-troopers. One of the "dakus" (as Dilip referred to them) put a gun against Dilip's chin and tried to frighten him. On the night of 13 June, two strangers arrived at the village. They drank, ate and spent the night with local Congress (I) supporters. Next morning they were joined by a group of ten people and the 12 of them disturbed the voting at Jakh. Dilip also charged that three women voters were locked up in a room for 45 minutes and molested.

As if all this was not enough, the storm-troopers went a step further at Dehradun. According to Mr Vijay Bahuguna, they beat up the presiding officer at the polling station located at the DAV College and then kept him confined.

As far back as 8 June, six days before the Garhwal parliamentary constituency was to go to the polls, Mr Vijay Bahuguna wrote to the returning officer (Mr G. B. Pandey, district magistrate, Pauri) that "it has been learnt that a large number of criminals from Haryana and Punjab have been imported in the constituency with firearms. The vehicle numbers are HPS 4014, DEB 7027, DLY 488, RJX 930, RJZ 1181, RJK 176, RJZ 563, RJK 7061, KRL 670, HPS 4032, DHE 2086, DLY 2174, DEP 3406, HYA 9224, HPS 3292, HPS 3585, HRB 2422. In these vehicles the criminals of Haryana, Punjab and western UP are visiting the villages in the Pauri Assembly segment with open weapons and are terrorising voters to refrain from voting. It is strange that the guest houses are being made available to these elements even though they are not entitled. In the interest of free and fair election we request you to kindly pass orders that 48 hours before polling no person will be able to carry firearms

A woman voter at Jakh polling station: a victim of police lathi-charge



Presiding officer at DAV college and Bahuguna



and those found in possession of firearms would be arrested and the weapons seized."

While no action was taken by the returning officer on this letter, the number of outsiders entering Pauri continued to swell in the next five days. On the eve of the election, 13 June, Mr Vijay Bahuguna personally complained to DIG of police, Pauri, that some 50 vehicles (mostly buses and trucks) were parked in front of the Pauri power house. These vehicles, Mr Vijay Bahuguna said, should be impounded because they might be used by armed persons, for booth capturing on 14 June. The DIG, however, took no action on the complaint.

Little did the local officials know that while they ignored these complaints, the election commission would not. Mr Shakhder's order for a re-poll in the constituency also takes into account the charges and complaints against Mr H. N. Bahuguna and his supporters made by the Congress (I) representatives. It says: "There are also complaints received from the Congress (I) in respect of Badri-Kedar Assembly segment specifying the places where the alleged booth capturing by Shri Bahuguna's supporters had taken place. These complaints were, however, received by the commission on 17 June 1981, after the commission's team had left for Pauri, and by the RO on 12 June 1981. There were further complaints from this party which were received on 18 June 1981, but which had been earlier lodged with the RO alleging attacks made on the Congress (I) workers by the workers of Shri Bahuguna's party. It was not, therefore, possible to make any investigation by the commission's team into these complaints at Badri-Kedar, which was not visited by the team of the commission. If a detailed enquiry is held now, it will take many days to complete it."

The important thing is that the



H. N. Bahuguna at a village meeting

Congress (I) complaints were made two days after the election. If Mr Bahuguna's supporters had indeed captured polling booths on 14 June, why did the Congress (I) representatives file their complaints 48 hours later?

Mr Bahuguna's election petition was not only skilfully organised, it was also singularly clear about its intention: to expose the Congress (I) election campaign in Garhwal. By 9.30 am on 14 June, Mr Bahuguna's men learnt about booth capturing at polling stations located within a radius of 25 miles of Pauri. At 10.30 am Mr Vijay Bahuguna met the returning officer at Pauri to ask him to send a police force to prevent booth capturing. He told SUNDAY that the RO asked him to contact the DIG of police. Immediately thereafter a complaint was made to the DIG but "till 9.30 in the night no police party was sent to these areas to prevent booth capturing. Though I myself saw nearly 100 trucks of the UP

police at Pauri, not a single police inspector was sent."

Since Mr H. N. Bahuguna was at that time at the election office at Dehradun, Mr Vijay Bahuguna led a group of canvassers to a number of polling stations where booths had been captured and took written statements from the presiding officers. By the evening of 14 June they had a complete picture of the booth capturing: 36 booths had been captured in the hill areas and 22 in Dehradun city.

The Bahuguna camp is not only elated by the fact that theirs has been a historic election petition, but is also convinced that Mr Bahuguna would have won despite the booth capturing. As they point out, they had demanded repolling at only 58 polling stations and not in the entire constituency. Had that happened then H. N. Bahuguna would have definitely adorned the opposition benches in the coming monsoon session of Parliament. ■

supporter with blood mark on collar



A damaged wall at Pauri: result of police firing



The Summer of 1948

The English summer of 1948 saw an epic confrontation between the equally formidable Australian and English cricketers, with such legendary names as Bradman, Lindwall and Miller confronting Hutton, Compton and Evans. Australia won the series with a record score of four Tests to nil. John Arlott relives the famous deeds and events of that historic series.

It does Neville Cardus less than justice to describe him as an outstanding cricket writer. Rather, he created an entirely fresh style and atmosphere of cricket reading and appreciation. Before him, reporters in the game had dutifully recorded its runs, wickets, and times; the arithmetic by which its dramas are created. No one until Sir Neville though had sat in a press box and watched and created a mythology from living cricketers, reporting them as they moved, more than lifesize—but credibly and, indeed, observably so.

He awakened the cricket follower, above all, the cricket reader, to the recognition that, while physically it is essentially a highly, even violently, competitive game, imaginatively it is a matter of heroic nostalgia. *A Fourth Innings With Cardus* (Souvenir Press; £7.50) is the third of the posthumous collections of his writings which have made available many of his reports and studies that had never before appeared between covers. Indeed, only one of these pieces had previously been published, or read, after their publication in the *Guardian*, the *Sunday Times*, or *The Spectator*, for whom they were originally written.

Margaret Hughes has ranged perceptively back and forth through his writings from 1926 until 1970 to make a gathering of work as compelling as it is, in most cases, fresh even to those who will relish it most. Neville Cardus was already 50 and by no means robust in health, when, at the outset of the Second World War, he left the *Guardian* which, like most of the rest of the European press, had little use for a cricket and music writer in time of war, and went to Australia as broadcaster and music critic of *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

He was 59 when he returned to England to watch and report the Australian series of 1948 and, although he did not then guess it, to begin virtually a second career with a public many times greater than had known him in the pre-war years. He reported those matches for the *Sunday Times*; and did so with a relish which stemmed in part from the home sickness of his years overseas. Yet neither he, nor those who shared it with him, fully recognised the quality of that epic cricketing summer when the English game, niterly unaware of the problems ahead, rose to the high peak of its popularity and prosperity.

Post-war first-class cricket here had been launched with the Indian tour of 1946, followed by the South Africans, whose bowlers were pillaged in the high noon of the 1947 summer of Compton and Edrich. It was a delayed yet profound post-war euphoria that beguiled the cricket followers of that year. India, even South Africa, were all very well in their way but—especially when they were beaten and beaten, in the latter case at least—with enough



Bradman pulls during his Trent Bridge century

panache to stir the blood.

Australia, though, were the real opponents: theirs was always the classic year: now, too, a symbol of the return to the good life. Bradman was more than ever the prime box-office attraction, both to those who had watched him in the Thirties, and, perhaps even more, to those they had bored with their stories of his performances.

Soon, though, he was to be challenged, though never outdone, by new adversary-heroes. Indeed, Australians filled all five places in *Wisden's* "Cricketers of the Year." Of Bradman's team, he and Bill Brown had been chosen before the war—no one is featured there twice. Now Lindsay Hassett, Ray Lindwall, Arthur Morris, Bill Johnston and Don Tallon were the chosen five; but the editor tacitly admitted that even that did not do full justice to such a powerful team.

To the bewilderment of many, the belligerent Sydney Barnes, an impressive second in the batting averages, the youthful Neil Harvey and, most amazingly the flamboyantly brilliant Keith Miller, had to wait their turns. In the official citation, "grounds other than cricket" were to prevent Barnes returning to lay his otherwise undeniable claim to the distinction.

The sanguine hopes of English supporters were gradually extinguished by the relentless progress of a side which, unbeaten on the tour, won more matches than any previous Australian team in England and set a new record of wins in a Test series in that country. If their batting put them constantly, but dishearteningly, beyond the reach of England, it still fascinated the home crowds; but it was Bradman whom they came to see. Third in average to Morris and Barnes, second in aggregate to Morris in the Tests, he was clear ahead, by 506, in total of any other Australian, and by a street top, 13 ahead in the first-class averages including home and touring players.

On grounds of health there had been doubts about his appearing after the war: on form, about his Test place, and he was rising 40, almost decrepit by Australian standards, when he made this tour, which was to prove such a triumphant progress as no cricketer ever knew before or since.

The opening match, then established at Worcester—a tradition sadly allowed to lapse—was regarded as a fixed occasion in the Bradman calendar. There on his three previous visits he had scored 236 in 1930—his first innings in England; 206 in 1934; 258 in 1938: that daunting kind of challenge a young man sets the old. Bleak, windy and showery weather (not only the Australians enjoyed the fire in their dressing room) could not chill the enthusiasm of the crowds. Although it was a Wednesday—Thursday—Friday



Hutton and Compton made 111 together at Trent Bridge

Bradman and Morris at Leeds (301 in 217 minutes)



Harvey swings a ball to leg during his debut century at Headingley (fourth Test)



The Australians of 1948. Back row—Ferguson (scorer), Tallon, Rmg, Johnson, Lindwall, Siggers, Johnston, Loxton, Miller, Toshack and Johnson (manager); sitting Morris, McCool, Hassett, Bradman, Brown, Barnes, Hamence and Harvey

fixture, the attendance of 32,000—15,000 on the day. Bradman batted—contributed a record for the Worcester ground.

Short, dapper, baggy green-capped, square-shouldered, stockier than we remembered, he walked unhurriedly to the crease. Howorth—slow left arm—bowled to him; and Bradman, surely more anxious than of old, defended with exaggerated care. Once he went back, almost on to his stumps; the ball dropped from his dead bat and rolled slowly on. There was a gasp round the ground as he came quickly down on it and kept it out of his stumps. A single to Morris and Bradman, with the familiar pounce, pulled Peter Jackson wide of mid-on for four. Suddenly it was just as of old; the sharp-eyed, quick-footed, destroyer of bowling.

His century took him no more than two and a half hours; and no one on the ground doubted that the second was there for his taking when he played, for him, casually round a ball from Jackson and hustled off to the warmth of the pavilion. Australia won by an innings and 17 runs. Morris, one of the nicest men ever to set foot on a cricket field, made 138; Bradman only 107; but there was no doubt who—for the fourth time on as many tours—seized the imagination of the Worcester crowd.

Armchair selectors may ponder this passage; "The labours of the cricket selection committee today should not be heavy, for there is an obvious nucleus—Hutton, Washbrook, Compton, Wright, Evans and Edrich—and the remaining players of the England team can be found without too much discrimination from 20 or 30 other honest artisans now engaged in county cricket.

"The names might as well be drawn from a hat containing Young, Howorth, Pollard, Woodhead, Robertson, Simpson, Hardstaff, Fagg, Barnett, Bedser, Cranston, Fishlock, Palmer—the technical product will remain much the same. . . But the nucleus is so good that no England captain could ask for much better."

Sir Neville was writing before the start of the 1948 England-Australia series. No one disagreed with him. Indeed, the English cricket follower of 1981 can but covet such richness of talent as included five who made cricket history; and to whom were added during the season, Jim Laker, Eric Hollies, Alun Watkins and Tom Dollery.

Yet that side lost to Bradman's Australians by four Tests to none, a record margin for a series in England. Many professional observers at the time, while respecting the weight of the Australian batting, thought it suspect against finger spin and, on the evidence early available, that their bowling might lack the penetration on the good wickets expected for the Tests, to put out the apparently strong

English batting twice in time to win Test matches.

Already, after the second Test, Sir Neville was writing: "When the selection committee meet again today to choose the England team to play the Australians at Manchester...they can argue that as the rubber is already more or less beyond our reach, and must be counted a dead loss, the future policy in Tests should encourage young blood, and begin at once to build and train our international cricketers of tomorrow."

Between the two Cardus judgments a historic Australian attack emerged from the towering overhang of the Bradman-centred batting. Not long before, the gates had been closed on the first day of their fixture with MCC at Lord's, which was their seventh innings win out of eight matches.

In the main, the leg-spinner McCool, off-spinner Johnson or the left-arm stock Johnston or Toshack had taken the wickets. Then suddenly, against Nottinghamshire (six for 14) and Sussex (six for 34 and five for 25), Ray Lindwall, after nursing himself until his muscles were warm, revealed the qualities of a great fast bowler. An eruptive five for 25 against Hampshire announced Miller ready to partner him and all at once England and their followers looked into the face of stark defeat.

Memory calls back that magnificent, indeed legendary, pair as they dawned on the English cricket of 1948. In that summer the 26-year-old Lindwall, with the cool mind of a thoughtful, as well as physically talented, cricketer, nursed himself through the chills of May, avoiding the possibility of pulls or strains as he worked up steadily to his high peak of pace. No taller than five feet 11 inches, with powerful, sloping shoulders, deep chest, wide hips and strong legs, he was most admirably built for the job.

The keynotes of his bowling were variety and control. The purists thought his arm too low but he could, nevertheless, in apparent contradiction of that fact, bowl sharp inswing as variation to the perfectly lined and pitched late outswinger which was his deadliest weapon. His run-up was one of smooth, sweeping acceleration to a sideways-on

delivery. He bowled the ball that left the bat at extremely lively pace, had in reserve a faster one which disturbed even the best of batsmen, and a slower one so artfully concealed as often to deceive cricketers when they were well set.

Tom Graveney will ruefully confirm that he could deliver his yorker as the first ball of the morning. He had a quite startling bouncer, which he used sparingly, but which he could feint so that it brought him many a wicket of batsmen who, "looking for it," were bowled by one of good length. All in all, he was the complete fast bowler; a craftsman with immense application and concentration, fit enough to be a Test opening bowler at 39. There have been faster bowlers in the post-war era but no better fast bowler.

Lindwall was good enough batsman and fieldsman to be termed an all-rounder. Keith Miller, though, was a great all-rounder, technically as talented in all departments as any in modern times, except perhaps Garfield Sobers, and with an élan unexcelled in any period. Strong, athletic, mobile, rapid in response, prodigal of energy he was an outstanding athlete in any pursuit that engaged his interest. He was, too, one of the characters of cricket, adored by young women cricket enthusiasts.

Though unpredictable, at his best he was a shatteringly fast bowler. Once in the first over of a Test match he came up as at full pace and suddenly dealt Len Hutton a blind length googly. Again in a Test, he dropped the ball during his run-up, bent, picked it up, continued his approach and bowled a rather faster ball than usual. Often, too, as he turned to walk to his mark, he would suddenly check, toss back his heavy mane of hair, spin round, and off no more than a three-yard approach, bowl at his fiercest speed.

While Lindwall was a swing bowler of much resource, Miller was essentially a seam bowler, possessed of high pace and, in "green" condition, sharp movement off the pitch. He had considerable variety, not only the extravagant googly but a surprising range of speeds. He could toss in a startling round-arm slinger, a fierce body-action break-back, finger spun off-break and, as alarmed more than one batsman, a quite lethal and perfectly disguised bouncer.

English cricket had not seen such pace in post-war years; crowds were awed by this dramatically destructive pair. Indeed, for those who watched that series, Miller and Lindwall—even more than Bradman and his massive batting—personified the Australian dominance. So deep an impression did they make when in double harness—reducing vast crowds to breath-holding silence—that although, decisively, they took 40 wickets between them at less than 21 each, it is deceptively easy to forget how little they bowled together in Tests.

In the first, at Trent Bridge, Lindwall sustained a thigh injury and did not bowl in the second innings. The pair had virtually won the match in the first, though, when with support from Bill Johnston, they reduced England to 74 for eight.

A back condition stemming from war service meant that Miller could not bowl at Lord's nor until the second innings at Old Trafford. At Headingley they stuck to a hard task and, although their six wickets were expensive, they were also crucial. Finally and unforgettably at The Oval, they rose above the sodden, sluggish pitch and savaged the English batting.

The memory must remain vivid for everyone who watched them in that epic season. The spectators at Trent Bridge, understandably, did not appreciate it—indeed they protested angrily—when Miller hurled a series of hostilely steep bouncers at Hutton. Otherwise English crowds were compelled to admiration even in defeat.

The English cricket season of 1948 so evocatively, if briefly, recalled by Sir Neville Cardus surely is, for all who knew it, the most deeply cherished of modern times. It was for many a return to sanity after the stresses of war-time life. That summer endures so richly, though, mainly because the cricket was of such epic quality.

It has been argued that Bradman's side of 1948 was the strongest Australia ever sent to England. Certainly the English team, of greater strength than most, was roundly beaten. The names of most of the Australians come readily to mind for those who recall that cricket. Among the

Dentists say

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Toothbrushes
for the whole family.
Adult (medium and soft),
Junior, Baby,

batsmen, Bradman himself, the prolific left-handed Morris, the belligerent Barnes, the dapper Hassett and the boy Harvey, were not only heavy scorers, but players of positive and memorable character. Many forget that Bill Brown, a considerable Test batsman in pre-war days, was with the side. Indeed, he scored eight centuries and averaged 57.92 on the tour but could only get into the team for two Tests.

The bowling had an even greater embarrassment of riches. Everyone remembers the mighty pairing of Miller and Lindwall. Few, though, now recall Bill Johnston, surely the most under-rated Test cricketer of the post-war period. In less than eight years of international cricket he took 160 wickets—more than all but seven other Australian bowlers, all of whom had longer Test careers than his. In addition to being one of the most humorous and companionable of cricketers, he was a left-arm bowler of immense skill and range.

In 1948 he bowled more overs than any other Australian in Tests, to take 27 wickets—the same number as Lindwall—at the economic figure of 23.33. Toshack, the eminently steady, slow-medium left-arm, over-the-wicket stock bowler, was the stopgap between one new ball and the next. He knew what he had to do and did it.

On any other tour, Sam Loxton—once described as “the poor girl’s Keith Miller”—would have commanded a regular Test place as fast-medium bowler, busy batsman and safe field. In 1948, despite a 93 at Leeds, he played only two. Returning home he became an MP in the party of that arch cricket enthusiast, Sir Robert Menzies.

Ian Johnson, an off-spinner who did not turn—not even at Old Trafford in 1956 when Jim Laker took 19 wickets—was lucky to keep his place with seven wickets at 61 in four Tests. Lucky indeed, when as good a wrist-spinner all-rounder as Colin McCool was never chosen; and Doug Ring played only once.

The strength of Australia is clear in the 4-0 win over England in the rubber; but the margin is emphasised by the comparative runs-per-wicket figure; theirs cost England 44; they took England’s for 29 apiece. Yet the Tests were never uneventful; if the win was overwhelming it was never the dull, steam-roller affairs of some modern series.

The first Test, at Trent Bridge, was all but decided on the first morning when the initial break by Miller and Lindwall, supported by Johnston cut down England to 74 for eight. Evans, Laker and Bedser hauled it up to 165 but that was a trifle by comparison with the Australian 509 (Bradman 138, Hassett 137). Even Compton’s 184—ended when he turned on a bouncer from Miller and fell on his stumps—could not set Australia more to win than 98, which they scored for two wickets.

Compton and Miller were not merely good, but close, friends off the field and as one of the two best bowlers and batsmen of their respective sides, fierce keen rivals on it. Compton respected Miller. He did not fear his bouncer but Miller knew its value as a surprise so he used it, as he judged at the right moment, succeeded and tilted the match.

At Lord’s, 350 and 460 for seven by Australia enabled Bradman to set England a somewhat sadistic 596 to win. Lindwall, Johnston and Toshack left them 409 short of that objective.

It was now apparent, as score sheets cannot show, that the English batting was in psychological as well as technical distress. The fact was that English batsmen had not faced such pace since the war and like their predecessors of 1921 before Gregory and MacDonald, when Miller or Lindwall switched to top speed, they were at a loss. For a time they could soldier through but at the pinch they lacked the experience to cope with such speed sustained over after over.

So, for Old Trafford, the selectors left out one of the best two English batsmen, Len Hutton. His replacement, Emmett of Gloucestershire, was twice swept aside by Lindwall. Compton, though with 145 not out, and supported gamely by Yardley, Evans and Bedser as the wickets ran out, set England’s sights unexpectedly high at 363. That looked better than ever when Bedser and the game, red-headed, Lancashire, fast-medium bowler, Pollard, worked their way through Australia for 221.

On Saturday Bradman threw in the only partly fit Miller



Bradman is bowled for no score by Hollies at the Oval and his Test batting career ends

with Lindwall but, after Emmett went at one for one, Washbrook and Edrich built the innings. England’s 174 for three of Saturday night was suspended by rain which wiped out Monday and delayed Tuesday’s play until after lunch. Then Yardley declared, setting Australia 317 to win, but Morris and Bradman coolly saw out the day to an utterly safe draw.

Leeds was both the high point of English hope and the pit of their disappointment. By historic demand, Hutton was recalled. (He made 81, 57, 30—out of 52—and 64—out of 188—in his remaining four innings of the series.) He, Washbrook, Edrich and Bedser led England to 496. Australia largely through Miller, Harvey, Loxton, and Lindwall, mustered 458.

Hutton and Washbrook’s second century opening stand of the match saw England on the way to 365 for eight, when Yardley declared and set Australia 404 to win in 345 minutes. It was said that he had batted into the last morning in order to use the heavy roller to break up the pitch to the advantage of his spin bowlers.

Yardley used not only Laker, with his off-breaks, but the occasional wrist spin of Compton, who took a wicket and Hutton, who did not. Catches went down. Laker, as at Lord’s was especially unlucky but he still had much to learn. To the anguish of listening England, Morris (182) and Bradman (173 not out) carried Australia so far clear that they had a quarter of an hour and seven wickets to spare when they won and took the rubber.

Lest there could have been any doubt of their superiority in the fourth Test, Australia took the fifth by the towering margin of an innings and 149 runs. Miller and Lindwall hustled England unceremoniously out for 52. Hutton was last out for 30, brilliantly caught down the leg-side by Tallon off Lindwall.

With the series already decided, the story that always attaches to it is of Bradman’s last Test dismissal. When Eric Hollies, the Warwickshire leg-spinner had Barnes caught at the wicket, Bradman came in, at 117 for one and since there was no little likelihood that he would need to bat again, this was the cue for a farewell on his last Test innings. The Oval crowd did not stint him; and the English team stood in salute. Hollies’ first ball to Bradman was, so far as could be ascertained, straight: he played it calmly, defensively. Was there a tear in Bradman’s eye? Jack Fingleton savagely denied such a possibility. The next ball, a typically accurately pitched, Hollies googly, passed through the gate of Bradman’s hesitant forward push and bowled him for zero. Had he scored four runs he would have totalled 7,000 runs—and averaged 100 runs an innings—in Test cricket. Hollies used to grin about it.

His feat made no difference to the result. Australia (Morris run out 196) made 389. Miller, Lindwall and Johnston put the English innings tidily into past history and a contradictorily paradoxical, one-sided but exciting rubber was over.

By arrangement with the *Guardian*

Who Killed Palm Dhar?

Mridula Palm Dhar, a young Calcutta hotel dancer, was recently found burnt to death in her one-room apartment. The post-mortem report, however, states that she was murdered. Who killed her? BARUN GHOSH investigates

It was past midnight on 10 June 1981 when George David (72) an Anglo-Indian, and his Muslim friend Shanny Nizam Ali Khan (55) walked into the Karaya police station in south Calcutta. Their purpose: to lodge a complaint against Ms Mridula (Palm) Dhar (28), a dancer. They told the police that Ms Dhar had abused them, and then beaten them up in front of her apartment at Shamsul Huda Road. No sooner had they finished their story when Peter Strange, a young Anglo-Indian ran into the police station and blurted out to the police officer, "A young woman is burning in the ground-

floor bathroom of a five storey building on Shamsul Huda Road." Sub-inspector Alope Chakraborty rushed out with a police party to investigate.

They reached the building in a few minutes, but by then everything was over. They found the smoking, charred remains of a young woman, later identified as Ms Mridula Dhar. Police officer Chakraborty was immediately suspicious; it did not look like a suicide. There was something strange which kept bothering him. He contacted his officer-in-charge, Mr Binoy Mukherjee. Mr Mukherjee took a jeep and reached the spot at 1.30 in the morning. He started

From the film, Biraj Bou, in which Mridula acted as a courtesan





Palm (extreme right) with George David



Mridula as a courtesan in *Biraj Bou*

looking around and found, among other things, a torn, white half-sleeve shirt inside the bathroom. (The dancer lived alone in a one-room apartment on the groundfloor.) The police found three dairies and some photographs of the dancer at her work. The body was sent to Mominpur morgue for post-mortem by 8 am the next morning.

The post-mortem report reached the police station on 13 June at 11 am. It stated that Ms Dhar's death was due to injuries which were "ante-mortem-homicidal in nature." On the basis of the post-mortem report, George David and Shauny Nizam Ali Khan were arrested by the police from George David's 58, Theatre Road residence on 13 June around noon.

Why was George David arrested? One reason was that the torn, white, half-sleeve shirt was Mr David's. Mr David was obviously an intimate of the late dancer. Said a person who lives nearby, and who wished to remain unnamed, "Almost every evening David used to take Palm out. They used to return late at night. Almost every night they used to quarrel loudly and disturb the neighbours. On the night of 10 June, Palm became furious and grabbed David's shirt. She screamed out, 'You have destroyed my life' All this happened outside the house. Palm then ran into her own room and David followed her."

The watchman of the building, Abdul Sattar (60), corroborated this version. He said, "Palm used abusive language and even beat David up." But the police are yet to ascertain whether the scuffle alone caused Ms Dhar's premature death.

Mridula Dhar was born on 3 October 1953 in a very poor family. Her father, Mr Budyath Dhar (now a retired health department clerk) named his eldest daughter Palm because she looked like the smiling girl whose photograph appeared in the advertisement for Palmolive soap. Mridula was an intelligent child, and, along with her studies, picked up the rudiments of Manipuri dancing. The family managed to save enough money to send the young girl to learn under Mr Brojobashi Singh, a renowned Manipuri dancer, who took classes right beside the Dhar house.

She studied upto B. A. (Part-I) in Jogmaya Devi College in south Calcutta and then dropped out. She felt she would do better if she made a career in dancing. That was in 1971. Someone advised her that one could best learn Indian folk-dances in Delhi. And to Delhi she went, for six months, to train under Mr Yog Sunder Desai.

It was in 1971 that she first met Mr George David. Her mother Mrs Gita Dhar, a school teacher, said, "Once in 1971 she participated in a 13-day festival of dances at Firpo (one of the leading hotels in Calcutta, now closed). It was at that time she met Mr David, who was then not only the general

manager of Firpo but also the general manager of Ritz (another top hotel)." It was at David's insistence that Mridula started giving dance performances in Firpo and Ritz. David used to take her to the hotels in his car before a performance and bring her home at night. In 1976, Firpo closed down and Mridula found herself out of work.

Meanwhile, she got offers to act in Bengali films. In fact, she had acted in two—*Biraj Bou*, where she played the role of a courtesan, and in *Dhanraj Tamang* where she was a Nepali girl. Although she stopped dancing in 1976, David kept the friendship alive, visiting her regularly at home. Mridula's mother did not much like this, but there was little she could do. She said, "If I or Palm's father tried to prevent

Mridula: a religious girl

"Towards the end of 1979, Palm became eccentric and suffered from mental derangement," said Mrs Gita Dhar, Palm's mother. "She used to get irritated very quickly. Once her father just requested her to come back home early in the evenings. She picked up a bamboo stick and started beating him." Often this eccentricity took other forms, mostly violent. Recollects her sister, Sharmila, "She did not like my long curly hair. I don't know why, but she wanted me to cut it off. When I refused she took a pair of scissors and ran after me. I had to stay away from home for two days just to let her cool down."

Was she really mad or did she only suffer from an unusually violent temper? According to Mr Shib Shankar Chakraborty, the advocate who was conducting Palm's case against the senior police officer, "On 5 June, Palm kicked David in front of the additional chief judicial magistrate's room over a minor altercation."

But there was another trait of her character that very few people knew about. From the beginning of 1981 Palm had become extremely religious. She visited the Bholanath Guri Ashram in south Calcutta almost every afternoon. She became so devoted to the Ashram's *swamiji* that she had often spoken of her desire to donate her property (a double storeyed building she had constructed out of her earnings at New Tollygunge) to the *ashram*. "On 18 May," said Mr Chakraborty, "Palm told me she wanted to make a will. She repeated her desire on 27 May and this time told me that she wanted to give the house to the *ashram*."



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David from seeing our daughter, Mridula opposed us vehemently. In fact, many times Palm threatened us with dire consequences if we stopped David from coming."

Perhaps by this time Palm had fallen in love with David. A head-strong girl, she clearly wanted a taste of the rich life she had seen during her days as a dancer in hotels. She was so disgusted with life at her comparatively impoverished home that she stopped eating home-cooked meals. And David sent her food from hotels. Mridula stopped talking to her parents and her younger sister, Sharmila Dhar (19). Mrs Gita Dhar recalls, with sadness, "Palm did not address me as 'Ma.' If any friends of hers came to visit her, she did not even introduce them to me."

Soon Palm decided that she would not stay anymore with her family. The landlord of the house where they were staying at 1 F, Rani Shankari Lane, Bhowanipore in south Calcutta, often had quarrels with them, asking them to vacate the house, which they finally did in March this year. Mridula used this opportunity to make a visible break with her family. Despite her mother's insistence that the family stay together, she moved into an independent one-room apartment.

David helped Palm find a place on Shamsul Huda Road and he paid the rent. Now Mridula broke all contacts with her family, not even informing them of her new address. Her mother met David several times at his 58, Theatre Road residence to get some information about her daughter but David would not tell her where Palm was. But he did say one thing: just seven days before she died, said Mrs Dhar, "David told me that Palm wanted to become Mrs David!" David was also in love with Palm. When he started a food catering business, he did it in Mridula's name—the Mridula catering shop—at the Calcutta race course. Life seemed to have become better for Mridula now.

In the middle of December 1980, Mridula Dhar had had a personal problem which could only be solved by the police. She took her trouble to the Calcutta Police commissioner, Mr Nirupam Soni. He told her to meet one of his deputies, who told Mridula that her problem could be better discussed outside the office. So on 7 January 1981, Mridula, accompanied by a friend, Shekhar Basu Roy, met this police officer. That evening was to become an important evening in the young dancer's life. In a case filed in the court of the chief judicial magistrate, Alipore on 23 February 1981 (Case no. Compl't 93/81 TR 10/81), Mridula said that she had been molested by the police officer. From then on, according to her lawyer Mr Shih Shankar Chakraborty, this police officer had been trying to take revenge against Mridula by harassing her. Said Mr Chakraborty, "On 6 June 1981, Mridula phoned me and called me to her flat. She sounded scared and only said, 'I don't want to stay in Calcutta.' I was worried. On 8 June she telephoned me again at 2.30 in the afternoon. She said, 'I feel insecure. The police are threatening me.' In fact, I was feeling insecure myself and I wanted to give up the case." Two days after Mridula spoke to her lawyer, she died.

Meanwhile, the accused, Mr George David, Shanny Nizam Ali Khan and Mohammed Sabir (Mridula's landlord's driver) were produced before the sub-divisional judicial magistrate, Mr Debabrata Dutta Gupta, in the Alipore court on 20 June. Their appeal for bail was refused. The police are continuing their investigations, and slowly the case is becoming a subject of popular gossip. A section of the media has published that the dead dancer had filed a case against a senior police officer. Top officials of the Calcutta Police have, consequently, begun to take an interest. The police commissioner talked to the OC, Karaya police station and, along with joint commissioner, Mr S. K. Ramachandran, deputy commissioner, enforcement branch, Mr D. P. Mukherjee and other police officials visited Palm's flat at Shamsul Huda Road. (Since a police officer was believed to be involved in the case, Mr Som handed over the investigations to the enforcement branch.) On 18 June, the chief secretary, government of West Bengal, Mr Amiya Kumar Sen, said that the detective department was not conducting investigations in the Mridula Dhar case. He said that investigations about the officer allegedly involved were continuing, and only after they were complete would any decision be taken, if required, against the police officer.

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PAKISTAN'S DEFENCE

A view from Islamabad

Pity poor Pakistan. Half of it is barren, inhospitable and empty. The other half is a fertile and beautiful plain rippled by widely spaced lines of hills which teems with more than 80 million people and has been on a strategic salami slicer for years. The Indians have helped Pakistan's eastern chunk to independence. And they claim Kashmir.

Then, in December, 1979, the buffer state in the west furnished by the British to keep the Russians 400 miles from the subcontinent disappeared overnight. The Pakistanis found Mr Brezhnev's baleful eye peering down the Khyber Pass at them. "For the first time in the life of Pakistan, we have to look to our western defences," said the head of Pakistan's defence ministry, General M. A. Rahim. "The military balance has become very precarious."

The Pakistanis cannot bring themselves to contemplate the possibility of an all-out Soviet attack: the foreign minister, Mr Agha Shahi, says this "is beyond the limits of our consideration." He believes it would start the third world war. He is probably right. The danger, says Mr Shahi, comes from "lesser eventualities." Those are, in descending order of likelihood, a Russian decision to spread the war in Afghanistan into the tribal belt along Pakistan's north-west frontier (rather as the Americans bombed North Vietnamese bases inside Cambodia in 1970); an Indian grab for the last Pakistani chunk of Kashmir in the north; and a Russian-backed rebellion in Baluchistan.

As protection against the first and third contingencies, General Rahim believes that a colossal military infrastructure needs to be built in the wildest of wild country along Pakistan's 2,000-kilometre border with Afghanistan. The Pakistanis have rushed four divisions to their western border already, leaving eight divisions in the east. They say they would need at least \$1½ billion to provide the defences needed to make the Russians think

twice about making a grab for the tribal areas. The money would be largely spent on providing roads and railways along the border to allow soldiers to be rushed up and down to burgeoning troublespots.

The border is far too long to be effectively defended all the way down. Small incidents could happen anywhere. There are six passes through which a Soviet thrust could come, and they are far apart. Permanent forces are required to guard each pass and mobile ones to reinforce them.

The Pakistanis insist that it is quite impossible to police the movements of the *mujaheddin* between Afghanistan and the tribal area. General Rahim claims that it would take one million soldiers to close the border; its chasms, rocks and caves would require a border post every 50 metres. In any case, Pakistan's writ in the area is limited by agreements drawn up by the British, which gave the tribesmen virtual control of the area, exercised through their traditional lawmakers, the elders.

The Pakistani army presence in the tribal belt is at present limited to small border posts of seven to eight men, usually stuck in little hilltop towers built by the British, watching movement along the more obvious mountain trails. They are equipped only with small arms and machines guns. At night, when the bulk of the clandestine movement takes place the soldiers can see hardly a thing.

The arms trail up from Baluchistan goes virtually unpoliced; the local gunsmiths hammering out their wares in the mountain villages are not interfered with. The Pakistanis can do little, either, about Russian violations of the border; some 200 such violations have been recorded since the war started. Refugee camps just across the border have been shelled by the Russians. Helicopter gunships have lumbered across and twice attacked Pakistani border posts; one gunship was shot down by the Pakistanis.

Usually the Pakistani government

can do no more than protest. The Pakistanis also tell Russia that they are doing their best to stop weapons reaching the guerrillas. Asks Mr Shahi: "Would any country come to our aid if the *mujaheddin* came to be in a position (through being supplied arms) to offer an unacceptable challenge to the occupation forces?" General Rahim says: "We don't want aid to be transferred through Pakistan. Not, at least, until Pakistan is totally safe." So, if the west bolsters Pakistan's defences, aid might be allowed to reach the guerrillas.

In Baluchistan, there is a political headache as well as a defensive one. The border between Afghanistan and Baluchistan, which is a tantalising 350 miles from the Indian Ocean is very lightly populated and almost wholly undefended. There are virtually no roads in the area, the east of which is an utterly desolate mountain region, the west an arid desert. Equally, though, there are no north-south roads available to a Russian military force. Baluchistan is such a vacuum that even an invader might have trouble breathing there. This does not rule out air-borne help to a local insurrection against Pakistan's central government; or even a landing to set up a warm water port at the superb natural harbours of Gwadar or Ormara. The supply problems in both cases would be immense.

Baluchistan's stony soil seems suited to growing political trouble. There are only two million people in the territory, which spans two-fifths of Pakistan. Between 1973 and 1977 local insurgents mounted a series of guerrilla attacks against the central authorities, with objectives ranging from setting up an independent state tacked on to Iranian Baluchistan to greater autonomy. The three tribes most active in the troubles were the Bizenjo, the Maris and the Mengels.

Their chiefs, the *sardars*, enjoy the power of medieval lords; the wily Bizenjo leader, Ghouse Baksh Bizenjo, has for long flirted with the Russians



Pakistani defence pierced: Indian convoy returns after returning occupied territory in the Barmer sector in 1972

in his struggle against Pakistan's central government. More recently left-wing organisations, like the Baluchistan Youth and Student Organisation, have caused trouble in the hills. There is some evidence that pro-Russian pot-stirrers from Afghanistan have infiltrated the territory.

The Pakistani government believes that Baluchistan is under control. There has been no fighting there recently. None of the autonomy demands has been conceded; the area is under the control of a military governor like any other region. But the government has poured money into the territory, including compensation for those affected by the troubles.

Fewer than half the inhabitants of the territory are Baluchis. There is doubt whether even the tribal chiefs now command the support of their followers. Mr Bisenjo himself wants too great a degree of autonomy for the region to have been invited to join Pakistan's flailing anti-government movement for the restoration of democracy. Refugees from Afghanistan have been welcomed by Baluchi tribesmen, which has caused Mr Bisenjo to play down his Russian connections for the time being. Clearly, there could be trouble, but not yet.

At the other end of the country, the Pakistanis are worried about Indian intentions in Kashmir. If the Indians were to conclude a definitive peace treaty with Pakistan up to six Pakistani divisions could immediately be shifted to the border with Afghanistan. The Indians, after all, would have cause to be nervous if the Russians gained a foothold on the subcontinent. Mr Shahi has been extending a tentative hand to the Indians.

But, says General Rahim, "our people do not consider that the Indians are friendly." The Indians' limpness in condemning the invasion of Afghanistan makes the Pakistanis nervous. So does the worry that, although the west may be disposed to help Pakistan

against the Soviet Union, it is unlikely to get involved if India attacks.

In addition to the \$1½ billion to reinforce the western border, the Pakistanis want \$½ billion to bolster their regular army and create two new divisions. They were offered \$400m by President Carter in 1980, but President Zia turned this down at the time as "peanuts;" they now seem willing to accept \$500m in direct aid followed by further help in the form of soft credits to buy American equipment. The Americans seem likely to drop their old objections to helping Pakistan—its human rights record and its acquisition, with Libyan help, of the wherewithal to build an 'Islamic' nuclear bomb—in view of the urgency of the security problem.

President Reagan is less concerned about human rights in friendly countries than with the danger of appearing to side with an unpopular military regime which might get kicked out one day by an opposition which would then regard America as an implacable enemy. It seems that President Reagan had better bite the bullet. It proved impossible to find a single man-in-the-street in Pakistan who had a kind word to say about General Zia. But the only serious threat to him at the moment comes from within the army, which is unlikely to take against the Americans.

Pakistan has a tradition of military rule. Deprived of the one civilian, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with the leadership qualities to stand up to that tradition, Pakistanis seem resigned to being ordered about. General Zia runs a short-back-and-sides British-style public school regime, under which public floggings and private hangings have less to do with Koranic tradition than with martial law. Watching General Zia reviewing his khaki soldiers and hussar-style army band, then withdrawing to a gloriously painted canopy, it seems that, when Britain went, only the nationality of the man inside the uniform changed.

Most Pakistanis, moreover, are considerably better off under General Zia than before. Under Bhutto, claims the present finance minister, Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the economy "was on the verge of collapse." Now growth has shot up by a handy 6.3% a year on average since 1977. Much of it is fuelled by the \$2 billion in remittances sent in by two million Pakistani workers in the Gulf; when their families are taken into account, this money may be directly benefiting some 10% of Pakistan's population. Economic improvements add up to a quiet life for President Zia, providing his fellow officers do not consider him a liability and decide to dump him for someone with a less chilling smile. There is very little prospect of the army yielding power now that it sees Pakistan's national survival endangered.

In 1971, Pakistan's defeat at India's hands discredited the army and let in Bhutto. What if the same thing happened again in Kashmir, letting in Bhutto's relations? The bulk of his Pakistan People's Party (PPP), luckily, disapproves of his hothead sons, who appear to be conniving with Russia and Afghanistan; even Mrs Bhutto's recent advocacy of a deal by which Russia would guarantee Pakistan's borders in exchange for Pakistani recognition of the Karmal regime in Afghanistan seems a minority taste. A PPP government would have to come to terms with the threat to Pakistan's survival posed by a policy of appeasement, with the fear of upsetting the country's traditional ally, China, and with the fury of the Afghan refugees and north-west frontier tribesmen if any deal is done.

But, yes, a PPP government would be more accommodating towards the Russians than General Zia, something which gives him nothing but satisfaction because it makes him all the more indispensable to President Reagan. Nothing is risk-free; and General Zia's house is made of hardwood.

By arrangement with The Economist

THE WORLD

Irate 'First Daughter'

Twenty-eight-year-old actress Patti Davis has never been her father's pet, five years ago she adopted her mother's maiden name because she wanted to be judged on her own merit and not on her father's reputation. Today her father is the US President and she is not bothered. Recently Ms Davis addressed a crowd of 18,000 anti-nuclear protestors who greeted her with a resounding applause at Los Angeles. Severely critical of her father's nuclear policy, she said: "We have to move away from nuclear power to resources that are safe, abundant and harmonious with nature." This was the first time she made a public statement against Mr Reagan though in the past she had not agreed with his views on a number of important issues, particularly the Vietnam war.



Patti Davis: unworthy daughter?

Fundamentally socialist

Iran has decided to promote workers' interests all over the world with the help of its shares (most of them bought by the Shah before 1975) in western companies. Industry minister Mahmoud Ahmazadeh recently rushed to Bonn after being told that Krupp Stahl—the giant West German steel company in

which Iran is a 25 percent shareholder—was planning to dismiss 5,000 workers in a scheme to boost productivity. And in the crucial Krupp supervisory board meeting the inevitable happened: Iranian representatives teamed up with the workers' delegates to reject the management's proposal.

Uranium connection

The Iraqi nuclear reactor at Daura which the Israeli air force destroyed last month, was being fed with Brazilian uranium. Brazil's leading daily, *O Estado de S Paulo*, has reported that eight tons of uranium were flown out of Brazil in two Iraqi aircraft on 14 and 15 January this year. The second aircraft was forced to land "somewhere in Africa and reached Iraq without its

cargo." This story has been picked up by the spokesman for Brazil's main opposition party, Franco Montoro, who is demanding an investigation into the "secret nuclear deal." And the chairman of Brazil's Society for Advancement of Sciences has accused the government of "making Brazil a potential target for an attack as well from Israel."

Briefly

Big deal



Richard Nixon, choking with money

Former US President Richard Nixon is not satisfied with his house in Manhattan (New York) which he had bought for \$750,000. So he signed a provisional contract recently to buy a lavish 15-roomed house with a 1,000-bottle wine cellar and three built-in stereo systems, in the midst of four acres of land which has a tennis court and a 900 sq. ft swimming pool, at the exclusive Saddle River in New Jersey. The damages? Roughly \$1,000,000.

Missiles for Libya?

Otrag, the West German rocket manufacturing company which has a testing base in Libya, has struck a clandestine deal to supply Libya with missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. This news was broken by *Stern* and the matter is now being investigated by the prosecutor's office in Munich.

Some degree of sense

After a lapse of 15 years, students in China will be joining the paper chase once again; Beijing has announced that Chinese universities will start granting academic degrees from this year.

Greek to the English

Princess Anne and husband Mark Phillips have given their second child (a girl) an unusual name: Zara. According to a Buckingham Palace spokesman, they "just liked the name." Zara is a Greek Biblical word which means 'bright as the dawn.'

Top-class service



The first one surfaced in Osaka last year; now there are over 200 coffee shops with shapely, uninhibited waitresses on their payroll in Tokyo itself. Drinking coffee, it seems, is no longer a tame affair in Japan.

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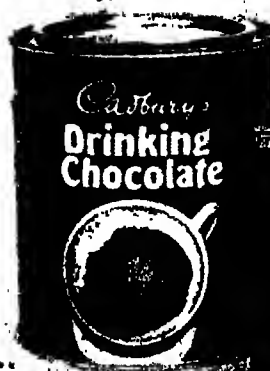
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The Government

Sugar imports again

The threat held out by Rao Birendra Singh, union agriculture minister, that he would not hesitate to import sugar if prices kept rising has come true. The State Trading Corporation has contracted to buy 1,40,000 tonnes from a London firm, Philips and Company. It may purchase another 60,000 tonnes, thus bringing total imports this year to 2,00,000 tonnes, the same as last year. Again, like last year, the decision to import was kept a closely guarded secret. The landed cost of imported sugar will work out to Rs 450 a quintal. Distribution is to be made through fair price shops at the prevailing price of Rs 350 a quintal. This means that the government will have to bear a subsidy of about Rs 100 a quintal. Why this subsidy and expenditure of foreign exchange when the government could have met the shortage in supplies through fair price shops by diverting supplies from the open market, i.e. reducing the free sale quota? Last year, one lakh tonnes of free sale sugar was diverted to fair price shops but its distribution was done in such a haphazard manner that the consumers did not benefit. Will things be any better this year?

Small-scale export consortia limping

The idea of export consortia for different small-scale industries is just not catching on. Only five have been formed so far and of these, two, Coimbatore Industries Export House and Moonage Export, are still struggling; they have approached the development commissioner, small-scale industries, for financial assistance. One of the main reasons for the tardy growth of such consortia is the absence of any comprehensive or integrated programme to assist them. The only incentives available are import facility and assistance for market development. Another reason is the presumption that members joining a consortium already have proven capability and the necessary export and marketing infrastructure. A third reason is the reluctance of well-organised units to lose their individual identity and join a consortium. A high-level committee headed by Dr Ram K. Vepa, development commissioner, small-scale industries, has just submitted its report to the commerce ministry on steps to promote the idea of export consortia. Hopefully something will come out of its recommendations.

Names matter to health ministry

The union health ministry feels that names matter. Thus it first changed "community health workers" into "community health voluntary scheme" and then into the "village health guide scheme." And if a name has the wrong antecedents then it is derecognised and the whole idea wished away. When a correspondent recently asked the union health minister whether any change was contemplated in the scheme to train barefoot doctors, the minister blandly replied that there was no such scheme. Why? The scheme was launched by Mr Raj Narain.

But the biggest change in nomenclature that the ministry is hesitating to make is reverting to the old label of "family planning" from the current "family welfare," given by the Janata. The Prime Minister recently told a conference of state health ministers that it was up to them to take a decision on it. As Mrs Gandhi did not clearly indicate her own preference and as people usually try to find that out before making their suggestions, no decision could be taken. But as the latest

census figures indicate that we have failed to make any effective progress in practising birth control some serious thinking may be urgently needed on whether a change of label is necessary to bring about greater interest and participation.

Nobody is paying

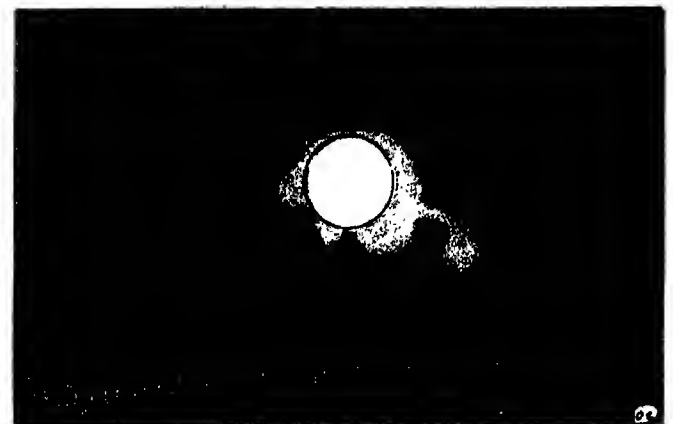
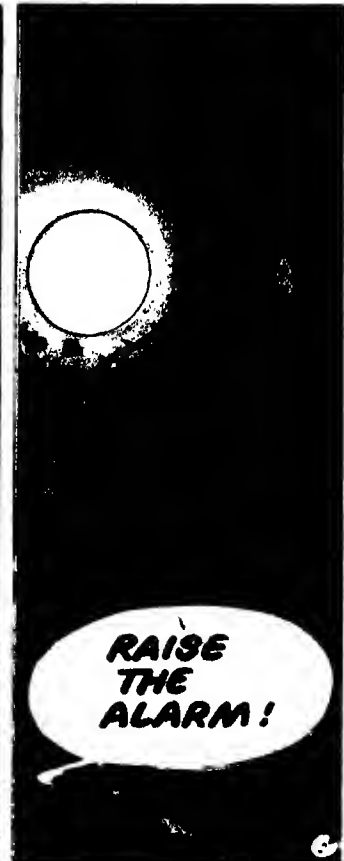
Like the cement regulation account, funds in the aluminium regulation account are also fast dwindling. Why? The two big aluminium producers—Indian Aluminium Company (INDAL) and Hindustan Aluminium Corporation (HINDALCO)—have not been remitting money into it regularly. HINDALCO has not been remitting money under court orders, and INDAL has managed to avoid doing so through its good contacts. The two companies have to remit as much as Rs 36 crores to the account, which would have helped the government subsidise aluminium prices. But who bothers?

Why start new free trade zones now?

The government is thinking of setting up a committee to examine the question of having more free trade zones in the country. It is likely to be headed by Mr P. L. Tandon, director-general of the National Council of Applied Economic Research. Why this exercise when the country already has two free trade zones, at Kandla and Santa Cruz, whose units are not yet on their own feet? The Kandla zone is particularly beset by a lack of proper communication facilities and various uncertainties. Setting up new FTZs would mean additional infrastructural investments ensuring supply of duty-free raw materials and components to the export-oriented units, appointment of a development commissioner and a host of other staff, etc. It would be better if energies are not dissipated over new zones and existing ones given more attention. Kandla and Santa Cruz are at a crucial stage of their development. A long-term demand of their units, five-year tax holiday, has been met and the right amount of care and attention now to their problems can help them become viable.



NIGHT HAS FALLEN, AND ALL IS CALM AGAIN IN THE VILLAGE.





MY OWN DAUGHTER IN LEAGUE WITH THE ENEMY! TREACHERY UNDER MY OWN ROOF!

AND MY OWN FATHER ISN'T ASHAMED TO ASK THE ROMANS FOR HELP IN FIGHTING OUR OWN FRIENDS AND RELATIONS!



SHUT UP, YOU UNGRATEFUL CHILD! I'M GOING TO LOCK YOU IN YOUR ROOM, AND YOU DON'T COME OUT UNTIL THE DAY YOU MARRY CODFIX!

I NEVER WILL! I'D RATHER BE A VIRGIN SERVING VESTA* ALL MY LIFE!

*GIRLS CARRIED FAVOUR WITH THIS GODDESS



DON'T LET'S RUSH THIS MAJESTIX! TIME AND PATIENCE WILL ACHIEVE MORE THAN RAGE AND VIOLENCE EVER COULD!



SOMETIMES I WONDER HOW I THINK THESE THINGS UP...



O LOVELY MELODRAMA, PLEASE ACCEPT THIS PRETTY BUNCH OF FLOWERS!



WHAT MAKES YOU THINK YOU'RE A SMASH HIT WITH ME?



MEANWHILE...

FATHER, WAKE UP!

HMPH? WHAT IS IT?

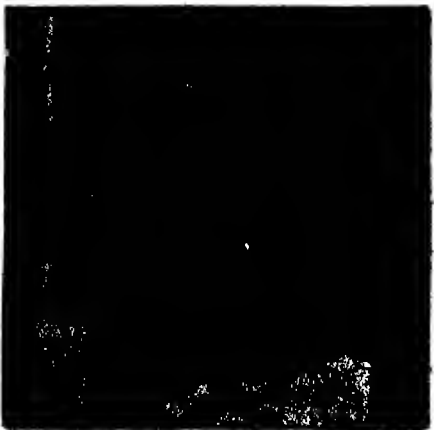


MAJESTIX AND HIS HENCHMAN CODFIX ARE PLANNING TO ASK THE ROMANS TO HELP THEM CONQUER THE WHOLE VILLAGE!

OH, ARE THEY? WELL, SON, I WANT YOU TO GO IN SEARCH OF MY OLD COMRADE-IN-ARMS VITALSTATISTIX. HE AND I FOUGHT TOGETHER AT GERGOVIA...



HE'S CHIEF OF A ARMORICAN VILLAGE A FEW DAYS' JOURNEY AWAY. THANKS TO THE DRUID GETAFIX'S MAGIC POTION, HE HAS KEPT THE WHOLE MIGHT OF CAESAR'S LEGIONS AT BAY! EXPLAIN IT ALL TO HIM, AND TELL HIM I NEED HIS HELP!



SANJAY GANDHI DEATH ANNIVERSARY

The nation remembers a leader

But Captain Subhas Saxena is forgotten

New Delhi: 23 June, 1980: one plane crash, two young widows, two fatherless infants, two intense griefs. A year later on the death anniversary, one grief is publicly observed with the nation's cameras rolling, the press and political leaders in attendance; the other within the confines of Captain Subhas Saxena's home at the Delhi flying club, a stone's throw from where the doomed Pitts aircraft took off with Sanjay Gandhi at the joystick and flying instructor Captain Saxena.

While Feroze Varun Gandhi, 14 months, cute, frisky in his little white chicken kurta and dhoti—obvious answer to a photographer's prayer—stole the show at Shantivana and was helped by his grandmother, the Prime Minister, to place flowers on his

father's *samadhi*, Siddharta Saxena, elder by four months, in white as well, kissed, unrecorded for posterity, the garlanded photograph of his father after the prayer meeting.

The memorial ceremony at Shantivana was dignified and moving—aesthetically simple like the red-and-black granite *samadhi* designed by architect Ram Sharma and hurriedly completed a few days ago. It had a pool of water with submerged steps. The Gandhi family arrived on the dot at six am with a rather mercurial Mrs Gandhi in a white sari with black embroidery leading the rest of the family to the *samadhi*, where she first placed flowers—later helping Feroze to place a few petals on his father's *samadhi*. Maneka, Sanjay's 24-year-old



The Sanjay Samadhi at Shantivana

widow, Rajiv Gandhi and his wife Sonia and their two children, Rahul and Priyanka then put flowers. Forming part of the immediate entourage were Maneka's mother, Mrs Amteshwar Anand, her son and younger daughter, Ambika, had arrived a little earlier, as had home minister Giani Zail Singh, and placed white garlands on the *samadhi*. The chief ministers of Haryana and Bihar, Bhajan Lal and Jagannath Mishra and Sanjay Gandhi's special men: a rather tired-looking Jagdish Tytler and Kamal Nath began to arrive shortly after 5.30.

A mango sapling was planted on the *samadhi* by the president of the Youth Congress(I), Ghulam Nabi Azad. It seems that Sanjay Gandhi had 250 mango saplings which were to be

The quiet ceremony at Capt. Subhas Saxena's house



Feroze Varun Gandhi offers flowers at his father's samadhi



planted—they had been kept in the nursery at 1 Safdarjang Road. Three of them were planted at Shantivana, one of them by Bhishma Narain Singh. The rest will be planted after the monsoon begins. After the floral tribute was over, everyone sat down and there was a moving flute recital, followed by patriotic songs sung by orphans from the Bal Sahayog. Most of the ministers and former ministers rushed up to the *samadhi*, some rubbing sleep from their eyes, because there had been some misunderstanding about the time. The ceremony at the *samadhi* was supposed to have begun at seven, or a little later, but late in the night of 22 June, it was suddenly changed to six. Perhaps the Gandhi family wanted to make it a purely family or a private affair.

The *tamasha* really began after the Gandhi family left. While hundreds of people began to pour in, a few stopping briefly at the *samadhi* of Jawaharlal Nehru a few hundred yards away, *sadhus* of all shapes, sizes and colours turned up and transformed the morning into a little happening. Some had even brought little bundles of earth from Hardwar or Benaras. All carried some Ganga *jal* (water). (One admirer had placed a framed photograph of Sanjay Gandhi surrounded by a collage of fruit offerings, on the left was a painting of Bal Krishna). But most visible and audible was the crew-cut, saffron-clad Kanahayia Lal, "Manjiralwala" from Gujarat with his cymbals and bells who kept running all over the place like a court jester. "I was at Rae Bareilly, I was at Tilloi, I played this instrument for 13 hours non-stop on the 15th when the votes were being counted. I gave Rajiv two mangoes and a flower. *Chacha* Nehru used to like mangoes, that is why ..." and Kanahayia Lal continued to saunter all over Shantivana, playing the instrument and singing his *bhajans*.

Meanwhile, politicians, friends, rather subdued Youth Congress(I) men and people continued to stream towards the crowded *samadhi*. While the Gandhi family had simply offered flowers and moved on, the politicians who came later kept lingering at the *samadhi*, hands folded, and appeared to be praying. Some waited (as if competing in who could look the saddest) for photographs to be taken. (However, surely accidentally, Kamla-pati Tripathi gave the SUNDAY photographer his most beaming smile.) Butta Singh, accompanied by Bhola Panday, of the ertswile plane highjacking fame, stayed, hands folded, longest at the *samadhi*.

At the Youth Congress-organised rally held at 8 am just opposite Shantivana, Mrs Gandhi and Maneka Gandhi in addition to Jagdish Tytler and Gulam Nabi Azad were on the stage. Rajiv Gandhi and his wife turned up a few minutes after Mrs. Gandhi and Maneka and sat below the platform—despite attempts to get them to sit on the stage.

While at Shantivana, Rajiv did not wear the Gandhi cap, he sported it at the rally. He was present in full Con-



Maneka Gandhi, Mrs Gandhi and Ghulam Nabi Azad

gress uniform. Giani Zail Singh, a few ministers, and social workers sat alongside. Across them sat V. C. Shukla—almost like the proverbial school-boy banished to the corner.

The Youth Congress(I) president presented a forlorn and silent Maneka with the first Sanjay Gandhi stamp released by the P and T department.

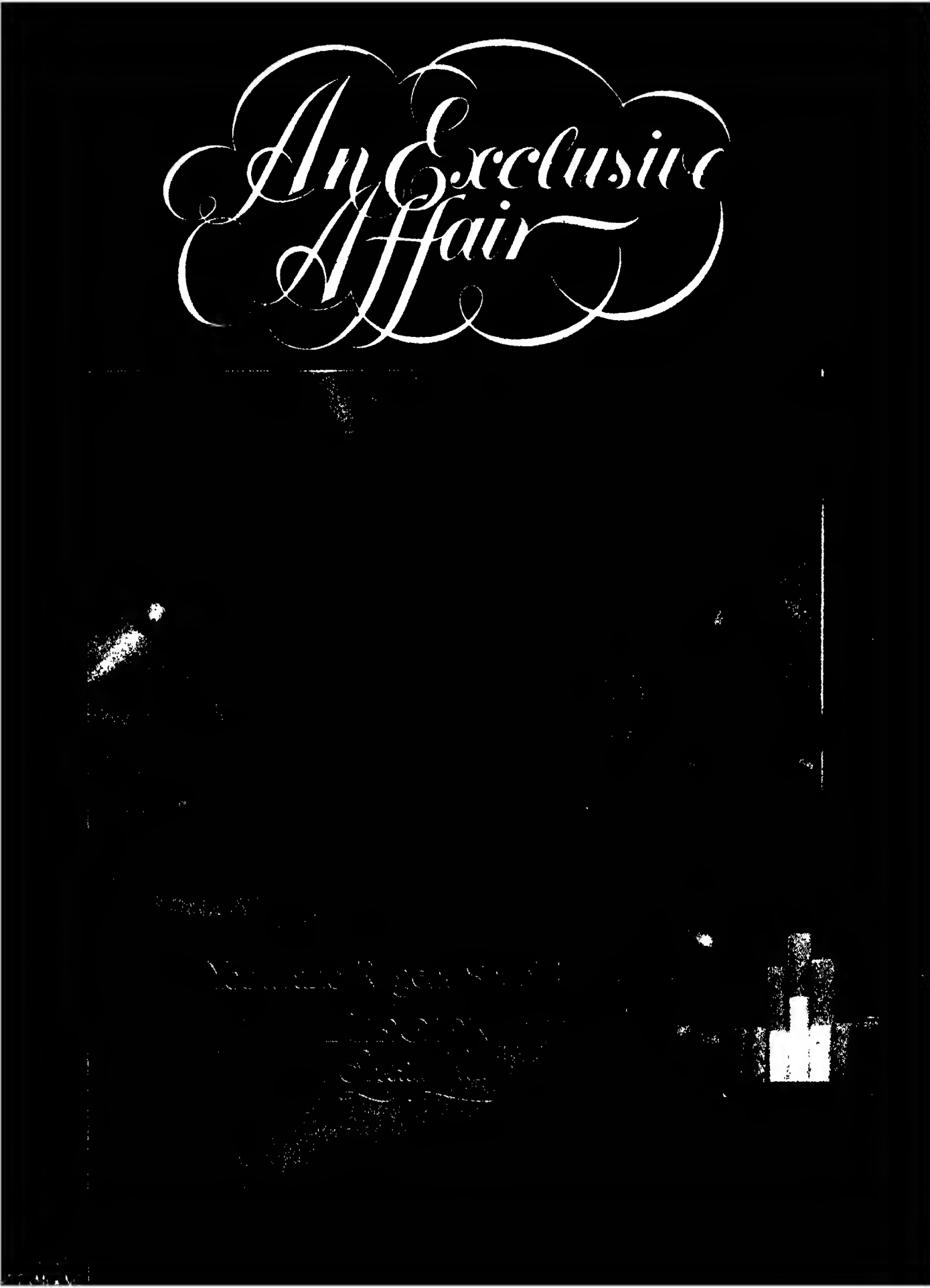
H. K. L. Bhagat described Sanjay Gandhi as a general who had showed the nation the way, and Mrs Gandhi as one who had tackled even the most awesome obstacles. Later the taped address of Sanjay at the Chandigarh AICC session meeting was played, in which he outlined his four points. Mrs Gandhi then removed her dark glasses and addressed the thousands gathered within the freshly painted barriers. Her speech ranging from shrill to forceful was basically a political one. "All of you were uprooted and carried away by the stream against us... in a way it was good we lost. It showed the world that we know how to win, how to lose and how to start again." Basically, her speech, which started with her calling the day not one of grief but of action, was an exercise in self-affirmation. Mrs Gandhi was ready to take on the world. But, she could not do it alone. She wanted the others to strengthen their hands as well. H. N. Bahuguna had, some time earlier, commented on Mrs Gandhi's persistent need to strengthen "her hands." Perhaps, this was a reply.

The Prime Minister (who really did look younger and stronger, though much thinner) attacked the opposition

for having messed up the nation during their rule and for undermining the self-confidence of the country. "Let people try to overthrow the government ... but, they should not, in the attempt try to destroy India's courage and hope." Many countries, she said had been born and had disappeared, but India remained and would remain when all the others would be gone. Eternal India. Mrs Gandhi said that the country was back on the rails: there were more rail wagons, or more production and since October the growth rate had doubled. Prices, still remained uncontrolled, she admitted. Mrs Gandhi called her younger son a true revolutionary who gave India a programme. Her son, she said, started Maruti without entering politics because he wanted to show what could be done without belonging to the government. The Prime Minister became slightly emotional when she talked about how Sanjay was abused and she had not been able to help him. She called on the youth listening to her to help build the nation on the same principles.

The Prime Minister then went to the Talkatora gardens stadium where the blood donation camp organised by the Youth Congress(I) was set up. The Youth Congress(I) leaders were spread out on tables, ready to give their blood in memory of their departed leader. Rallies and blood donation camps were organised all over the country and the Sanjay Memorial fortnight was started. Madhu Jain

An Exclusive Affair



The dead return home

New Delhi: Buglers sounded the last post, widows and mothers sobbed loudly as the remains of the 25 air force personnel aboard the IAF Dakota MI-965 which crashed in 1947, were cremated with full military honours on 11 June.

It was a touching ceremony bringing back memories for the wives; once young now white-haired with grief; for an 85-year-old mother stooped with age and fatigue after a long journey from Nasik; for brothers and sisters who came from all parts of the country for the last rites—a ceremony for which most had waited a lifetime.

The Dakota had been flown by Flight Lieutenant C. J. Mendonza, Flying Officers T. R. Peters and U. S. Tonse. The plane had taken off from Agra on 31 October 1947 and had landed at Ambala to pick up 22 technicians before flying on to a half-made airstrip near Srinagar. The Dakota was also carrying ammunition for the army unit guarding the airstrip from attacks by the Kaibalis who at the time were just seven kms away. The technicians were being taken for the maintenance of the makeshift but vital airport. That was the last one heard of the plane for it never reached the airstrip. Till last year it was reported missing.

Last year an air force expedition came across the hull of the plane stuck in snow on a mountain side, 15,000 feet above sea level in the Kishtwar-Pahalgam area. A second expedition

recovered part of the wreckage and the remains—just bones—of the 25 men scattered around the crash site. The bones filled two coffins. The air force then began tracing the families of the dead men. A telegram sent to them 33 years ago to give up hope was now followed by another saying that the wreckage had been discovered. Could they attend the funeral ceremony? Apart from three families all

the others were contacted.

So on 11 June the families gathered at New Delhi. The most touching was the 85-year-old mother of LAC Gargode. She had come all the way from Nasik to attend her son's funeral. Throughout the ceremony she cried quietly.

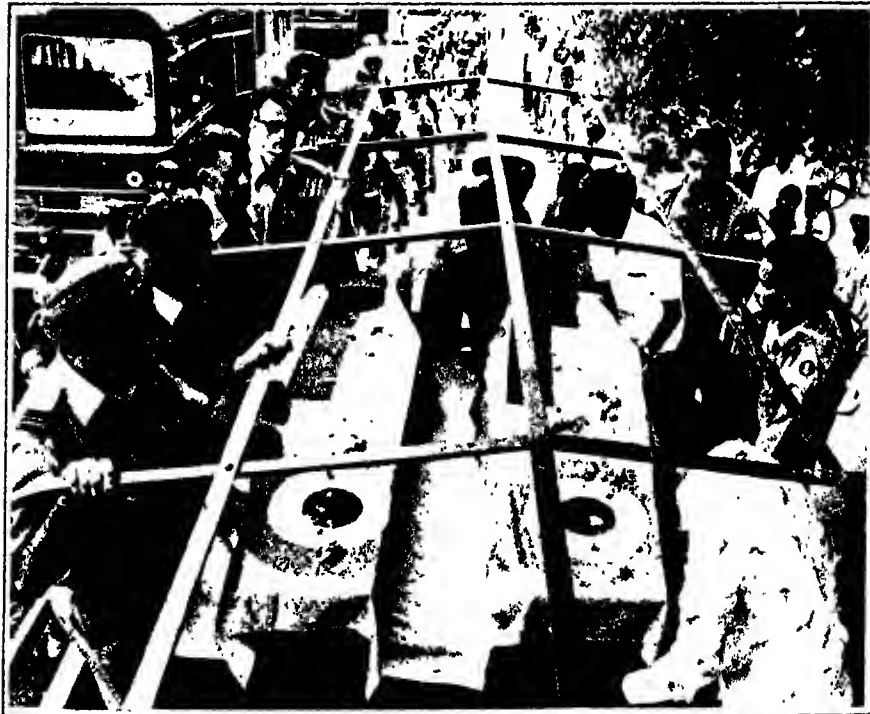
Relatives spoke of mothers who had never given up hope of finding lost sons. Some had died waiting for their sons to return. The most tragic was the case of Flight Lieutenant Mendonza's mother, who died in 1965, positive that her only son would return some day. His three sisters came down from Bombay to attend the funeral.

Co-pilot Flying Officer Umesh Tonse's last rites were attended by his



Relatives with garlands wait outside the electric crematorium

The two coffins arrive at Palam air base



son, Vijay Umesh Tonse, who was one-and-a-half years old in 1947 and is now a father of two himself. Mr Tonse came all the way from Baghdad. He said he had received the news with relief for now his father's soul could rest in peace. With him was his mother, later re-married but whose husband, according to Vijay, had taken the news "very well." Said flying officer, Tonse's sisters about their step-father, "He was like a father. He brought us up."

LAC John Raivellura's mother never allowed her family to perform the last rites. She died waiting for her son's return. There was Sindhu Tai, wife of Corporal H. Srinivasan who cried throughout the ceremony. She was accompanied by her daughter, Godavari, who sobbed for a father she had never known, since she was born after his death. Uma Devi, a grey-haired woman sat quietly refusing to answer questions, breaking into tears frequently. She was only 17, when she lost her husband LAC M. Singh.

For the Indian Air Force, this was a novel experience. Over 500 officers



IAF officers and men take the two coffins to the crematorium

and men brought the coffins in a convoy from the air force station at Palam to the electric crematorium. The coffins were draped in the air force colours. The men lined up on either side of the path leading to the crematorium and reversed arms while the two coffins were carried by six officers and six airmen. The last rites were performed by Hindu, Sikh and Christian priests. Officers placed wreaths on the coffins followed by the relatives. Three volleys were fired. Arms were presented and a funeral salute was sounded. The coffins were carried into the crematorium to the sound of buglers sounding the last post.

The air force claimed that several expeditions had been sent to locate the aircraft. But it was a near-impossible task in the snow-bound areas. Besides they had no idea where the plane had exactly crashed, for it had lost radio contact.

This leaves one plane missing. In 1968, an air force plane carrying a mixed crew of 104 army and air force men from Chandigarh to Leh disappeared. Till today it has not been traced. It could not land at Leh because of bad weather. It was returning to Chandigarh and somewhere along the way it lost contact with ground control.

Shehnaz Syed

Dancing to her own tune

New Delhi: A controversy has erupted between the playwright-filmmaker Balwant Gargi and the celebrated dancer Yamini Krishnamurti on whose dance and art Gargi has made a colour documentary film for the Films Division. Yamini wants the film to be reshot with her father writing a new script; Gargi claims that the film has been completed with Yamini Krishnamurti's rich classical dances, her life's background and achievements. The film has been seen by the Films Advisory Board and passed by the censors. It went through a microscopic inspection by the Films Division technical and artistic directors, and is ready for release.

Gargi, the maker of distinguished documentaries—his *Jatra—The Folk Theatre of Bengal* won the Asian Film Festival Award at Seoul in 1975-76—has in this film on Yamini included a six-minute Varanam, a three-minute Odissi sequence, a Tillana of two-and-a-half minutes, a complete Navrasa with offstage informal shots of the dancer and her life's background, achievements and awards. A one-minute montage of the Chidambaram temple with rituals, music, drums, worship, sculptures and dance *karnas* has been added to make a 20 minute film. There is also a small footage of Kalakehsetra where Yamini had studied and taken her formal training of dance. "Yamini resents these shots and wants to replace these by her father's pontifications and her own dance school for commercial publicity," says Gargi who does not want to include these irrelevant materials. "I have

Director Balwant Gargi. 'I won't be pressurised'



Yamini: aspiring to be a director

spent six months of my time to visualise and shoot. In spite of Yamini jumping dates, upsetting highly expensive schedules, demanding additional money on the spot, I completed the film and do hope that now the tantrums of Yamini would not freeze the film in the cause."

The Films Division has a heavy schedule of making films on contemporary dancers, painters and artists. According to Gargi, "Yamini was approached by the Films Division in 1973-74 for a film on her art. They shot a Kuchipudi dance sequence on her with her sister Jyoti singing. But then Yamini haggled with them over money and made other demands which the Films Division could not meet. Her Kuchipudi film sequence is lying in the Films Division archives."

Meanwhile the Films Division chiefs and IB ministers kept changing. After a seven year wrangle, she requested the government to make a film on her and chose Balwant Gargi as her director. In a letter dated 5 July 1980, she wrote to the IB minister, Vasant Sathe. "In case a documentary product is to be given this assignment (of making a film on her), I shall be happy to work with Mr Balwant Gargi who has made some distinguished documentaries for the Films Division. He has watched my rehearsals and known my work over the first 20 years. I would whole heartedly cooperate with him."

Mr Balwant Gargi was chosen to direct the documentary by the Films Division. Unfortunately, his work did not satisfy the dancer, primarily because Yamini has her own notions of directing the documentary. Until the question as to who has the final say—the director or the artist—is settled, the documentary will not be released.

Ashok Chopra

Politician turns historian □

Presentday politicians make news and, on rare occasions, history as well. But seldom, if ever, do they decide to chronicle political history. Cherian Philip (26), a young Kerala politician, has taken a year's sabbatical to write the history of the last 25 years of his state's politics. Youth leader Philip was once head of the pro-Congress Kerala Students' Union. He is now a close lieutenant of A. K. Antony. Philip, who has a postgraduate degree in Malayalam and a bachelor's degree in law, spent a year researching for his book. During this period he interviewed almost every leading political figure in Kerala. Titled *Kaal Noottan-du* (a quarter century), the book will be released on 1 November, the twenty-fifth birthday of the state. *Kerala-sabdham*, a leading Malayalam weekly, has already started serialising the work. Says Philip: "I always liked to write, but once I got involved in active politics I never got the time. Which is why I had to take a year off to write."

'None should die like my son' □

When Shitla Sahay, a BJP MLA of Madhya Pradesh, lost his only son, Raju (11), to cancer, he decided to do something about it: set up a fully equipped modern cancer hospital in his home town, Gwalior. He formed a trust for the hospital and donated to it Rs 50,000, his lifetime's savings. The cancer institute is being built in three phases and the Rs 55-lakh first phase is already complete and serving the local community. For the last 10 years, Sahay has been raising funds for the institute. It was on his personal appeal that in 1972, every MLA in MP donated a month's salary to the trust. Sahay loves to recount the story of an old Muslim resident of Gwalior who summoned him to his deathbed and, donating all his savings, said: "You lost your own son but you want to save others' sons. God bless you."

Tools-up strike □

It is not only in Japan that workers sometimes put in extra hours in support of their demands. The members of the Indore unit of the Bharatiya Telecom Technicians' Union have adopted this form of agitation to demand revision of grades for technicians, three promotions in a technician's 30 years' service and annual bonus. Instead of going on the usual strike, they worked for two extra hours every day for a fortnight in January without any overtime payment. This had moved the authorities and they had then orally promised to meet their demands. But as the promise was not kept, they decided to agitate again: they worked on their weekly off-days between 7 and 13 June without any extra pay. They are hoping that their conscientiousness will now be appreciated and their demands met.

GOOD NEWS

Army to the rescue in drought-hit Rajasthan □

The drought in Rajasthan this year is particularly severe. The districts of Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer are the worst hit. Most of the area is desert land and the sources of water, few and far between, have all dried up. When the civil authorities could not cope with the situation they sought the help of the army. Now, any number of villages strewn over huge areas in inhospitable desert terrain receive twice daily calls by huge army tankers which bring water and succour to the thirsty villagers. But for the timely help by the army jawans, men and cattle would have either perished or had to abandon their homes.



Army men bring water to drought-hit Rajasthan village

Blood isn't communal □

Communal carnages spill blood regularly; but the blood of different communities does mingle occasionally to save lives. In February this year, Muslims, upper caste Hindus and backwards had their lives saved by blood donated by 18 doctors belonging to various communities under the aegis of the voluntary blood donation committee of the Bihar branch of the Indian Medical Association. For example, blood collected from Dr M. Rahman was transfused to Kunj Behari, while Dr Shashi Bhushan Singh saved the life of Ashraf Alam and Dr Sakil Anwar that of Manjula Devi. "As their blood mingled," says Nawal Kishore Chaudhary, convener, coordination committee for communal harmony, Patna, "saving many precious human lives, it was proved, if proof was necessary, that between the donor and the recipient in each case, they had totally identical blood composition. And still we kill."

Free salt for Madhya Pradesh tribals □

The heavily forested Abhujmarh region of the tribal district of Bastar, Madhya Pradesh, is inaccessible by road and has to be reached on foot after crossing hills and dales. The Abhujmarhia tribals lead a primitive life. They do not know the use of currency and the barter system still prevails. It is only recently that they have been acquainted with the common salt and, quite expectedly, relish it. Since they do not know how to produce it, they have been depending on outsiders for it. And non-tribals come and take away their invaluable forest produce in exchange for a little salt. This year, the MP government has distributed three kgs of salt and a dhoti to each of the 2,000 inhabitants of 32 villages of Abhujmarh, thus saving them from exploitation by unscrupulous outsiders. In fact, the state government has now decided to regularly distribute salt in Abhujmarh.

Scholar at twelve, and more □

A 12-year-old schoolboy reading Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock*? Yes, and more. Debasis Tripathi, a class seven student of Stewart School, Cuttack, has just finished reading that, after having gone through the works of Eugene O'Neill, Bernard Shaw and Shakespeare. He says that he also likes Camus and Kafka. Debasis does not just pore over books. He is taking lessons in tabla, guitar and vocal classical music and often does programmes on the Cuttack stations of AIR and Doordarshan. His other interests are painting and writing; he has published some of his poems and short stories. His friends at school though are not all that impressed by this. To them he is just a reasonably good cricketer.

How blue films are shown in regular theatres

ARTHUR PAIS investigates how producers graft sexy scenes in censored movies down south



A film flops in Madras. A few days later one hears that the same film is doing very good business in the small towns—the 'C' circuit. Another film folds up after only four weeks in Bombay. A few weeks later, the film's producer is seen wearing a wide grin on his face. People in the know will tell you that the film is doing well in towns like Bhiwandi, Ratlam and Karimnagar. These films are soft-porn. A dozen of these Malayalam films, which have only done "average" business in Kerala, do ten times better business outside the state: in Bangalore, Calcutta, Bombay... why? Can it be merely due to fluctuating fortunes? Or is it the clever game of interpolation played by hundreds of distributors, exhibitors and producers to ensure good financial returns?

The answer lies in interpolation, although most film-makers do not like their films to be tampered with. Interpolation is the grafting of scenes abounding in sex, violence or filthy dialogue, cut by the censors, once the film has done a couple of weeks' business. "Grafting is the bane of the film industry," says award-winner K.S. Sethumadhavan, director of *Oppol*. "Serious film-makers in India suffer a great deal because of interpolation. Our kind of serious films don't appeal to the rural masses because of sensational stuff dished out with the help of grafting." Not long ago film-makers like Sethumadhavan, and A. Vincent met the minister for information and broadcasting, Mr Vasant Sathe, and requested him to check the grafting business. But to no avail.

Except for *A Night in a Rest House* (its producer eventually managed to win the case against the censors!) hardly any action was taken by the Madras censor office. Seema's brief bathing scene in *Her Nights*, or Rathi Devi's fleeting blouseless exhibitionism in *Pappathi* were mere appetizers. More provocative scenes are added to these films when they are shown in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. And yet when the Madras censor office receives complaints and decides to send one of its officers to do an on-the-spot check, the exhibitor is informed over the telephone about the inspection. Consequently, by the time the officer from Madras, armed with a list of deletions ordered by the censors, reaches Bhadravati in Karnataka, or Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh, the print is once again in the censored form!

How do producers get away with it? Although the producers are required to hand over the censored scenes to the officials, the scenes are often withheld. Extra scenes are sometimes shot too, which replace some of the harmless scenes approved by the censors.

A few months ago, I came across several shocking nude pictures in an album meant for the distributors. Producer Basu who had shot the scenes for his Tamil film *Nenjodu Nenju* told me that he had not intended to shoot some of the bathing scenes: "We

wanted her (an extra) to be seen in a wet saree...But when we set the camera and called for action, the ambitious woman let the saree fall to the ground," he explained. The producer assured me that the bathing scenes (which included frontal nudity) were not added to his film surreptitiously after the censoring was over, nor did he have the intention of doing so.

A more daring aspect of the interpolation business involves the smuggling of old two-reeler soft-porn films from Hongkong and West Germany. Despite their wornout condition, the prints, when shown with an Indian feature film, draw a large number of viewers. One such film was shown along with a Tamil feature film in Salem, Tamil Nadu in June. It was only after a week had elapsed that the police decided to take action against the theatre-owner. This is a common feature of exhibitions and village fairs. Some months ago, in a village near Coimbatore, I had the opportunity to view a ten-minute soft-porno film. Shot in a jungle, it showed the tribals indulging in simulated sex orgies. "Its a film called *Cavemen of Kerala*," said the theatre-owner. In reality, *Cavemen of Kerala*, made by N. Sankaran Nair has many nude scenes, but this duly certified film is not a pornographic item.

The theatre-owner, like many others, had resorted to a simple trick. He acquired a print of *Cavemen of Kerala*, but instead of showing the film, used the certificate to exhibit something that is at once lurid, more shocking—and hence, more profitable. *Sex Bombs*, a Malayalam film, was shown recently in Trichur and other parts of Kerala with pornographic scenes lifted from West German or Danish films. Authorities received complaints (from the rival distributors, of course), but before any action could be taken, the grafted scenes were removed and probably added to some other Malayalam film!

Film-makers often resort to grafting because of the strong instinct to survive in the highly taxed and uncertain movie industry. Said Harry Pothen, maker of hits like *Sexy Dreams* and *Lorry*, "Censors can be very arbitrary: *Abdullah*, despite Zeenat Aman's bathing scenes and violence, not only got an 'U' certificate but also an exemption from entertainment tax...On the other hand, more serious films have been given 'A' certificates." In Karnataka, 'A' certified films were made to pay double the entertainment tax for nearly 12 months during Devaraj Urs' ministry. It is believed that the interpolation business was at its height during this period. Many of the films made by Harry Pothen have carried controversial scenes. In *Lorry*, there were scenes of the foster-father ogling his scantily-dressed teenage daughter. The film was given an 'A' certificate and only a few minor cuts were asked for. "Well, all I can say (is) that the censor panel which watched *Lorry* must have felt that we didn't do anything beyond



Nitya in a still from *Lorry*

what the story and script demanded," said Pothen.

"The industry and censors know about it, but occasionally when the law is to be enforced, it's the innocent who suffer," complained Rajinder Singh, director of the sensational Kannada hit *Antha*. Prints of *Antha* were seized from Bangalore theatres after two censor board members complained that the second half of the film "was quite new." "But we, the producers, director and exhibitors were not given any chance to explain," Mr Singh said bitterly. "Ironically, we have been very careful with *Antha* right from the beginning. Even CM Gundu Rao saw the film and appreciated it...(And) when the film turned out to be the biggest hit of the last 35 years, a whispering campaign against the film was launched...We were hearing stories that the film was going to be banned. And soon the stories came to be true."

"Why do you think that the Malayalam films were fetching out-of-this-world prices in the Gulf?" asked Dr Joshua, a medical practitioner, who is making a Malayalam film *Theeratha Bandhanangal*. "The Gulf authorities decided to go for wholesale ban of dozens of films just because of this problem (of grafting)"

Dr Joshua's own film has a couple of interesting scenes. One of them shows a young maid servant sleeping in a rather provocative posture. "When this scene reached the distributors by way of a still," remembered Dr Joshua, "they started making sudden queries...Were there more hot scenes? Was I going to shoot something more interesting? Since I was shooting my film in my bungalow, and all the artists were staying with me, the speculation that I was making a blue film became quite strong. My film is a serious psychological study of a widower and his interaction with a young maid servant; it's not an exercise in titillation, I told the distributors," affirmed Dr Joshua. Of course, Dr Joshua's film has not been banned, but it continues to be the butt of official queries and speculation. ■

The maid servant in *Theeratha Bandhanangal*



KING HASSAN'S 'BEATNIK' GUEST



That was the guise in which Gen Moshe Dayan made the first of three secret visits to Morocco and started the contacts that eventually led to the Egypt-Israel peace accord at Camp David. In these exclusive extracts from Dayan's autobiography Breakthrough (Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, Price Rs 150), the Israeli war hero and onetime minister describes how he first met King Hassan of Morocco and then the Egyptian deputy prime minister, Dr Hassan Tuhami, to lay the foundations for the peace negotiations.

ON the bright and sunny afternoon of Sunday, 4 September 1977, I set out on what was to be the first of three secret visits to an Arab ruler, King Hassan of Morocco. It was not his first meeting with a representative of the Israeli government; but now that there was a new government in office, headed by Menachem Begin, the earlier contact was being renewed, and I received an invitation from the King. Begin approved my journey and we agreed on the points I was to present at the meeting. Our principal purpose was to try to secure Hassan's help in arranging for us to meet directly and hold peace talks with Egyptian representatives.

I attended the regular weekly cabinet meeting as usual on that Sunday morning, and stayed almost to the end. I then excused myself, left Jehu salem and drove to a military airfield. Somewhere en route we stopped and I changed cars, getting into a large station wagon with curtained windows. There, under expert hands, I was transformed out of all recognition. Pressed upon my skull was the mane

of a beatnik, my upper lip was adorned with the moustache of a dandy; and on the bridge of my nose rested large dark sunglasses. It was beneath this outrageous disguise that I reached the airfield, stepped out of the car and into the plane.

First stop was Paris, where I emerged from the Israeli aircraft and boarded a Moroccan plane that was standing by. We took off without delay. Inside the comfortable, executive-type jet, I raised the arm rests, tilted the seat back and dozed. I was so tired that not even the French cheeses and red wine we were offered could tempt me out of the blanket in which I had wrapped myself.

We landed at Fez, and from there were driven to a resort city in the Atlas mountains where the King has his summer residence.

The opening meeting with the King was held at eight-thirty in the evening, when I was ushered into his presence for a private talk which lasted an hour and a half. We were then joined by our aides, and sat down to a festive, though one-sided, meal, for it

was only we, the Israelis, who ate heartily. The Moroccans, having fasted during the day, had had their dinner at sundown, which took the edge off their appetite. Despite the royal presence—perhaps because of it—the talk was free and informal, without the restraints of protocol, though it was not entirely candid.

Far more candid had been our private pre-dinner meeting, when we were alone, without an interpreter. The King was open, amiable, articulate and direct. Though I had not mentioned it, he apparently felt it necessary to explain his special position, and problem, as an intermediary between us and the Arabs, and as host to an official representative of the government of Israel. Perhaps to make me feel more at ease, he opened with the following remark: "If it became known that you were here, my throne would not topple. I have a large Jewish community in Morocco. I am popular with them, and to me they are loyal Moroccan citizens. I speak openly about my contacts with the Jews and my earnest desire for peace between the Arab states and Israel." He also thought it necessary to apologise for the absence of his foreign minister. He was away, he said, in Cairo, attending a meeting of Arab foreign ministers. At the same time, when the conversation turned to the 1973 Yom Kippur war, he emphasised that a Moroccan brigade had fought together with the Syrians against us in the Golan heights, and he was taking a considerable risk by meeting with members of the Israeli government.

No effort was required on my part to raise the subject that was the purpose of my visit. After his preliminary remarks, it was the King himself who said he had looked forward to our meeting in order to hear my views on the central and decisive issue in the

Middle East: "How do we make peace?" I told him we had problems with Arab groups who differed among themselves in their approach to this issue. There were, for example, the Syrians. It was my basic assumption that President Assad, because of his radicalism, did not in his heart of hearts wish to make peace with Israel, and did not wish to see the Israeli flag fluttering from the staff of an Israeli embassy in Damascus.

This brought me to the principal point of the discussion. I explained to the King that there seemed to be two contradictory problems. On the one hand, not a single Arab country would wish to make peace with us on its own, namely, without the other Arab states. Even if a feasible solution were found for example, for the problems between us and Egypt, Egypt would be unwilling to sign a separate peace. On the other hand, securing a comprehensive peace in the whole of the Middle East was so complex that it was impossible to achieve a simultaneous peace arrangement with all the Arab states. We were thus enclosed in a vicious circle. To my mind, I said, we could break out of the ring by concluding an agreement with some of the Arab states, perhaps not publicly at the beginning, perhaps at first without an exchange of ambassadors, and seeking gradually to meet the other problems one by one until we reached open, comprehensive peace treaties with all. The form of this first step would be a kind of gentleman's agreement, accompanied by an exchange of letters with the Americans. These letters, addressed to the President of the United States, would commit the parties to fulfil the agreement between them.

The King thought this idea had practical possibilities, but what I felt was particularly important was his promise to do all he could to arrange a meeting between us and an Egyptian political representative. I told him we would welcome a meeting at the highest level. It could be with Hosni Mubarak, Sadat's vice-president, or even with Sadat himself, but whoever it was, it had to be someone with authority who was conversant with the subject. The counterpart on our side would be the Prime Minister or myself.

The King promised a reply within five days. He would send a trusted emissary to Cairo immediately to examine the prospects, so that if the Egyptians agreed, the meeting could take place before my visit to Washington and New York (to attend the UN general assembly) later that month, or on the way back.

During dinner, at which our aides were present, the King referred to the possibility of such a meeting and he was optimistic. He then expressed his conviction that Syria's Assad, too, would eventually agree to meet us; but that, he quickly added, had to be kept strictly secret. I gathered that King Hassan thought highly of Assad. I told him that we had had no contact with him so far, and that all our attempts to meet him had failed. I mentioned the Arab representatives at the United



King Hassan: sincere mediator

Nations and the King agreed that they were of no real calibre and that talking to them was of no practical value. It would not lead to negotiations.

As to the Palestinians, it was Hassan's judgment that we would be unable to reach an arrangement with them. If a Jordanian-Palestinian federation were to arise, the Palestinians would be in the majority, and they would soon kick out King Hussein. Indeed, any solution of the Palestine problem within the framework of the kingdom of Jordan would lead to the loss of the throne, and so Hussein would assuredly withhold his agreement. It was evident that Hassan regarded himself as belonging to "the League of Arab Kings," and his



I asked Hassan why he had despatched a force to fight with the Syrians against us in the Golan heights and what had happened to the Moroccan unit in the Yom Kippur war. He replied he was part of the Arab nation. The Egyptians had turned to him and he had responded. He also said that Nasser had not been a man of integrity and had misled both his friends and his enemies; but Sadat was different.

approach to this issue was primarily monarchic.

We also spoke of wars and weaponry. I asked Hassan why he had despatched an expeditionary force to fight with the Syrians against us in the Golan heights, and what had happened to the Moroccan unit in the Yom Kippur war. He replied that he was part of the Arab nation. The Egyptians had turned to him and he had responded. In another context, he said that Nasser had not been a man of integrity, and had misled both his friends and his enemies; but Sadat was different.

I returned to Israel next morning, reported to the Prime Minister on my talk, and we awaited Hassan's signal on a possible meeting with a representative from Egypt.

It came quickly. The King had been as good as his word, and on 9 September, four days after I had left Morocco, we received his message that the Egyptians agreed to a high-level meeting as soon as possible. The proposed participants could be Egypt's President Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Begin, or Egyptian deputy premier Hassan Tuhami and me. I thought both levels had their advantages and drawbacks. If we started at the lower rung and reached an impasse, it could be dealt with at the higher level, whereas an immediate impasse at the top would be more difficult to break. On the other hand, a President-Prime Minister meeting could be immediately fruitful since both leaders had the authority to take decisions on the spot. I could hardly propose to the Prime Minister that he leave it to me and Tuhami, and so I recommended that he meet Sadat.

That was the signal that was sent to King Hassan: the meeting would be between Israel's Prime Minister and Egypt's President. But the Egyptians then said they would prefer it at the lower level. My meeting with Egypt's deputy premier was accordingly set for the night of 16 September in Morocco, so that I could proceed from there to Washington where talks had been previously scheduled with the state department.

I left Israel the day before, together with my wife Rahel and officials from the foreign ministry, and flew to Brussels. There I met first with representatives of the Jewish community, and later conferred with our ambassadors in the European capitals. Next morning I had a breakfast meeting with the Belgian foreign minister, and then called on General Alexander Haig, the NATO commander, who was an old friend.

From Haig's office I went before the television cameras for interviews with Belgian and French correspondents, and then, with Rahel and the rest of my party, set off for the airport—and on an evasive operation. While they continued to the air terminal and boarded a plane for New York, my car turned off the highway into a side street and I was taken to a private house. There I was again sub-

mitted to wig, moustache and sunglasses, taken out through a back door, driven to where another car was waiting, brought by that car to yet another vehicle, and after a further exchange of cars we set out for Paris. Since it had been arranged for us to reach the French capital only after four pm at dusk, we could take the journey slowly. We even had time to stop for a picnic lunch.

Our Moroccan friends were waiting for us when we reached Paris and they drove us straight to their plane. I was given my familiar seat, and we took off on the three-hour flight, this time not to Fez but to Rabat. There I was installed in a guest suite of the royal palace, a spacious affair decorated from floor to rafters in oriental style.

I showered, shaved, replaced my disguise, and went to join my aides in one of the palace drawing rooms. Our meeting had been scheduled for eight pm, but we were then informed that it would be a few minutes later as the Egyptian representative, Dr Hassan Tuhami, wished to have a private talk with the King before we met. The "few minutes" lasted an hour, and we were then driven to another royal building where the meeting, and dinner, were to be held. When we got there, I slipped into a side room removed my disguise, replaced my eye-patch, and breathed with relief. I then entered the meeting-chamber to find myself in the company of the King, Dr Tuhami, and a distinguished group of top-ranking Moroccans. I had only one other Israeli with me, our liaison man with Morocco.

The King welcomed me warmly, and after the exchange of greetings I presented him with a Canaanite sword and an arrowhead of bronze, both from the second millennium BC.

I was formally introduced to Dr Tuhami, a man of impressive appearance, with a neatly clipped silvery beard that belied a youthful ebullience. Exuding an air of self-confidence and authority, and using a tone that verged on the aggressive, as though he were reacting to an affront, he said he had a message from President Sadat that he wished to read to me. He did so, in clear and precise diction. It contained the overall conditions for an Egyptian peace proposal. He ended the message with his own abrupt declaration, which he repeated for emphasis: "That's that." We could accept it or reject it, but there was no room for bargaining. I said nothing.

We then adjourned for what is known as a "working dinner" which lasted four hours, ending at two am. Sometime during the talks the King excused himself on the plea that he had to visit his mother, and we were left alone. We could now embark on an informal exchange, and there was an evident softening in Tuhami's attitude when I began asking questions. The impression grew on me as the talks proceeded that Tuhami was definitely interested in securing peace. On the other hand, he showed a singular unfamiliarity with what was happening in the administered territories in the

west bank and the Gaza strip, and the pattern of coexistence between the Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. He was guided by one overriding principle: peace in exchange for our complete withdrawal from the territories we had occupied since the six-day war. Arab sovereignty should be absolute and the Arab flag should fly in all these territories including east Jerusalem. He emphasised how dangerous was this step they had now taken—a direct Arab-Israel meeting—and he added that Sadat and vice-president Hosni Mubarak were the only Egyptians who knew he was meeting me. He stressed the importance of secrecy. Not even the Americans were to be told. His life depended on its not being known.

The King had returned during this informal talk, and he and his aides tried on the whole to be helpful. They urged Tuhami not to be so rigid. He could surely understand that one could not speak to Israel about peace in peremptory terms and lay down preconditions. Israel's guarantees of security and her very existence, they said, were the territories she held, and how could she be expected to give them up without suitable safeguards?

When we reached the coffee stage, the King proposed that we get down to orderly discussion, with each side presenting his case. At first, however, as our host, he wished to make some preliminary remarks.

He opened by presenting Dr Tuhami as a man who enjoyed the complete trust of President Sadat, as one who was moved by the noble purpose of securing peace, and who had come to hold informal and secret talks to that end. This could well mark the start of a new era of direct contacts between the two parties in which they could clarify all the points related to a peace arrangement. After the parties had reached agreement on the main issues, he said, they could both present their proposals in writing to the United States, both out of respect for the American government and also to let it appear that it was America who had brought about an agreement between the Arabs and Israelis. Once the principal problem of withdrawal from the territories was settled, it would not be difficult to find appropriate solutions for most of the other urgent issues, including the question of full and normal peace relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours.

These direct contacts, the King continued, were of supreme importance, and agreement could be accomplished only through regular working meetings which should be undertaken at the highest level from now on. It was up to Tuhami and me to prepare the way for Begin to come and talk to Sadat. The King urged me not to widen the circle of those who were in on the secret, and not to bring additional aides when I came to the next meeting.

He went on to observe that the most important problem was the return of territories to their sovereign owners, and added, with his eyes on Tuhami, that these lands now in the possession

of Israel were the exclusive guarantee of her security. Therefore, alternative guarantees had to be sought by mutual agreement. Similarly, an acceptable solution had to be found for Jerusalem, which was holy to both faiths, so that this problem would not prove a stumbling-block on the path to peace.

As for the Palestinians, the King continued, this was the most difficult of all the issues. He said he accepted my argument that the Palestinians were likely to prove a danger to Israel's future, just as they endangered the position of the King of Jordan. This problem had accordingly to be dealt with and settled in a reasonable manner: the Arab states should assume collective responsibility for the Palestinians, maintain supervision over them, and devise security measures which would satisfy Israel. The Palestinian problem, after all, was basically an Arab problem; it should therefore be considered and solved by the Arab countries, and not by Israel or the United States.

The King was followed by Tuhami, who presented the Egyptian position. Speaking with emotion in choice literary English, he said that meeting me here under the roof of the Moroccan King was a source of deep satisfaction to him. He had long thought we would one day meet, either on the battlefield or under the circumstance of a political debacle. (This enigmatic phrase became clear to me later, when we met privately. The debacle was to be Israel's.) Yet here we were together, in a search for peace, thanks to the efforts of the King and to the trust which Sadat placed in Begin and in me.

Sadat was deadly serious in his quest for peace. "Let us, therefore, consider together how we may achieve it. But let us keep it between ourselves, without the United States. Later, when we reach agreement, we can tell them." He added that Sadat thought the time had now arrived to discuss all the details. Sometime earlier, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu had suggested that he meet Begin, but Sadat had not believed anything would come of such a meeting. He had changed his mind, thanks to the mediation of the King of Morocco and his trust in Begin's government. Sadat now agreed to open a dialogue with us; but only after Begin agreed to the principle of total withdrawal from the administered territories would Sadat meet with Begin and shake his hand. Israel's withdrawal was the basic problem. Its solution was the key to peace, for involved in it were the questions of sovereignty, of national honour, and of Sadat's own continuance in office. If it remained unsolved, it could lead to a deadlock. But if Begin were prepared to accept the principle, it would then be possible to negotiate all the other important issues, including guarantees for Israel's security in place of the territories she would be abandoning.

As to the danger from Palestinian extremists, Tuhami said they would



Egypt's Dr Hassan Tuhami with Dayan at Camp David

become a more potent force if their nationalist ambitions remained unfulfilled, and would open the way for a renewed Soviet penetration of our region. But once they gained "nationhood" (Tuhami's term), the Arab countries were for the most part capable of controlling them. It was within the power of Jordan and Egypt to counter communist influence on the Palestinians, just as Soviet influence in Egypt had been halted. He added that even in their efforts towards peace, the Egyptians wanted no contact with Soviet Russia, only with the United States.

Turning to the specific territories, Tuhami said that the Palestinian enclave west of the river Jordan (the west bank) could be linked to the kingdom of Jordan, and Saudi Arabia and Egypt together could keep the Palestinian extremists under control and also keep the King of Jordan on his throne. In the Gaza strip, Egypt could give us guarantees that we would have no trouble from the Palestinians there. Egypt would ensure this, operating from Cairo, without exercising direct rule over the strip.

Tuhami added that Sadat would discuss with us all possible sureties. If we wanted United Nations forces stationed on both sides of the border, it would be done. If we wanted guarantees from the United States or the Soviet Union, Egypt would have no objection, though "it would be better to avoid the latter and secure guarantees from America alone."

Tuhami then proposed that there, in Morocco, with the help of the King, and before the Geneva conference, we should conclude our negotiations and reach agreement on all the factors which concerned us. We would then proceed to Geneva merely to affix our signature. Such an agreement would have its impact on Syrian President Assad. Of course he would oppose it at

first, but later, when King Hussein would join us, Assad, too, would get on the peace wagon.

He urged that the next meeting should be a working session between the two of us. This would be the beginning of official relations. A relationship of full peace would need to develop gradually, and could take three, four or five years. (At this point the King interrupted him with: "You must say 'a certain period' without specifying so many years.") We should be interested in a complete package deal with all the difficulties smoothed out, not a partial arrangement, not in public, and not at Geneva, but there, between our two sides.

Tuhami touched on a few additional points. One was Jerusalem. The holy city was an important issue. He said that we should come with a constructive plan which would satisfy the religious feelings of the Arab states.

Returning yet again to what he called the central problem, that of the occupied territories, he quoted Sadat's declaration that he was "a soldier whose land has been conquered." Sadat wanted peace without having to surrender. When he received Begin's word that Israel would withdraw from the territories she had captured, Sadat's honour would be restored and this would enable him to conduct negotiations on the other items. For Sadat, "sovereignty over his land" was not a subject for discussion.

Although he would not sign a final peace treaty alone, without the participation of his friends, Sadat was convinced that he would succeed in persuading Jordan and Syria to follow suit, and that would include solving the Palestinian problem.

Tuhami concluded his presentation with the proposal that we should meet there again after each side had studied the other's peace document, and that I bring with me Begin's reactions to Sadat's request. He thought the meet-

ing could take place in about a fortnight.

It was now my turn. The hour was late, and I tried to be brief, being principally concerned, I told them, with reporting to Prime Minister Begin what I had heard that evening. I said I well appreciated the importance of our meeting, and I understood from all that had been said that what would be agreed upon here would also be acceptable to the other Arab states. I stressed that I was here only as the emissary of Begin, and so I could not myself react to the points they had raised without his instructions. It was necessary, however, for me to be clear about their position. Was I to understand from Tuhami that Sadat's request for a Begin commitment to withdraw from the territories was a precondition for subsequent discussions, or was it to serve as guidance to Begin in future meetings that would be held here? I would also need to know whether Egypt would agree to meetings at the highest level, namely, between Begin and Sadat, even if Begin did not agree to total withdrawal.

The response was clouded. While Tuhami said that what was required from Begin was a specific commitment to withdraw from the territories, the King broke in with: "Allow me to correct my friend." Then, in a pointed reference to Tuhami's remark about Sadat's handshake, he said: "From what I know of Sadat's thinking, and after his talks with me, I give my word of honour that Sadat will meet Begin and shake his hand if Begin can offer his personal undertaking that the basis of the bilateral talks will be the understanding that Israel will withdraw from the territories."

After these replies, I said that whatever Begin proposed to do would need to be brought before his government for decision and the Knesset for ratification. No Israeli Prime Minister could take such a crucial decision without the endorsement of the Knesset.

Another item on which I sought clarification was whether the Egyptians wished basic subjects to be discussed by representatives like Tuhami and myself, or whether it would not be more effective for the highest levels to meet face to face in a frank talk. They could then prescribe by mutual agreement the guideline principles which would govern the continued discussions between lower-level representatives.

I turned to Tuhami and said that I placed full trust in his word just as Sadat had put his trust in our leaders. I would regard any gentleman's agreement with him to have the validity of a written obligation—which was not the case with some of our other adversaries. On the principal question of withdrawal from territories, I could not tell whether Begin would respond to his request. He might, or might not. But he would certainly, without committing himself to anything, wish to meet at the highest Egyptian level to discuss the overall subject of peace. I was

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saying this, I added to Tuhami, even though he had stated that Sadat would first need a commitment from Begin on territorial withdrawal, after which all other items would then be open for discussion. Withdrawal was no light matter. For 19 years before the 1967 six-day war our population centres had been attacked from the hills. What guarantee was there that this would not happen again? And how could we ensure freedom of navigation for our ships through the Red sea? Perhaps together we might find the answers.

Another point I referred to was Tuhami's insistence that we had to withdraw from all the territories we occupied in 1967, including those formerly ruled by Jordan and Syria, and that a peace agreement had to be reached with the collection of Arab states with whom we had been in military conflict. There had never been a case in history, I said, in which a collective peace agreement had been signed with an organisation. It was not an organisation that had waged war against us, but individual Arab states, and each should now be dealt with on an individual and separate basis, according to conventional international procedures. Anything else would be both unacceptable and impractical. Moreover, UN resolution 242 spoke of the various countries and named them one by one. There was no mention in that resolution of a "collective organisation of Arab states" nor even of the Palestinians as a party to a peace treaty.

Speaking of the Palestinians, I called attention to their slogans, and to such declarations by Syria's President as "All the Palestinians shall return to their homes." What would happen if they were indeed to return? They would not be satisfied with living only in the comparatively small enclaves of the west bank and the Gaza strip. There was not enough room and work for them there. They would stream into Israel, and this would be a demographic catastrophe for us. Some other solution would need to be found; they would have to be settled elsewhere.

In conclusion I said that though the problems were difficult and complex, I was convinced they could be settled by negotiation with Egypt and with Jordan. I had doubts about Syria. The problems associated with religion in Jerusalem I thought would be solved with comparative ease to the satisfaction of all parties. This was also true, as far as Egypt was concerned, of the south and the Red sea area. I also thought we could reach a settlement on all the issues between Israel and the King of Jordan, though there would be no sovereign Palestine state. Turning to Tuhami, I expressed my firm belief that we could arrive at a suitable arrangement with Egypt. We relied on Sadat. We did not trust the President of Syria. We should therefore begin serious and immediate discussions of the issues affecting Israel and Egypt. I accepted his suggestion that we exchange our respective documents of peace proposals for mutual study as quickly as possible, so that we

could meet again within a fortnight. I could fly back to Morocco on my way home from the United States towards the end of month.

With the King's blessing, Tuhami and I agreed to the following three moves:

1. Both parties would report immediately to their heads of government in order to receive their approval for a further meeting between us. I would report to Begin the request of Sadat that Israel make the commitment to withdraw from the administered territories as a prior condition for a continuation of the talks.

2. The peace documents which both sides were proposing would be exchanged and studied by each party before our next meeting, and shown to the United States.

3. If these proposals were approved



Tuhami looked at me and asked seriously: "Tell me frankly, did not Nasser conspire together with you in 1967? Otherwise, how could such a catastrophe have befallen us?" As he spoke of Nasser his lips quivered in anger and contempt. He indicated that he was about to write a book on Nasser which would tell "the whole truth" about "this madman who had brought Egypt to the brink of collapse."

by the heads of government, our next meeting would take place in Morocco within two weeks.

Although, as they knew, I had stopped off here while on my way to the United States, I would now fly back to Israel to report to Begin and receive his directives, and then go to America.

Several interesting topics, unrelated to the peace talks, cropped up during the informal part of the dinner meeting when the conversation was less inhibited. The King asked me at one point whether Israel was involved in the war then going on in Ethiopia, and if so, why? I told him that we were not involved in the war but only in aid to Ethiopia, towards whom we had moral obligations.

Tuhami told me a story about the 1967 six day war. He said that Egypt

military intelligence had a spy "in place" at the time in a strategic position: he was "a senior officer in the Israeli army," and he had sent back the information that the attack would begin between 3 and 6 June! Why, then, had the Egyptian high command and particularly the Egyptian air force not been on the alert? Tuhami looked at me and asked seriously: "Tell me frankly, did not Nasser conspire together with you at that time? Otherwise, how could such a catastrophe have befallen us? And why did Nasser send Egypt's army commander Abd el Hakim flying into Sinai to visit units exactly on the day you opened your attack?" As he spoke of Nasser, Tuhami's lips quivered in anger and contempt. He indicated that he was about to write a book on Nasser which would tell "the whole truth" about "this madman who had brought Egypt to the brink of collapse."

I returned to the guest suite. Though I would be leaving an hour and a half later, I stretched out on the bed. An hour's sleep is after all an hour's sleep. I was awakened at three-thirty am drove to the plane, and flew to Paris. Despite my fatigue I did not even manage to doze. On arrival, I was driven to a hotel near Orly airport, and on the way I removed the cursed wig and moustache.

Three hours later I was on an El Al plane flying back to Israel, and on arrival I drove straight to Jerusalem to see the Prime Minister. I reported on the meeting and received Begin's approval to my three suggestions:

1. That we exchange our respective proposals for a peace treaty for mutual study. (Begin insisted that we notify the Americans of this, without mentioning the name of the Arab state concerned.)

2. That I again meet Tuhami in a fortnight.

3. That on a Begin-Sadat meeting, Begin was not prepared to make a commitment in advance that we would withdraw from all the occupied territories. In fact, however, Israel's position would be understood by the Egyptians when they read the document containing our peace proposals.

From Jerusalem I returned to my home in Zahala. The house was desolate. Before leaving for the United States, Rahel had emptied the fridge, turned off the electric boiler, and stripped the beds. Fortunately there was still gas, so I boiled some water, made myself a bowl of soup from a cube I found in the pantry, and drank it while listening to the one o'clock news bulletin on the radio. I then took a blanket, lay on the bare mattress and tried to sleep. I had had a long day, and at six pm I was to catch the plane for New York—not knowing that dramatic events were to supersede my further meeting with Tuhami in two weeks, as planned. The meeting did take place, again in secret and again in Morocco; but not for another two and a half months. By then the pattern in the kaleidoscope of the Middle East had undergone an astonishing change. ■



Company Meeting: Hindustan Lever Limited

MODERNISING TECHNOLOGY

**Speech delivered by
Dr. A.S. Ganguly,
Chairman, at the Annual
General Meeting of
Hindustan Lever Limited,
held at Bombay
on Tuesday,
23rd June, 1981**

This is the first time that I am addressing you as the Chairman of your company. I have, therefore, chosen a topic which has been a prime force of change in this company over several years and has progressively changed the character of the business and strengthened it very significantly. It is also, in a larger context, an area of vital concern to those who are responsible for industrial growth in this country.

I felt it would be useful to begin by reviewing certain features of technological development in this country with particular reference to the current debate on the need to upgrade and modernise industry in India to increase production, productivity and exports.

To say that the scientific method can play a critical role in creating wealth through production and productivity is to state the obvious. Yet, in our collective consciousness this truism is only just beginning to surface. The escalating costs of energy and the unprecedented pressures to export have undoubtedly spurred the frequent and sometimes shrill debate on the state of industry, both public and private, and the growing realisation that high costs of production and 'sickness' are serious impediments to exporting in a complex and increasingly competitive world market.

Although words like 'technology' and 'obsolescence' are generally used in the limited framework of industry, their relevance just cannot be ignored in other spheres of economic activity. In our country and in our lifetime, the use of modern technology has brought about a sea change in agriculture. Besides plant genetics, a number of other scientific disciplines have also made significant contributions to this success story — chemistry in developing fertilisers and insecticides,

physics in managing water and in designing agricultural implements — to mention just two. My purpose here is not to dwell on this particular application of technology, but I would like to make a few passing observations. First, to meet the increasing demand, progress will have to be sustained. Fortunately technology, like demand, is also dynamic and one must remember that only by an ongoing renewal of technology can one prevent this forward thrust from petering out. The second, and possibly more interesting aspect of this development, is that such a radical change has been accepted by our society quickly and quietly. The application of modern technology to industry should likewise quicken growth and enlarge the area of economic progress for our people.

Over the last several years the emphasis on modernising technology has progressively changed the character of Hindustan Lever and this has strengthened it very significantly. I would, therefore, like to share our experience and perspective with you. In modernising we have fortunately had unfettered access to international technology and an in-house Research and Development facility. This combination has proven invaluable in bringing about technological change in a sustained and cost effective manner.

I propose to develop the theme of obsolescence, modernisation, the disadvantages of retrograde technology, and the steps that are being taken and could be taken to develop a viable technology base in today's industrial scenario.

Two major points must be made at the very outset. Sustained modernisation is possible only with meaningful access to and awareness of technological developments around the world, and R&D, especially in the larger industries, is invaluable for bringing about this transformation most cost effectively.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

India is committed to a mixed economy, but this has posed conflicting and often countermanding choices in investment decisions all along. The modest growth rate of the last 30 years may be the result of this. It is also possible, as some have claimed, that in our complex democratic society, with its wide range of demands and abilities, increasing the growth rate is more difficult. However, the country intends to achieve a much higher rate of

growth within the existing socio-economic parameters.

Volumes have been written about the advantages and disadvantages of the economic mix this country has adopted. But the fact remains that throughout the post-independence years, only modest industrial growth has been achieved; profitability in several areas has remained indifferent and the incidence of obsolescence and industrial sickness has increased. Despite this, the country has acquired the distinction among developing nations of a degree of technological self-reliance.

With the improvement of agricultural output in recent years, modest industrial growth could have possibly continued to fulfil our limited needs if the world economic order had not been so badly shaken up in the seventies. Consider the last 40 years: the first 30 years now appear to have been much less difficult than the last 10.

Development since the last World War, whether in agriculture, chemicals, heavy industry or the service industries, was fuelled by energy resources the cost and availability of which had limited relevance to development planning. The growing awareness of a time horizon and the new cost dimension, imposed by OPEC, has brought a completely new, and what sometimes appears to be an unmanageable variable into the development equation.

Economies which are, in a manner of speaking, self-contained, isolated, and poor in energy, feel the buffets more than the affluent societies of the West with a more entrenched industrial base. In our own country it has become crucial to earn foreign exchange to pay for energy. Historically, we have always been forced to innovate and find means of import substitution for many of our needs. Further, the exigencies of the post-independence balance of payments which was always precarious, made worse by bouts of food imports, have never given us a breather. However, now having achieved self-sufficiency in food through a spectacular success in agriculture, our main preoccupation today is to find the resources to meet the escalating cost of oil imports.

Continued inflationary trends are pressing us to increase exports, as well as manage the cost of energy. It is forcing the government, industry associations and

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other public bodies to take a hard and close look at the state of our industry. While our choice may have to be unique to our country and its internal environment, we cannot any longer afford to ignore the world outside. It thus becomes clear that:

- a) Industries will have to be more productive and profitable to fulfil internal demands and where appropriate, produce exportable surpluses at a competitive cost.
- b) Capital allocation in an inflationary world will have to be more selective and will have to be judged primarily by its productivity per unit investment, in addition to consideration of social costs and environmental repercussions.
- c) Energy costs per unit output will have to be reduced.
- d) Increasing inefficiency in many industries due to obsolescence has increased the incidence of sickness — a phenomenon we can no longer afford to ignore.

To explain away the pitiable plight of the third world, it was once appealing to believe that 'small is beautiful' or that there was a certain uniqueness where a technology, though obsolete and uneconomic, was deemed to be 'appropriate' for a particular society. One rarely debated about obsolescence, modernisation, capital productivity and technology forecasting in our country with the frequency and din of today. We need to have access to rapidly changing technologies from around the world; collaboration is no more detrimental, as it was once made out to be, and purchase of technology is logical — these facts are at last being recognised as possible solutions to the problems that confront us today. We are now telling the world — come and prospect for oil in our country; let us share your knowhow in technology and we will pay for it — or better, come, let us join hands and you can share in our industrial growth. But the questions are: does the industrialised world find the proposition attractive? Do we have the wherewithal to decide what is best for us from a series of options?

TECHNOLOGY OBsolescence

In the last few years there has been a tendency in our country to more or less cut ourselves off from continuous access to developments in world technology. This is progressively leading several industries to a state of obsolescence without our even being conscious of it. Take, for example, the automobile industry. Neither the fuel conversion efficiency nor the design of our

popular cars has changed over the last several years. The costs have become increasingly prohibitive, quality has deteriorated, and operating costs have become ridiculously high. Similar examples are available in the textile industry, power generation, communication equipment, and in the transport and chemical industries which were established early in this century.

We have merrily gone on paying the price for these inefficiencies without questioning them. Moreover, in recent times, it has been convenient to explain away the high cost of production by invoking the escalating energy cost.

Industries will not feel compelled to modernise as long as their market is sheltered, shortages are widely prevalent, and there is very little competitive edge in the market place. But in industries like pharmaceuticals, where new capacity was created with latter-day technology, the older units started becoming sick and non-viable. Where management is keen to introduce more modern technology there is considerable opposition from the trade unions under the misguided notion that this would increase redundancy. The actual fact is that these steps would ensure longer term viability and employee security. Therefore, at a time when there is a need to increase production to meet the increasing domestic demand and reduce costs, to compete in export markets, the manufacturing industry finds itself hamstrung not only by a shortage of productive capacity but also a high cost of production. Basics like power, coal and transportation have become bottlenecks despite adequate installed capacity and potential availability. The story is the same with inputs such as steel and cement. All this clearly reveals the extent of backsliding in virtually all areas of industrial activity, which in turn manifests itself in shortages, high costs and difficulties in the export market.

However, I believe, it has at long last been recognised that if this state of affairs is permitted to continue, the country will find itself in an economically irretrievable position. Solutions to the problems have been known all along; what is new and encouraging is the keen desire to put these into action. In this context modernisation and updating of technology, access to the world's latest developments and the vital role of R&D are well-known routes to repairing economic systems which are having to face the realities of the modern world.

Let us now examine how this problem needs to be tackled.

A STRATEGY FOR CHANGE

If we accept that industry in India needs to update technology and modernise, we must first list its strengths and weaknesses in order to evaluate a strategy for change.

Some of the strengths are:

- a) India has industries in virtually all areas of modern technology, from fertiliser manufacture to nuclear power generation.
- b) Service industries have progressively improved.
- c) Project management and expertise are comparable to world standards.
- d) Engineering and fabrication facilities have increased manifold.
- e) Indian companies are being encouraged to step up efforts to enter into collaboration and purchase new technologies from international sources.
- f) The presence of international companies in many crucial areas of industrial activity in India has given us continuous access to world technology in several fields.

Some major weaknesses are:

- a) Modernisation has not been given its due importance either in the public or in the private sector.
- b) Hardly any financial incentives exist for investments for modernisation and making existing investments more cost effective.
- c) Modernisation is often misunderstood by trade unions as a threat to employment in a job-starved economy.
- d) R&D for industrial development and innovation in technology is woefully small and insignificant in most areas.
- e) The machinery to evaluate technology purchase from abroad is inadequate.
- f) Even when adequate capacity and resources are available, a plethora of regulations leads to gross under-utilisation of installed capacity and forces fresh capital investment to create more, but not necessarily more productive, capacity.

Before we discuss strategy, it is also useful to list some other relevant factors:

- 1) Technology will not be readily available from those who do not have a stake in this country.
- 2) Transfer of technology is facilitated only when the donor-receiver technology gap is not large. The gap can only be narrowed by establishing an ongoing relationship.
- 3) The culture of updating and renovating well-proven technologies with more modern knowhow is not easy in a non-innovative and sheltered environment.
- 4) However, the pressures to modernise

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and innovate, ever present in a free market economy, can only be transplanted in a protected economy under conditions of high inflation (diminished purchasing capacity) and export compulsions

- 5) Once-off purchase of technology has the inherent weakness that it does not provide for future developments. It is only a palliative.
- 6) A strong R&D base is necessary not only to keep pace with the changes in world technology but also to develop the ability to evaluate the extent of obsolescence in any technology being offered.

Our strategy will, therefore, have to consider the following factors

- i) Modernisation
- ii) R&D
- iii) Capacity utilisation
- iv) Access to new technology

i) Modernisation

Modernisation is generated by internal forces in an industrial economy. Its pace and state of modernisation reflects the foresight of the leaders of industry. It is a fact of industrial life that unless an industry continuously innovates or modernises it becomes progressively more inefficient and less productive. In a protected economy, the process of modernisation receives low priority because the cost of inefficiency is normally passed on to the end product. Furthermore, when limited capital is available for investment it is tempting, given the taxation structure and the continuous demand push, to invest in new facilities rather than modernise existing facilities to increase productive capacity and make them more efficient. This in turn gives an illusion of growth and diversification, but closer evaluation of the cost benefit of capital investment is likely to reveal a less encouraging picture.

To quote Peter F. Drucker "The proceeds of liquidating 'yesterday' are considered 'profit', and are taxed as such, both to the company and the investor. Hence businesses, instead of liquidating the obsolete, have to find new investments in new businesses for whatever cash is being released by the shrinkage of an old technology, an old product line or an old market ... This policy makes it increasingly difficult to shift resources from low and diminishing areas of productivity to areas of high and increasing productivity. It impedes innovation. It also shifts businesses from a technological to a financial focus." This results in a swerve from the scientific and the technological towards the finan-

cial, and from the long term towards the short term

It is not a well publicised fact that the cost of modernisation is infinitesimal compared to its benefits. Most industries which have international links in this country have nurtured a tradition of planning continuous modernisation as a major strategy for being cost effective. Certainly some of our industries such as steel, cement, automobile, power generation and coal mining have no reason why they cannot collaborate with international companies and derive advantages of reduced costs and higher productivity.

I must emphasise, however, that I am not suggesting that the government give a carte blanche for indiscriminate imports of all types of technology. Priority and selective lists can be prepared and freedom given to relevant industries. Imposing some restrictions and time limits will reduce over-dependence and will also force investment in R&D, which is essential in a long-term strategy. Sometimes modernisation is misunderstood as involving only plant and machinery. Modernisation encompasses all aspects of industrial activity, from raw material, process, product design, and information systems to expertise development in fields such as marketing and export. Therefore, decisions to modernise and its scope have to be very carefully evaluated in terms of cost benefit analysis.

ii) Research & Development

Industries are better able to introduce 'changes' and upgrade technology if they have meaningful R&D operations. An R&D unit's function is not only to discover new things but also to continuously monitor existing processes in the light of what is happening in the rest of the world and initiate change. Modernisation based on an on-and-off acquisition of new technology suffers from the inherent weakness of a time lag and over-dependence. One can never be certain that the price being paid is reasonable, or whether the particular choice of technology is the most appropriate. If, therefore, R&D is such a proven and vital part of modern industry, why has it failed, barring a handful of exceptions, to gain roots in industry in India?

It is well known that commitment to R&D requires the ability to take risks. This in turn is forced in a free market economy where the penalties for not innovating fast enough are severe. A classic example of this is the car industry in the West over which the Japanese stole a march by building smaller and more fuel-efficient cars based on their own R&D. On the

other hand, the chemical and electronics industries, in the West as well as in Japan, have reaped immense benefits by large high-risk investments backed by their R&D discoveries.

As a country, we are in an ideal position to undertake fruitful R&D on a massive scale. First, we have many special problems in agriculture, chemicals and raw materials, which cry for solution. Second, we have the world's third largest number of scientists and technologists, and the confidence and ability to solve many of these problems. Third, the government has long recognised the importance of R&D and has provided very handsome fiscal benefits. And yet very few industries have taken the initiative to set up really meaningful R&D activities in the country. Though in the post-independence period several national and regional institutes were set up, the fall-out and multiplier effect from these into industrial activity have been limited. From our own experience we have learned that it is not enough to undertake good research, though this is painstaking in itself. Much more difficult is the task of translating research findings into manufacturing technology. This requires the commitment and support of the top management to R&D on a longer time-frame than is usual in other business activities, and has also to be protected from the day-to-day pressures and vicissitudes of the business.

R&D has to be an integral part of a business so that its process and accountability become the total management responsibility. To expect existing institutions to fulfil their task from a peripheral position would be taking a limited view of their role and function. Since making R&D an integral part of industry is an activity where we will be starting from a fairly small base, the government needs to consider adopting this route more widely in the public sector industries as well. At the same time, it must be made a pre-condition for private sector industries which are permitted to import technology, either for a new industry or for modernising an existing one.

Ultimately, R&D is an act of faith and commitment, but once a sense of confidence and innovative urge is instilled into the infrastructure, the benefits to local industry as well as to our international competitiveness will be immense and more than justify the costs involved.

iii) Capacity utilisation

Unfortunately, India has many laws rigidly formalised to satisfy requirements rather than to promote efficiency and produce results. Modernisation and R&D aside, in the final analysis, full capacity utilisation of installed plant and equipment is a sine qua non for ensuring the productivity and health of an industry. Therefore the major benefits of undertaking

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modernisation and R&D need to be given due consideration. Relatively minor modifications and investment significantly increase the output efficiency of existing plants and facilities. The simpler and more prevalent method of increasing output is to install additional plants and machinery, without improving efficiency or effecting fuller utilisation of existing capacity. In my experience, any discussion on capacity increase or regularisation or natural growth is looked upon with some suspicion by authorities. A clear distinction exists between enlarging facilities by new installation, and the more efficient utilisation of existing resources. Unless we can find a way to recognise and permit legitimate increases in productive capacity through R&D and modernisation, it will backfire, discouraging innovation and enterprise in industry. The government recognises this and is examining the issue industrywise in order to regularise these where innovation has brought an increase in capacity.

In order to sustain this process, clear norms must be laid down about regularising capacity arising out of the industry's own R&D. Only then can it become a major incentive for investment in research. At the same time, industry must be prepared to open the doors of its research and manufacturing establishment for scrutiny and appreciation by appropriate government bodies.

The government may also consider granting fiscal incentives for capital investment in modernisation and the industrial application of R&D discoveries. This, in addition to the incentive already available for undertaking R&D, would combine to definitely have a large multiplier effect.

iv) Access to new technologies

There is always a need to continuously examine and evaluate new technologies. Even with its own R&D, no industry can expect to develop all the technology it requires. New technology is required for a number of reasons, the chief one being to stay in business by offering improved, new, alternative and perhaps even cheaper, products or services. Economic reasons such as energy and other raw material costs may force process changes, while tighter and more stringent environmental requirements may demand altered, or in some cases, entirely new processes. An industry can stay in business with new products and face competition, either through its own R&D or by purchase and collaboration. Thus, R&D is once again of vital importance. Scientific knowledge is of course freely available through publications but applied research and development is very costly and closely guarded. In future, a limit to new developments may

well be set by the availability of finance for R&D, finance which industry must find within its own resources.

Progress in the chemical industry, especially after World War II, was mainly based on petro-chemicals. However, during the last decade, the chemical industry, specially in the US and Japan, and to some extent in Western Europe, undertook massive changes in technology, forced by the pressures for energy conservation. As a result of these efforts phenomenal advantage has been gained by the chemical industry, both in the West and in Japan. It is now pertinent to ask what advantages we can derive from these developments which have taken place during the last decade.

Given the pace of change, the choice of adapting and buying new technologies has become a very complex issue. The inherent danger is that when the rate of obsolescence increases, obsolete technology still appears attractive and is offered for sale to recover a part of the cost of innovation. The question is, do we have a rigorous method for evaluating the cost benefit of modern technology purchase?

In the case of international companies, the situation is somewhat easier. Many of them (though I can only talk about my company), have continuous and free access to the new technological changes that are taking place in sister subsidiaries and in the parent company. It is therefore necessary that companies in this country with free access to international technology, must be carefully guarded and nourished.

Where access is not freely available, there must be a mechanism to evaluate technology needs and provide expertise to determine the best among the choices available. This can be done by an expert body drawn from government and industry specifically set up for this purpose. The important thing here, however, is not only to have free access to new technology, but also the ability to invest in it when it is appropriate and the investment is consistent with national priorities.

A major criterion for evaluation should be the quality and cost of the end product and the strict norms for judging this should be comparison with international prices, thus boosting export potential rather than a price that can be obtained in the local market.

SOME RELEVANT EXAMPLES FROM HINDUSTAN LEVER

Applying the above strategic criteria, I think it would be useful to cite some examples from our own experience. They cover the different aspects such as R&D,

modernisation and access to new technologies which have permitted our growth and diversification and enabled us to compete in the international market. The period covers 20 years of modernisation and technological innovation. Change in the company has far outstripped comparable businesses due to a combination of (a) the company's attitude towards innovation and change; (b) its ability to attract and develop a cadre of professional managers who could catalyse these changes; and (c) the ability to seek opportunities for growth and diversification within the framework of local business conditions and national priorities.

Technology change in the company spans three broad phases. First, there were the early changes that were undertaken as a gradual move from semi-manual and time-consuming manufacturing processes to more modern plants and machinery in order to improve efficiency and reduce costs. The change in soap-making from frame-cooling technology to vacuum spray evaporation and continuous stamping and wrapping, or the continuous plant for extraction of glycerine from Processed Triglycerides brought immense benefits in terms of output, productivity and cost reduction at a fairly modest capital investment. There were a number of such steps taken during that period, spurred by R&D work in European laboratories and manufacturing units.

The next phase was the setting up of an R&D centre by the company in 1958, primarily for import substitution. Subsequently, however, this became a major source for modernising existing technology, developing new business opportunities and improving the export capability.

Third was the conservation of energy forced by escalating costs in the seventies. Between 1975 and 1977 our manufacturing units and R&D centre undertook investigations and implemented several ideas resulting in energy savings ranging from 7-14% in virtually all semi-continuous as well as continuous processes. We are now in the second phase of this programme where the energy cost conservation goal is an additional 15-20%.

Possibly the most significant factor in sustaining innovation in the company was the setting up of the R&D centre as mentioned earlier. I will cite a few examples in the following areas to illustrate the point.

1. Raw material

The development of Processed Triglycerides from minor seed oils and the application of synthetic organic chemistry for manufacturing fine chemicals were the first and major contributions of Hindustan Lever's R&D effort. In the sixties the soap

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Industry was totally dependent on imported tallow and indigenous edible oils. Even the perfumery chemicals used in soaps were blended from imported raw materials. The Indian perfumery industry was in its infancy. Given the adverse foreign exchange situation and fast depleting edible oil resources, the whole industry was in danger of falling sick. Though subsequent developments now appear to be logical, and trivial to some because of the nature of the end product, conditions forced development of sophisticated and new technology and helped revival of an industry.

Success was not only aided by our R&D laboratory, manned by Indian scientists with international experience, but also by the immense and continuous benefits derived from the close contact and cross-pollination of ideas with scientists in Unilever laboratories in Europe, who are recognised world leaders in oils, fats and catalyst research. The multiplier effect of this work has been enormous. The major development of the minor oils industry, the soap industry's growth in the country, and the development of an indigenous hydrogenation catalyst and fine chemicals industry can, to a large extent, be traced back to HLL's work since 1958.

This is an example of how access to international technology and the ability of local scientists and managers succeeded in modernising an industry which depended on imported raw materials, and at the same time led to the development of indigenous raw materials.

2. Transfer of technology

Major efforts were needed to develop systems for translating research discoveries into manufacturing plants and processes. Furthermore, since beneficiation of indigenous raw materials of the type described above was solely relevant to this country's needs, the upscaling of the processes had to be undertaken entirely with indigenous knowhow. Plant and machinery from the West could not be readily imported for upscaling technology. In any case, in many instances, it would not have been appropriate for local raw material. Over the years, several plants and processes have been developed for scaling up the technology developed in the laboratory for the chemical pre-treatment of oils, special hydrogenation techniques using tailor-made catalysts, as well as new energy-efficient plants for saponification and glycerol extraction from Processed Triglycerides.

3. Diversification and change of character

The successful application of R&D and

the ability to take risks in new technology in one of many areas cited above, and keeping in tune with national priorities and opportunities, then led to the successful diversification strategy of the company into the core sector.

The development, first of detergent powder in India and subsequently of detergent bars, is an example of extending the availability of safe washing products and supplementing oils and fats used in making soaps. This strategy worked because it came from extensive R&D efforts based on local marketing conditions as well as Unilever's international experience in this field.

The investments in Ossein, Dicalcium Phosphate, Phosphoric Acid, Sulphuric Acid and STPP were based on technologies not traditional to the company. These projects were greatly aided by help from our principals in evaluating various international offers of technology. Our experience to date has convinced us that having antennae in the technology donor world has often helped us in choosing the most cost effective technology offered for sale. As a result of modernising and diversification, the character of the company has changed and today, over 60% of our fixed assets are in the core sector. With the commissioning of these new plants, increased R&D facilities were provided to improve efficiency and explore avenues for further growth and diversification into new areas.

4. Exports

The development of an export market is another area which has been greatly helped by our strengths in R&D and their effect in improving our manufacturing efficiencies. Our export record speaks for itself: it has increased from Rs.17 crores in 1977 to Rs.43 crores last year.

To export per se is not difficult, but in order to develop exports profitably and with long-term commitments we have to satisfy the following conditions:

- a) continuously modernise to compete in international markets
- b) develop access, find acceptance and maintain continuity in the foreign market place
- c) develop technologies which provide special strength in export markets
- d) continuously seek new avenues for expansion.

Being a part of an international organisation which has a stake in our development strategy has helped our company a great deal, in not only fulfilling but surpassing our export targets. At the

same time, for all of us working in the company, exporting has become a meaningful commitment in the context of the national economy.

The development of a cocoa butter substitute starting from Sal fat at our Research Centre is an example of technological development which arose from a specific marketing opportunity in the EEC countries and the safety and quality assurance which our principals could give on our behalf to the importing nations. Further innovative developments are taking place in this product which will increase export value and volume several-fold. There are several such examples.

5. Future opportunities

Modernisation in Hindustan Lever is continuous: many first generation raw materials are likely to be replaced by new discoveries or better value addition. New process equipment and technologies which are more energy-efficient will have to be rapidly acquired or developed. Many traditional products which have petroleum hydrocarbons as a major source of inputs provide the challenge for alternate raw materials. Biochemistry and genetics are providing new investment opportunities in improving photosynthetic efficiency through agricultural technology. These are a few instances where opportunities match the expertise that is available or can be made available in a company like HLL. These can be increased manifold if the whole industrial horizon in this country is considered.

CONCLUSIONS

I have attempted to highlight a particular facet of Indian industry to which we need to address ourselves rather urgently. If we are to improve industrial production in the country as well as create exportable surpluses, it is necessary to improve capacity utilisation and productivity through modernisation and R&D. Whereas the country has a firm industrial base, and a wealth of scientific and technical manpower, development cannot progress unless we have continuous access to the changes that are taking place in the rest of the world. In order to reduce over-dependence and develop a mature relationship with the technology donors a degree of self-reliance is essential. This can be achieved only if we instil a spirit of innovation and risk-taking into our industrial infrastructure.

Innovations in technologies involve risks. Those undertaking them should be adequately rewarded. If technology is to be regarded as universal property, individual enterprises are unlikely to be interested in incurring costs of innovation.

If we, therefore, accept the proposition that benefits are to be gained from the introduction of technology change, either

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Company Meeting: Hindustan Lever Limited

MODERNISING TECHNOLOGY

locally or through collaboration, and that in the long term this can be sustained and improved through R&D, especially in the larger industries, it is necessary then to set up a machinery to formalise this activity. This could be undertaken by a task force consisting of representatives from DGTD, the Department of Science & Technology, and industry, to make specific and time-bound recommendations for different categories of industries, both in the public as well as in the private sectors.

The areas to be examined are: modernisation needs, choice of technology, energy conservation, R&D requirements, employment generation and creation of exportable surpluses. In considering these, there has to be a judicious balance between the need to create employment and to provide opportunities for improving the skills of labour, technicians, engineers and management. Such an in-

crease in skills will inevitably lead to higher productivity for the plant and concomitantly lower costs. In addition to increasing availability in the local market, unless an outlet can be found in export markets for the increased production, inevitably the demand for labour will decline. Thus, a balance must be maintained between the demand for employment and efficiency of the plant.

Given the existing constraints in foreign exchange resources, the slow growth of the infrastructure and the escalating cost of energy, some national plan for modernising existing industries, assessing sources of free technology transfer and purchase of new technology is imperative. I am optimistic that we shall succeed. We have demonstrated our ability to shake off the inertia of centuries and achieved impressive results in agriculture, in eradicating scourges like smallpox and made dramatic

progress in many other fields. In each case we have had a powerful ally in science.

We have shown that we have what it takes to transform the quality of our lives. We need now the will and the determination to use modern science and technology to make it happen in industry. It is an ideal opportunity for the private sector, the public sector and the government to put their heads together and arrive at a framework for a national technological improvement strategy.

(NOTE: This does not purport to be a report of the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting. If any shareholder wishes to have a copy of this speech in booklet form, please write to: Communications Department, Hindustan Lever Ltd., P.O. Box-409, Bombay 400 001.)

LINTAS-HLL.CORP.20-2418 F

The Happy World of Leonard.

Lemonade
in Lusaka

Cheese in
Chicago

Helga in
Hamburg

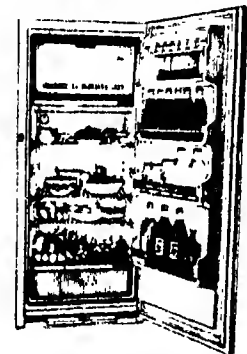
Dudhi in
Dehradun

Pears in
Patiala

Ajit Singh
in Amritsar

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KHAAS BAAT

Zeenat Aman has found a close contender for her own special type of image and status in *Padmini Kohlapure*. In *Satyam Shivam Sundaram*, where Padmini plays baby Zeenat, the resemblance was striking. In addition, Padmini appeared to have real talent. Then came *Insaaf ka Tarazu* and *Gehrayee* and Padmini

proved that like Zeenat, she too has no qualms about baring herself if the situation calls for it. So what if Zeenat is putting on weight, we now have Padmini to look forward to!

Tina Munim has bought for herself a nice little bungalow near the sea. One would not think that she is in a position to do such a thing especially after *Dev* forced her to walk out after giving her a non-role in his latest film. Instead of getting all set to marry, she is doing her best to cope with her own grief as well as that of *Sunjay* after the tragedy of *Nargis's* death

Now that the **Rajneesh Ashram** has definite plans of moving to the United States, one wonders what plans **Vinod Khanna** has for himself. The star had given up his career and all other worldly occupations and was devoting all his time to the *ashram*. If he decides to go to America, then we might lose a good top star who has been hovering in the wings inspite of his withdrawal from an active career. However, if Vinod thinks that America is really too far from home, then isn't it likely that he will quit the *ashram* and the godly path altogether and return once again to the industry?

Naseeruddin Shah is having an image problem. One is getting so used to him playing the typical middle-class and sometimes even the lower middle-class roles that even his face—innocent of all traces of affluence—seems to fit in with the middle-class setup. The other day, while waiting for the lights to change, a black, brand new Fiat drew up next to me. Who do you think was at the wheel? Naseer, of course! He was smiling in his genial way and waving to all those who recognised him. It seemed he was half apologetic about driving the car and his expression seemed to say, "Oh-ho what is a guy like me doing in a car like this?" Looks like Naseer has a long way to go before he can catch up on the images that **Rajesh** and **Amitabh** have created for themselves. In deed, even while playing an orphan in the slums **Amitabh** looks like a foreign-educated son of a multi-millionaire.

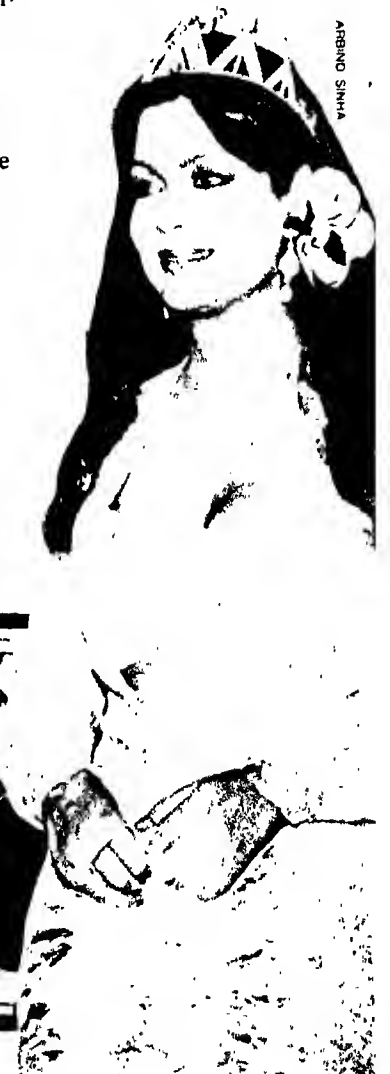
Zeenat: I still have talent



Padmini: move over, Zeenat!



Tina: back on her own feet



KHAAS BAAT

For five years in a row *Lakshmi* has topped the list of popular actresses in Karnataka. The star is rather busy in Kerala too. Surprisingly, her popularity is scarcely noticeable in her home state Tamil Nadu. Reason: the star is hardly ever seen in the state.

K Balachander's fascination for actor *Kamalahasan* is on the wane. Instead of including *Kamalahasan* in his first home production (directed by *S P Muthuraman*), Balachander has signed up *Rajnikant* and *Saritha*. But perhaps the new dislike is mutual. After all when the actor turned producer, instead of choosing Balachander to direct his film, he opted for director *S. Srinivasa Rao*.



Madhumala: there is more I can show!



Suhasini: camera-person turned actress

Sarada, the actress who won the Urvashi award thrice, was seen starring opposite *Sanjeev Kumar* in a film called *Agni Rekha*, some years ago. The grapevine has it that a producer from Andhra Pradesh is planning to get the two together again for another Hindi film that is to be shot in Hyderabad.

The makers of *Radha my darling* are having a tough time trying to get the soft-porn film released. Censors are willing to give permission for release only after some major cuts are made. But the filmmakers are reluctant to make these omissions.

Anant Nag's disappointment at the poor performance of the Hindi film, *Mangalasutra* is beginning to wear off. The star has been offered some good roles by Karnataka producers. Moreover, the fact that *R. N. Jayagopala* is the director of the film *Mareyada Haadu*, in which Anant Nag stars opposite *Manjula* has caused most people in the industry to assume that the film will turn out to be a box-office hit. Incidentally, Jayagopala's previous film with Anant Nag, *Muthu ondu Muthu* was a roaring success at the box-office.

K Balajee, the actor who has produced over 15 hits, a majority of them remakes of Hindi hits, follows a rule while remaking Hindi films: "Let the new film be more opulent than the original one." So, when he claims that *Thee*, the remake of Gulshan Rai's Hindi movie *Deewar* is more attractive than the original film, he has an explanation: "Of course my stars *Rajnikant* and *Suman* couldn't match *Amitabh* and *Shashi*, but I showed more skyscrapers, more cars, more fights than the original." Well, that is good reasoning. Incidentally, the grapevine has it that Balajee plans to remake *Qurbani*, but not right away. "Let people forget the original," says Balajee. That's his second principle for remaking Hindi films.

Swapna: safe and smug in *Rati* Agnihotri's piece



Beginning 12 July

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May)

This is a favourable week for you, your stars forecast rapid success in your work. Chances of a promotion for those in service are very good, those in business will find fortune smiling on them. Luck will favour you in games of chance. A secret association, or a quiet friend, will prove of great benefit. The only problem this week could arise from a sudden loss of temper, so take care. **Good dates:** 12, 15 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June)

This is going to be an excellent week. You are likely to gain financially, either through inheritance, or through your profession. An unexpected journey could lead to a windfall. But seek the advice of your elders before making decisions; you could be tempted into extravagance by your good fortune. A good week for romance. If you have any marriage plans, pursue them this week. **Good dates:** 13, 14 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July)

A good week for businessmen go ahead with new contracts, buy new stocks. Businessmen are likely to profit from past investments too. Family problems are likely to be sorted out this week, relations will finally rally around and help. Those with pending lawsuits, or debts will find their burdens easing a little. But take care about your health. **Good dates:** 12, 14 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



CANCER (15 July—14 August)

Good fortune awaits you this week, take risks if you have to, they will pay off. Those in service might get a promotion, but do not get carried away and become extravagant because of your good fortune. This is a good week for lovers too. Those not in love are likely to find friendship with a person of the opposite sex. Incidentally, exercise tact at home, particularly about romantic matters. **Good dates:** 14, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.



LEO (15 August—14 September)

If you are in business when you are likely to make some quick money, if in service, you can look forward to promotion. You will have to travel a lot in connection with your work but do not get distracted from your work while travelling. You can rest assured that while you are away from home no serious problem will crop up there demanding your immediate attention. **Good dates:** 14 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 8 and 9. **Favourable directions:** South and East.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October)

Not a very good week. A trusted friend might betray you, be on your guard. This is also not a week to precipitate matters if you are in business do not have a showdown with your partners or take irrevocable financial decisions. If you are in service do not challenge your superiors even if you feel you are in the right. Not a good week for romance, either. **Good dates:** 13, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November)

The stars are in your favour, so go ahead and try your luck. Do not let anything hold you back. It is an ideal week to take new investment decisions. If you are in service, you rather than your colleagues is likely to catch the eye of your superiors. But exercise one caution while trying your luck take a little advice from your elders. **Good dates:** 13, 15 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December)

You are likely to fall ill this week, so take no chances with the weather. But, go ahead and take financial risks because luck will be on your side in money matters. Be flexible and persuasive both at work and home. A little patience in dealing with elders at home will not go unrewarded. Try to avoid controversies at all costs. A good week for businessmen to enter into new contracts. **Good dates:** 13, 15 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



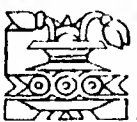
SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January)

This, unfortunately, is not going to be a good week for you. But do not despair too much, for no major loss is indicated. Those in service should try and avoid displeasing their superiors, a little bit of tact now could pay rewards later. A secret love affair could end, causing great distress. And there might be medical expenditure. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



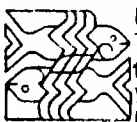
CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February)

Use your intuition to solve the professional problems that will crop up this week. It will pay off. This is going to be a good week financially, but it would be advisable if you took competent advice before making any investments. An important journey in the near future is likely, and you could come to know about this journey this week. Take care of your health. **Good dates:** 12, 13 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March)

This is going to be a good week for you, except for one cloud—a secret love affair, or a favourable association could come to an abrupt end. But financially this is an excellent week. A secret association will prove helpful. To compensate for the loss of a secret friend, a valuable new friendship could begin this week. **Good dates:** 12, 14 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 8 and 9. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



PISCES (15 March—14 April)

There will be remarkable progress on all fronts. In your job, you will get a lot of praise and respect from your seniors. This is the week also to step out and ask for help from influential people in case you need any help. Even if you have been ill, your health will cause you no problems this week. Those who play games will find themselves among the prizes, children, in particular, will be very lucky. **Good dates:** 17 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 9. **Favourable directions:** South and East.

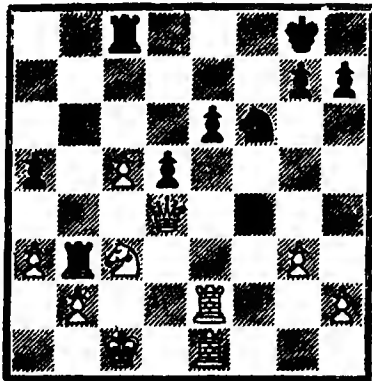
For those born between 15 June and 14 July: This year will provide you with a chance to earn some extra money. Self-employed professionals, like lawyers, doctors, filmmakers, actors, will find the year to be particularly lucrative, their reputations too will be enhanced. But those who are studying might face a few problems, including financial difficulties, so it would be best to be prepared. Gemini's are generally intelligent people with sharp memories and these qualities will be extremely helpful this year,

particularly in finding friends—although short-term rather than long-term friendships are indicated. One major problem area this year might be the family, relations might be strained with mothers and brothers. And health too could suffer: watch out for diseases of the heart and digestive systems. But there is good news on the romance front, especially for those not yet in love this could be the year when someone terribly attractive could steal your heart away.

chess



Polugaevsky (Black)



Korchnoi (White) to move
Position after Black's 27th move

But what is Dostoevsky's rating?

Chess journalism is no easy task, particularly for a reputable sports writer or crime reporter thrown in to cover a match, not because he has any particular qualification to do so, but simply because he happens to

be around at the time. For this reason I was very much impressed by the quality of the reports coming from the last world championship match in the Philippines. Many of the foreign journalists there were ex-Vietnam war correspondents for whom the tranquility of a chess match must have been another world altogether, though they did confess that the struggle between Karpov and Korchnoi was no less intense

By contrast the coverage of the recent Korchnoi-Polugaevsky encounter in Argentina could only be compared with Monty Python at its best. The move by move radio commentary sounded more like the dying minutes of a World Cup Final or a speeded up recording of a tobacco auction. The poetic newspaper reports could have been a review of last night's 'Madam Butterfly'

The climax of all this idiocy came one day when Korchnoi was explaining to a local reporter his theory of justice in chess, that the crime of failing to exploit one's opportunities of winning always leads eventually to the punishment of defeat. All according to Dostoevsky. Unaccustomed to the chess scene the reporter nodded sagely to disguise his ignorance of this little known Russian master. 'What is Dostoevsky's rating?' he probed. What indeed, he appears to have been left off the Elo list. As has grandmaster Tolstoy.

I give the fifth game from the match in which Korchnoi missed a clear chance to win. Dostoevsky's punishment was swift—the next game he lost. White: Korchnoi. Black: Polugaevsky.

English Opening

1. P-QB4, P-QB4; 2. N-KB3, N-QB3; 3. P-Q4, P x P; 4. N x P, N-B3; 5. N-QB3, P-K3; 6. N(4)-N5, B-N5; 7. B-B4, O-O; 8. B-B7, O-K2; 9. B-Q6, B x B; 10. Q x B, Q-Q1; 11. O-O-O. Ambitious, but rather risky. In an earlier game Korchnoi played here 11. P-KN3, which led nowhere after 11... P-OR3, 12. N-R3, O-N3, 13. R-QN1, O-N5.

11... P-OR3; 12. N-Q4, N-K1; 13. N x N, N x N; 14. Q-Q4, P-Q3; 15. P-B5, P-Q4; 16. P-B4, N-B3; 17. P-K4, R-OR4. A good move, preventing White from ever supporting his advanced QB with P-QN4.

18. P-KN3, B-R3; 19. B x B, R x B; 20. R-Q2, O-N1; 21. P-OR3, R-R2; 22. R-K1, R-N2; 23. P x P, B P x P; 24. R-QB2. Korchnoi manoeuvres skilfully. The position is by no means clearly better for him. 24... R-N6; Tempting but probably a mistake as the sequel shows. 25. P-B5! R-K1; 26. R(2)-K2, R-QB1; 27. P x P, P x P;

DIAGRAM

28. R-KB2? Time trouble. He could win by 28. R x P, R x N P, 29. R x N!, P x R, 30. R-K7! and Black has no good defence against 31. Q-N4+ and 32. Q-N7 mate. 28... Q-R2, 29. R x N. The same theme but too late. 29... P x R; 30. Q-N4+, K-R1; 31. Q x K P, Q x P. Draw. White has perpetual check after 32. Q x P; but no move.

MICHAEL STEAN

The bidding goes

South	West	North	East
No	1♥	2♠	No
3NT	No	No	No

Only the West and North hands are shown, you realise. Sitting West (you wouldn't have responded One Heart, I know) you lead ♠4 to the Queen and Ace. Partner wins the second round of clubs and leads ♠9, on which South plays the Jack. You win with the King and

Ah, but now you've muddled it. Declarer will run off the clubs and easily end-play East for his ninth trick, as East will be reduced to ♠A, ♥K7 and ♠87 with a discard to find.

If you let South's Jack of diamonds hold at trick 4 you leave partner with a card of exit at the critical moment. However South plays you defeat the contract. A very difficult play to find at the table. I agree.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



The stamps of Liberia, with their exotic designs featuring African wildlife and tropical scenes have always been popular with young collectors, especially because until the First World War they were handsomely produced by British printers, among them Waterlow & Sons and Perkins Bacon & Co. Serious philatelists were less enthusiastic, because many of the early issues were remaindered, unsold stocks being carefully postmarked and offered to dealers at reduced prices. Despite this peccadillo, Liberia offers fruitful ground for research and one leading specialist, Philip Cockrill, of Hampstead Norreys Newbury, Berks, has written a series of 10 booklets on various aspects of Liberian philately. One booklet (price £2, from the author) describes the elusive revenue stamps, which compensate for their utilitarian designs by their many variations of colour, perforation and watermark.

C. W. HILL

bridge

Play Bridge With Me, by Jean Marc Hougenesco edited by Hugh Kelsey for the Master Bridge Series (Gollancz, £3.50) contains 40 problems very well presented. Many are from play in French tournaments and contain fresh ideas. Only one is a defensive problem - evidently too good to leave out.

Dealer, East. N-S vulnerable

♠ 2			
♥ A 10 9 4			
♦ 3 2			
♣ K Q J 10 3 2			
	N	E	
♠ J 7 6 3	♥ A 10 5 4	♦ K 7	
♥ 8 5 3 2	♦ Q 9 8 7 6	♣ A 4	
♦ K 5 4			
♣ 6 5			
	S		
	♥ K Q 9 8		
	♦ Q J 6		
	♠ A J 10		
	♣ 9 8 7		

quiz

QUESTIONS

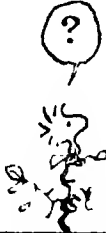
1. What is bebop?
2. What would the study of all categories of music be known as?
3. When was the phrase "New Deal coined"?
4. When was the Profintern founded?
5. What does the word, "Shinto", the Japanese official religion, actually mean?
6. Where would a suicide connection be used?

In large electric motors it is the name given to a technique employed for the rapid reversal of the motors.

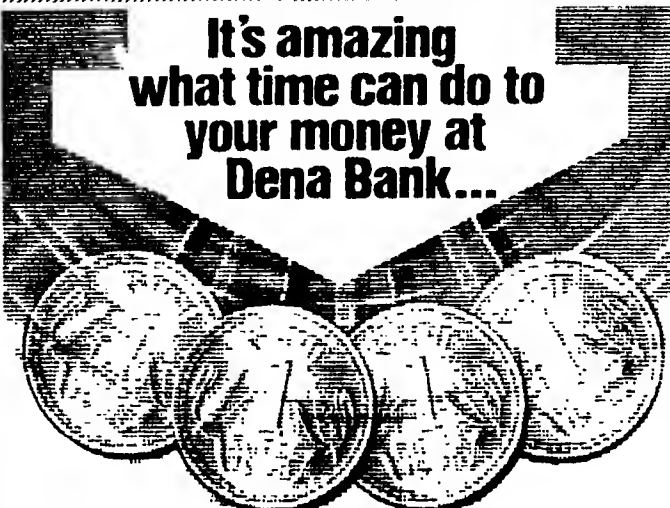
1. It is the ornatopeoic term introduced by avant-garde jazz musicians in USA in the early Forties.
2. Ethnomusicology.
3. The phrase was coined by American economist Raymond Moley and used in the draft of President Roosevelt's speech accepting the Democratic nomination for President on 2 July 1932.
4. In July 1921. It was the Red International of Labour Unions founded in Moscow.
5. The word is originally Chinese, Shinto, and means the way of the gods.

ANSWERS

PEANUTS
 featuring
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 Charlie Brown"
 by Schulz



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AGRA: The superintendent of the Central Jail at Agra, Mr Beni Ram was arrested late last night (12 June) under the Suppression of Immoral Trafficking in Women Act. According to Dr Girish Behari, senior superintendent of police, also arrested were Mr Sivaram Pande, president of the *Bhrashtachar Nirodhak* (anti-corruption) Committee, Pushpa Sharma, a call girl and a rickshaw puller. Dr Behari said the arrests were made after the police raided Mr Ram's house. He was caught in a compromising position with the girl—*Hindustan Times* (M. Singh, New Delhi).

PATNA: A senior police superintendent, an additional munsif and an inspector of police were among those produced before the railway special judicial magistrate at Patna junction on charges of travelling without tickets. They were caught red-handed while travelling without tickets in a first class compartment of the Toofan Express. Over 500 were arrested in course of a two-day ticket checking drive, launched on Monday last (25 May) on the Patna-Mokameh and Patna-Arrah section of Danapur division of the eastern railway—*Indian Express* (Rama Kumarasamy, Vellore).

SRINAGAR: A state government employee suspended on charges of embezzlement 14 years ago was acquitted by a local court. Mr Mohammad Ashraf, the accused, fainted. He shed tears of joy as the judge announced the acquittal order. During the 14 years of the trial, 7 judges hearing the case were transferred, while 3 of them had since retired—*Times of India* (Md. Aftab Hussain, Gaya).

BANGALORE: Urine instead of water. That is what residents of Russel market area got when they opened the water tap on a fine morning recently. Though the Bangalorean is used to muddy water

flowing out of the taps, particularly after monsoon, residents of Russel market were flabbergasted when a foul-smelling, yellow coloured liquid flowed out of the taps in their houses. Chemical tests of this liquid confirmed their worst suspicions. It was not water, but diluted urine. The mix-up occurred because of a leaking sewer pipe near the Russel market urinal. The seeping urine was sucked into an equally leaky water pipe nearby. The sewer pipe was repaired by the corporation authorities after the mix-up was reported—*Indian Express* (U. K. Ganapathy Rao, Bangalore).

PANDALAM: Strangely unhealthy are the ways of the health department of the government of Kerala. Chellamma, 70, a resident of Palamel village in Nooranad panchayat, is still dazed by the department's inexplicable orders. All that she wanted was to have her son, Gopal Pillai, a health inspector at Enadimangalam in Quilon district transferred to a place in Alleppey district. Hoping that a mother's plea would tug at the heart-strings of even the bureaucrats, she sent a memorandum to the health minister. Chellamma got much more than she had bargained for. When the transfer order from the additional director of health took shape a few days ago, the septuagenarian woman who had never been fortunate enough to serve the government found herself transferred by the health department to Alleppey district! With a little more luck, Chellamma could perhaps draw her pension too—*Sunday Standard* (K. K. Nair, Trivandrum).

RATNAGIRI: Every state has many one-teacher schools but Khopi village in Ratnagiri's Khed taluk has the distinction of having a one-student school! The *zila parishad* primary school at Khopi had 4 students in the first and second standards last year. Three of them have since dropped out leaving only one student in the second standard. The school, located in a private house is naturally closed whenever the student is absent—*Indian Express* (P. U. Subba Rao, Eluru).

RAMPUR: Hoodwinking people in his quest for a fast buck has landed a PAC constable in jail. The constable posted at Agra, was enjoying his leave here in a novel way. Attired in his uniform, the constable caught people at random from cinema houses and local post offices asking them to remove their watches. He told them to collect the watches from the Kotwali (police headquarters) after producing proper cash memos. But the local police, acting on complaints nabbed the alleged cheat before he could dispose of the watches. The police also confiscated a gun belonging to the constable—*Times of India* (V. R. Menon, New Delhi).

It will be a sad day if this arch renegade of Indian politics (H. N. Bahuguna) has to be the custodian of our democracy—G. K. Moopnar, AICC(I) general secretary

The Congress(I) had captured the confidence of the people and not the booths as alleged by the frustrated opposition—Vishwanath Pratap Singh, UP CM.

Sanjayism with its culture of stability, culture of defiance of injustice, 5 point programme etc had become the culture of the Congress—C.M. Stephen, union communications minister

I do not think the Pakistanis used their armour against anyone else. And those planes (F-16s) will be used against us—Rajiv Gandhi

He (Chandan Basu) is not a marxist, not at all. He hasn't even read marxism—Jyoti Basu, West Bengal CM on his son

A known enemy is better than a foolish friend—Jaffer Sharief, union minister of state for railways on Karnataka CM Gundu Rao's comment on union ministers in *SUNDAY*

The capitalists, making use of newspapers, books and writers, are making a systematic attempt to malign the state government. There is a planned effort at character assassination of those close to Indira Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi—Gundu Rao, Karnataka CM

Many of my colleagues in Parliament make it a regular habit to go in and out of jail. For them it is garlands on the way in and more garlands plus the halo of martyrdom floating over their heads when they come out—Khuswant Singh quoted in *Current*

In other countries the government subsidises the film industry. While, in India, the film industry subsidises the government—G.P. Sippy quoted in *Sunday Mid-day*

He (Rajiv Gandhi) is like a football player on a field—Subramanian, on his assessment of Rajiv *Weekend Review*

The (rest of America, China and ASEAN) is to use the Cambodians as cannon fodder to stop the advance of the Vietnamese towards Thailand—Prince Norodom Sihanouk in *Time*

Let us deal first with that *meshuggener* (Yiddish for lunatic), Saddam Hussein. With the other *meshuggener* (Labvan strongman Muammar Qadhafi), another time—Menachem Begin, Israeli PM

You should put the perfume on the hot spots. I can tell you a few of those. But others—it's impossible—Sophia Loren's advice to women

**CONGRESS(I)
PREFERS BJP**



Satish Aggarwal: acceptable to Congress(I)

THE Congress(I) prefers the BJP to the other opposition parties. This conclusion seems inescapable from the way in which Mr Satish Aggarwal (BJP), former minister of state for finance in the Janata government, was finally nominated to the post of chairman of the public accounts committee. This watchdog body on expenditures from the consolidated fund of India has traditionally been headed by a leader from the largest opposition party in the Lok Sabha. In the past the main consideration has been the party and not the individual. Mr Chandrant Yadav, the former Lok Dal leader, was the chairman last year. This year, at the time of re-nomination, Mr Yadav had already left the Lok Dal and was heading his own Democratic Party in the Lok Sabha. The Lok Dal staked its claim to the post and proposed the name of Mr George Fernandes.

When the speaker consulted the ruling party he found it enthusiastic about Mr Fernandes. The CPI(M), which has staked its claim to the post on the basis of its parliamentary strength, chose to join the other non-BJP opposition parties in proposing the name of Mr Tridib Chowdhury of the Revolutionary Socialist Party as a consensus candidate. Mr Chowdhury is the eldest member of the Lok Sabha and has sat in the house since 1952. The name of Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan (Congress-U) was also suggested as an alternative. But neither of them were acceptable to the ruling party which eventually agreed on the BJP nominee.

**RAJIV CRITICAL OF
GARHWAL STRATEGY**

MR Rajiv Gandhi expressed strong disapproval of his party's election strategy in Garhwal at a closed-door, high-level meeting in Delhi on 17 June after returning from Amethi. Among those present at the meeting were Mrs Gandhi and home minister Giani Zail Singh. Now that the Garhwal election has been countermanded, Mr Gandhi's point of view stands vindicated. The electoral overkill by the Congress(I) in the key parliamentary by-election would not have taken place, say party activists close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had his style of functioning had time to influence the whole party.

**ENTERING
CONGRESS(I)
WILL NOT BE EASY**

THOSE who were entertaining visions of a long line of Congress(U) leaders trouncing back to the Congress(I) may be disappointed. Mr Y. B. Chavan's "journey back home" is proving to be more difficult than expected. Apart from the Congress(I) parliamentary board referring Mr Chavan's case to the working committee, Mrs Gandhi has made it clear that she will leave the decisions about admitting Congress(U) men into her party to the respective state party leaders. For example, if Mr S. S. Ray wants to join the Congress(I) Mr Ajit Panja must say yes and Mr Subrata Mukherjee must not deny Mr Das Munshi an entry. Over our dead bodies, one can clearly hear Messrs Panja and Mukherjee saying. While this will dishearten those who have been assiduously working to return to Mrs Gandhi's fold, it will impart some much-needed stability to the Congress(U).

**KERALA CONGRESS(U) GOING
MAHARASHTRA WAY?**

THE ruling Left Democratic Front in Kerala, headed by the CPI(M), is facing a major internal crisis. Two of its stalwarts, Mr A. K. Antony and Mr Vyalalar Ravi, both from the Congress(U), have fallen out and Mr Ravi is seriously thinking of joining the Congress(I). Senior Congress(U) leaders like Sharad Pawar, P. R. Das Munshi and Dhar-

**ROOTLESS
MINISTER**

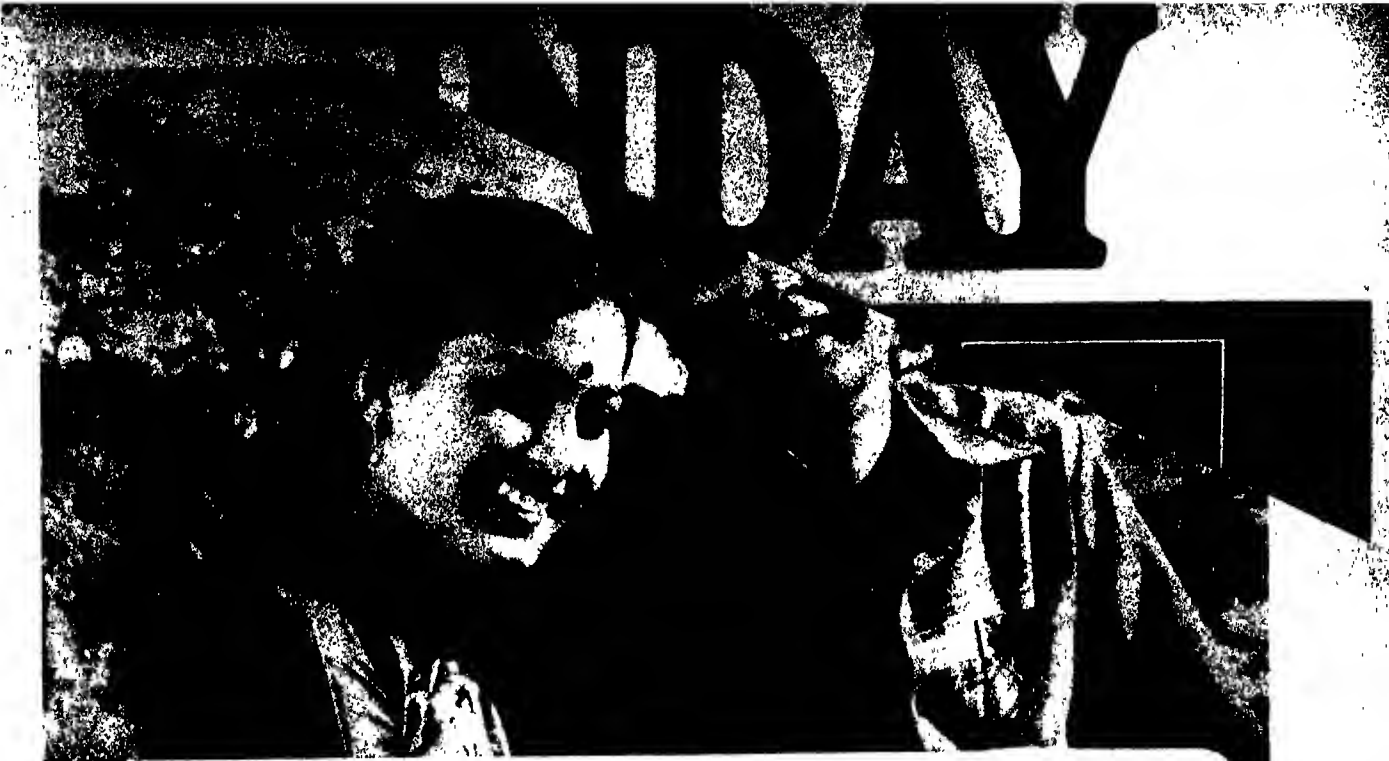


Pranab Mukherjee: safe away from home

THERE seems to be some doubt about the state of domicile of Mr Pranab Mukherjee, union minister for commerce and steel. The chief electoral officer of West Bengal has reportedly written to him asking him when he had enrolled himself as a voter in Gujarat. Mr Mukherjee was elected to the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal in 1975 but, considering the strength of the Congress(I) in the present West Bengal Assembly, he cannot hope to be returned from his home state again in August 1981. So he enrolled himself as a voter in the Sabarmati constituency of Gujarat last year with plans to return to the Rajya Sabha from that state. Enrolling oneself as a voter in a state is necessary in order to seek election to the Rajya Sabha from that state. But a person can be a voter in only one place at a time. Hence the West Bengal chief electoral officer's desire to make sure that Mr Mukherjee has ceased to be a voter in West Bengal while becoming one in Gujarat.

am Vir Sinha rushed to Cochin in the third week of June to try and patch things up. Mr Antony offered to step down from the KPCC(U) presidency in Mr Ravi's favour if that would keep him in the party. But Mr Ravi is not willing to commit himself.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN



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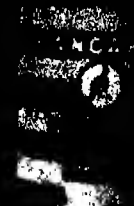
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SUNDAY



How Dr. B.C. Roy solved
the 1960 Assam crisis



The
amazing
government
of
Gundu Rao

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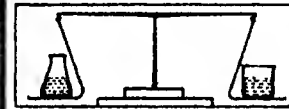
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The Congress(I) government in Karnataka has amazed everyone with its administrative high-handedness, abusive tirades against the press and scandals of every kind involving its members. Far from being the most secure chief minister, as Gundu Rao claimed to be, he is probably digging his own grave. M. J. Akbar reports from Bangalore. **Page 8**

Since 31 January, three Indians working in Iraq have been held hostages by the Kurdish freedom fighters who will not release them unless India stops giving aid to the Iraqi government. **Page 18**

The Iyengar family of Bangalore have made their house into an animal farm, where man and beast live in exemplary harmony. It is not a zoo, for most animals are left to roam freely. **Page 30**

The current phase of the Assam agitation has defied solution for nearly two years now. But how were the first language riots there, in 1960, stopped? The physician-turned-politician, Dr B. C. Roy, who was then the West Bengal chief minister, lent his healing touch. **Page 20**



Vijay Amritraj reached the quarter-finals in Wimbledon again this year, after 1973, defying critics who were inclined to write him off. And his defeat to Jimmy Connors was a memorable one in which he got most of the applause. Why does Vijay never say die and still persevere at 28? Ashis Ray reports from Wimbledon. **Page 14**

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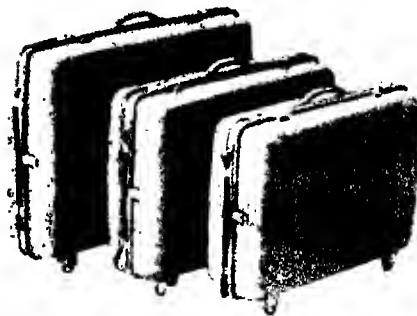
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EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE

BY KULDIP NAYAR

"Nobody asked you, sir"

I have not been able to make out why President Sanjeeva Reddy said that he would not like to seek a second term in office. There was no provocation for that remark. He has not been involved in any controversy recently nor has anyone talked about his next term. Irrepressible as he is (the politician in him invariably gets the better of him), he has made such remarks off and on which a person in his position should avoid. But he would not be Sanjeeva Reddy if he did not do so.

Thank god, both the government and the people have learnt to live with him and his obiter dicta. Hardly anybody is upset when he says what he should not.

Still this does not explain why the President made such a remark about his term in a speech which was not even remotely connected with anything political. Even otherwise, it is too early to discuss the issue because President Reddy is not due for retirement till August 1982. My hunch is... On second

thoughts I should keep it to myself. But I am reminded of a rhyme I learnt when I was a child. It was a long rhyme, beginning with: "Where are you going my pretty maid?" This is what the master asks and then goes on to talk about his riches, emotions and compulsions, he is inclined to marry her but cannot do so. "Nobody asked you, sir," she says and there the rhyme ends.

Even if President Reddy were willing to run for another term, the pre-condition he has laid down would not be fulfilled. He wants the election to be unanimous. Both the Janata and the BJP will never support him; they have not forgiven him for the role he played in installing Mr Charan Singh as the caretaker Prime Minister.

While on the subject, I must mention a diplomatic embarrassment that arose lately. This is over attending the wedding of Prince Charles. Both the President and the Prime Minister were invited to it. London came to know unofficially

sometime ago that Mrs Gandhi, accompanied by Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his wife, would attend the wedding. But before the Prime Minister indicated this to the President, he communicated to her that he and his wife would attend the wedding. Naturally, Mrs Gandhi has promptly conveyed her regrets to London. An official spokesman has also confirmed this to the press. But London is disappointed. Mrs Thatcher and the royal family, particularly, regret that they will not be able to flaunt to the world a wedding guest of the stature of Prime Minister Gandhi.

That the Prime Minister wanted to go with her son and daughter-in-law but the President has beaten her to it is a story that is doing the rounds in official and diplomatic circles in New Delhi. And some who claimed to know the exact words used by the President and the Prime Minister when the topic came up between the two, are providing delectable details about the conversation.

Another story that is doing the rounds is what exactly transpired between Mrs Gandhi and Mr Chavan, an aspirant for Congress(I) membership, during their meeting. It is said that after some go-betweens had floated the idea and the press had begun to speculate on it, Mrs Gandhi and Mr Chavan met at a banquet given by a visiting foreign dignitary. After the meals she went up to Mr Chavan and smilingly said: Politics is once again in ferment. He reportedly said that the banquet was not an appropriate occasion for a meaningful discussion.

Prompt came a telephonic call to Mr Chavan the following day from the Prime Minister's house for an appointment with Mrs Gandhi at noon. He had another engagement at that time but he cancelled it.

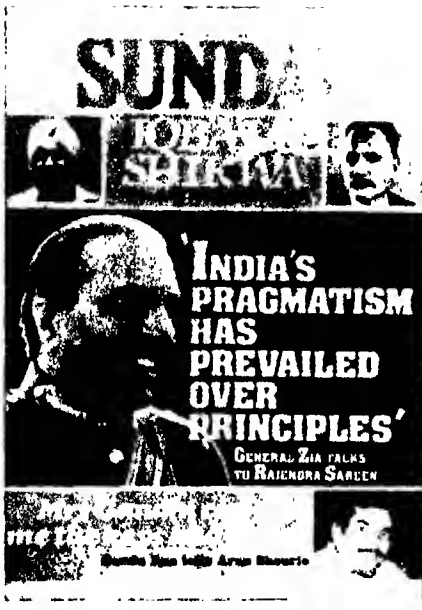
The talks did not last long, not even for 15 minutes. But Mr Chavan managed to mention that he was in agreement with Congress(I) policies and programmes. He reportedly told Mrs Gandhi that he found himself in complete agreement with the Congress(I) stand on foreign policy matters and he supported it during the Lok Sabha debate.

Even then Mrs Gandhi did not broach the subject of Mr Chavan joining her party. Eventually, he took the initiative and said that he would like to join the Congress(I). In her evasive way she said she would have to consult her own people (*Apne logon se bat karne hogi*).

Here the matter rests. I think we will hear more about it later, just as we will gradually know what President Reddy meant when he said that he would not seek a second term.

President Reddy: faux pas galore





Trust thy neighbour

Thanks for the cover story, 'India's pragmatism has prevailed over principles' (14 June). I am tempted to agree with General Zia-ul-Haq's view that "Pakistan is the smaller country and has neither the desire nor the capacity to build a military strength in competition or rivalry with India," but this confession is not consistent with Pakistan's defence policy over the last three decades.
Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan

It is a pity that General Zia was so evasive in his interview; straightforward replies would have been in the best interests of a healthy Indo Pak relationship.
Ashis Kumar Mohapatra, Cuttack

General Zia was at pains to justify his aims deal with the USA. It is clear that such an arrangement is to the benefit of both parties. Zia needs the guns to prop up his dictatorship and the USA, after losing Iran, is eager to have Pakistan under its umbrella.
Uttam Kumar Dubey, Ranchi

The Indian press has joined hands with the government in condemning the military ruler of Pakistan. SUNDAY in particular has been filling its columns with anti-Zia propaganda, this is only because there is no one to protest against such sustained slander.
Sayema Sarwat, Hyderabad

I agree with General Zia when he says that Mrs Gandhi must be left alone to create her own image among the people of Pakistan. An atmosphere of goodwill has to be created at the grass-root level.
G. Parthasarathy, Patnamakudi

The interview was not comprehensive enough. Rajendra Sareen made no direct reference to the crucial Kashmir issue nor did he query the general on Pakistan's nuclear plans.
Sudhu Kumar Das, Ganjam (Orissa)

Jawab-e-Shikwa

Thanks for *Shikwa (The Complaint)*. First manifesto of the two-nation theory (14 June). Khushwant Singh's translation of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's masterpiece is the best to date,
J. M. Shahid, Biharsharif

Khushwant Singh knows and appreciates Urdu. His translation is enchanting. In content, *Shikwa* may appear outdated but its language and originality are unparalleled and prove that Iqbal was indeed the greatest philosopher-poet of his time. I request Mr Singh to translate more of Iqbal's works.
Rais Ahmed, Calcutta

Translating *Shikwa* is by no means a minor achievement; but, with due apologies to Khushwant Singh, I must say that his translation is much inferior to Altaf Husain's. Mr Husain, a former editor of *The Dawn*, Karachi, and minister in Ayub Khan's cabinet, did more justice to *Alama Iqbal*. His translation was published four decades ago.
Md Ali Shoab, Mahua (Bihar)

It is strange that Khushwant Singh's translation is so different from Altaf Husain's. Undoubtedly, the latter came much closer to the original Urdu text. Whereas, in his attempt to prove that *Shikwa* was "the first manifesto of the two-nation theory," Mr Singh has made it appear highly controversial. For instance, his translation of *Hind ke daire-nashinon ko Musalmaan kar de* (27th verse) reads "Convert to Islam India's millions who still dwell in temples." The same line in Altaf Husain's words is less

offensive: "To India's temple-squatters teach the truth of the Islamic way." If Iqbal has made any clearly offensive remark, then it is in the 23rd verse of *Jawab-e-Shikwa: But-e-Hindi ki mohabbat mein brahmin bhi hue* (The lure of India's idols has made even brahmins out of you Muslims).
Mustafa K. Sherwani, Hyderabad

Mr Singh's translation violates both the text and the spirit of *Shikwa* which is the most complex of Iqbal's works. Even if one can overlook the fact that in his hands the poet's complaint to God has lost all its fire, it is difficult to forgive Mr Singh for branding it as "the first manifesto of the two-nation theory." Sir Muhammad Iqbal was far from communal, there is evidence of this in his *Jawed Nama* in which he has shown Sri Mahadev and Lord Buddha in heaven and in *Asrar Khudi* where he has praised Lord Krishna. Obviously, Mr Singh has not read these works. Moreover, he has taken too many liberties with the text of *Shikwa*. He has conveniently twisted *Hum daire-nashinon* (we Muslim temple-dwellers) to the derogatory *Hind ke daire-nashinon* (temple-dwellers of India).
Sheikh Habibullah, Cuttack

I fail to understand why SUNDAY chose to publish a translation of the 72-year-old *Shikwa* written by the "great philosopher" Iqbal who could not see anything beyond Islam and whose two-nation theory wrought the worst havoc in Indian history.
S. H. Patil, Kundgol

Is Mr Rao sleeping?

"Mrs Gandhi can give me the keys and sleep" (14 June) has proved that Gundu Rao is an out-and-out sycophant.
Penoonu Jusu, Bangalore

Unlike Mrs Gandhi who can sleep after giving him the keys, I am sure Gundu Rao cannot sleep after seeing his utterances to Arun Shourie in print.
Shiva Kumar, Bangalore

SUNDAY is the only magazine in the country which has and continues to expose the ugliness of our politicians.
J. Wilson, Kulathupuzha (Kerala)

On time—at last

After doubling its price SUNDAY has finally become punctual.
Jitendra De, Agartala

It is heartening to find SUNDAY improving, I received the 7 June issue the very next day.
S. Shankar, Haldia

SUNDAY is no longer 'Anyday,' I managed to get the 14 June issue the very same week.
S. Padmanabhan, New Delhi

Whose poison?

Biharsharif: RSS spreads its poison again (24 May) was clearly a biased report. Tooshar Pandit started his story with the incident of two Muslim hoodlums trying to deprive a harijan of his toddy. That was the spark; so how could he blame the RSS for the violence which followed? SUNDAY has a pronounced partisan attitude and is shamelessly hiding the truth from its readers.
Anup Kumar, Ahmedabad

The cover story was detrimental to national interests; detailed reports on communal violence can create a further rift between Hindus and Muslims.
Fiaz Ali Khan, Nellore (Andhra Pradesh)

Doing all that it has been, what political future does the RSS have? Rajkishore may become a powerful man in the RSS after his 'commendable' performance in Biharsharif; but what is his political future?
A. H. Yawar, Dhanbad

Enquiry commissions are of no help. If at all the government is interested, it should punish those officials whose negligence or indifference contributed to the holocaust in Biharsharif. This will put local administrations on their toes.
Nazir Ahmed, Bangalore

AIR: Technocrats vs bureaucrats

The headless organisation (7 June) clearly revealed the I and B ministry's attitude towards the AIR programme staff. The deteriorating standards of our radio programmes lend credibility to Vivek Sengupta's report.
S. Kumar, Port Blair

We have been pained by Vivek Sengupta's mudslinging. All along we have maintained and pleaded with the government that AIR should be headed by a professional from any of the wings of the organisation and his selection should be made on the basis of competence. Mr Sengupta (who, incidentally, is a close relative of a programme officer) has accused us of being ready to "curry favour," but he has not substantiated his claim with facts or incidents. We engineers have built up AIR and Doordarshan into a gigantic network and if we are being duly rewarded no one should hold this against us. As for the reference to the BBC, may I inform Mr Sengupta that under director general Reith it went through the most glorious period. And Mr Reith was an engineer by profession.

Pilot's unusual flight

The cover story, *Another sunrise at Amethi* (31 May), was good. But regardless of what Rajiv Gandhi told M. J. Akbar, his and his party's future depends on how far Mrs Gandhi succeeds in solving the country's economic problems which have their roots in our population. Family planning has become a vital issue and, in my opinion, Rajiv should be entrusted with the task of launching a national movement against our present birth rate. Judging from his temperament, I am sure he will be successful.
M. N. Bhide, Pune

If Rajiv is so concerned about his "Mr Clean" image, he should first go to his mother and seek her permission to go back to his cockpit. Decency demands that he keep away from politics; besides he'll feel more comfortable flying.
M. P. Bhaskaran, Calcutta

Equality is the point

Tamil Nadu's converted harijans (7 June) have proved that Islam has not spread by the sword but by love.
Perwez Akhtar Sabir, Calcutta

At the time of prayer, even the king of Saudi Arabia has to stand behind his servants if they have entered the mosque before him. That is Islam, the religion which the harijans of Meenakshipuram have embraced.
Syed Muthahar Saqaf, Kullai (Tamil Nadu)

Harijans have at last found a solution to their problems.
Sarosh Ahmed Khan, Srinagar

Caste Hindu Ramalingam claims that the Hindu Mahasabha is trying to win back the harijans to their old faith because "we are all equal." This shows that the upper castes are finally reconciled to the idea of equality.
A. S. Savanur, Solapur

So it is clear that the standard of programmes produced and quality of transmission and its reception are more important than the mere scheduling of programmes. Besides, it is in the scheduling of programmes and booking of performing artistes that people can be obliged and favours sought.

V. K. Mehra, joint secretary, AIR Engineers' Association, New Delhi

Vivek Sengupta replies: Mr Mehra has not challenged the veracity of any of my facts and figures. He asserts that AIR should be headed by a professional from any of its wings, provided he is competent; this implies that an ace newsreader or an accomplished instrumentalist on the staff of AIR is qualified to be its director general. Further, Mr Mehra's reference to Lord Reith is inappropriate; Lord Reith was not selected as director general from BBC's technical corps. He was an outsider whose understanding of the medium went far beyond the mere technicalities of laying cables and erecting transmitters. Finally, I am not related to any programme officer in AIR.

Economics of castes

While appreciating Madhu Limaye's *Gujarat: Graveyard of Mahatma's hopes* (31 May) I cannot help observing that his four broad categories for the proposed reservation system are inadequate. The first category of scheduled castes and tribes should be further divided on the basis of those who are economically backward and those who have already reaped the benefits of reservation. The third and fourth categories should also be sub-divided because a poor Jat, Yadav or Thakur, in the eyes of his affluent brethren, is no better than a harijan. And in view of the fact that the benefits of reservation have so far been exclusively reserved for families like Babu Jagjivan Ram's, Mr Limaye should have proposed that families of MPs, MLAs and gazetted officers should not be entitled to any concessions.
J. S. Nandan, Purnea (Bihar)

Conversion to Islam will not solve the harijans' problems. Before taking such a drastic step they should have considered the fact that, though age-old traditions are difficult to change, the government has been trying to better the lot of backward classes.

V. P. Thonte, Solapur

Tooshar Pandit's report was remarkable. But the conversions cannot be welcomed and the government must take immediate steps to come to the rescue of harijans who, it seems, are becoming more and more frustrated.

S. Manoharan, Periyar (Tamil Nadu)

The report was superficial. It is common knowledge that the conversions in Meenakshipuram were backed by petrodollars. It is a pity that our politicians are busy wooing Muslim votes and cannot afford to condemn the procured conversions.

J. C. Nayak, Jeypore (Orissa)

Red invasion

Thanks to S. Urmila Majumdar for *Is there a cure for the 'Red Eye'?* (14 June). Unfortunately, the medicines which she has recommended for conjunctivitis are not readily available, particularly in the rural areas.

Bashisth Pandey, Bandel (West Bengal)

Homoeopathic treatment is best for conjunctivitis. Readers of SUNDAY are advised to dab sterilised cotton dipped in diluted Euphrasia on the affected eye twice or thrice daily. This is the best way to get rid of conjunctivitis.

B. S. Rama Rao, Madras

World in retrospect

Nipped in the bud (31 May) was interesting. I can appreciate the reaction of Dr Pasha, general secretary of Muslim organisations in Britain, to the offending scene in the play, *Goose Pimples*; but isn't the scene inspired by the real-life situation? It is common knowledge that Arabs go to western countries and squander their petro-dollars in nightclubs and casinos. Instead of raising a hue and cry over a play, Dr Pasha is best advised to launch a campaign against the un-Islamic habits of his Arab brethren.
Nazir Ahmed, Bangalore

I was impressed by the *Principles of an assassin* (14 June), though Mehmet Ali Agca's ignorance—"I went to London to kill the king"—is really appalling. One expects a politically-motivated extremist to be much more enlightened.
Shekhar Kapoor, Vellore

The photograph with *Wolf wants to prowl* (14 June) was not of Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess who has been confined in prison ever since 1946, it was, in fact, a portrait of his son, R. Hess Rudolf is suffering from a severe illness and his lawyer has been trying to secure his release on humanitarian grounds.
M. Haberl, officer for press and cultural affairs, Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany, Calcutta

Sorry, our mistake. It was indeed Wolf Ruediger Hess' photograph. He has been campaigning for his father's release.

Religion no bar

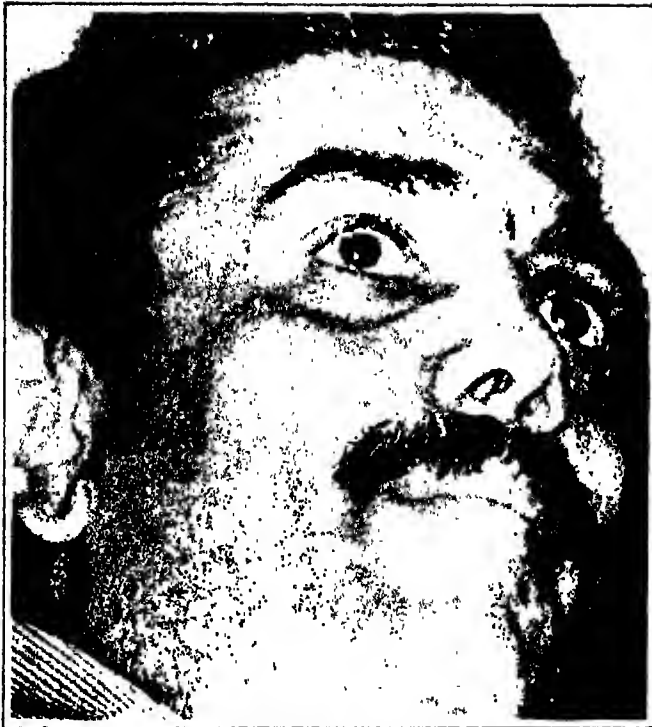
Rabindra Dutta's *Opinion* (14 June) on Nargis' wish to be buried and not cremated after death was absurd. It may be true that the late actress, "unlike other Hindusthani wives, had not adopted her husband's religion;" but how can one question her claim to be "a Hindusthani first" merely on this ground?
Alamgir Sani, Calcutta

Whatever Mr Dutta's opinion, I feel that Nargis had every right to consider herself a Hindusthani.

M. A. Mohamed Ali, Madras

Last letter

The son never sets on the Indian Empire.
Jayanthi Jayaraman, Secunderabad



The amazing government of Gundu Rao

M.J. AKBAR reports.

Proud and beautiful Bangalore is feeling a little embarrassed these days. It contains a chief minister whose abusive tongue and swerving imagination are no longer simply the source of titillation: they are becoming the stuff of legend. Then there is the man in the city who, they say, wields more power than the CM because he has been both a close friend and mentor of his. And this man gets drunk at night in exciting company, then picks up a fight with constables on the way home: during the fight he seizes a gun and threatens to shoot a senior police officer who has rushed down to pacify him and get him quietly to bed. Let me tell you about the rolled-gold watch-wearing cabinet minister who can't

quite shake off the accusation that he is an agent of the Arabs: one of his brothers is killed in a petty gangwar; a second brother is heard threatening to leave no virgin untouched in the whole of his home district, and then is caught trying to abduct the pretty teenage daughter of a poor washerwoman: a suddenly rich cabinet minister whose past seems even murkier than his present, who lives at Indira Gandhi's mercy but just two years ago was calling her the vilest of names, terms which we find embarrassing to report. And would you like to hear about the minister being currently tried in court for taking a petty bribe? Or have you had enough and would like a change of subject?

Ramrao Gundu Rao, 44, is not by

any stretch of imagination a Macbeth, but when the slings and arrows of misfortune started making him a target they did it with a Shakespearean intensity, and more interesting, for Shakespearean reasons: hubris, pride, vaulting ambition, a vanity that destroyed his touch with reality. To carry the analogy just a little bit further, there is the ghost of Banquo, too, lurking around in Bangalore, in the form of the pipe-smoking Devaraj Urs, and it is hardly surprising that both Mr Gundu Rao and Mr Urs use a very special kind of venom when dealing with each other.

B. V. Raman is one of Bangalore's most famous fortune-tellers and is often consulted by the mightiest of the land: One wonders whether Mr Gundu Rao checked with Mr Raman about the position of his stars on 14 June. It was a day when there must have been chaos in the planetary configurations of Mr Gundu Rao. But first the good news. That was the day on which the by-election to the Dharwar Assembly constituency was held. As the results proved, the opposition got badly drubbed in the by-election: What was worse was that it was supposed to be an opposition stronghold, as Mr Gundu Rao never hesitated to remind the opposition.

Indeed, the middle of June seemed a terrible time for the opposition in Karnataka. To begin with they were more splintered than anywhere else in the country and then the government, determined to deny any opposition leader the privilege of being leader of one side of the Assembly, was continuing to deplete its ranks by encouraging defections. Mr Gundu Rao had become chief minister, displacing Mr Devaraj Urs, by enticing the Congress (U) MLAs, who had stuck by Mr Urs, to defect. Indeed, MLAs of all

The hoarding put up by the Karnataka government outside the Mysore zoo

OUR COMMITMENT AND OUR RESOLVE

- The humblest enjoy their rights and a respectable place in society
- Administration comes to the common man's door step
- Papers and files in public offices move without anyone having to chase them
- Plenty of electric power and irrigation for Karnataka's general development
- Banishing corruption, communalism and casteism
- Better planning for the future, learning from past mistakes

Omard Karnataka!
GLORY TO KARNATAKA

Karnataka Information

shades were welcome to get on the Gundu Rao bandwagon. This is what brought on MLAs like C. M. Ibrahim into the Congress (I). It has been one of the unexplained mysteries of recent politics why Mrs Gandhi has allowed a government propped up by defectors to continue in Karnataka, a state she can win virtually without campaigning. If she wanted Mr Gundu Rao to remain chief minister, he could easily have conducted fresh elections and returned as a chief minister with a popular mandate rather than run a government weighed down by the costly loyalty of essentially disloyal men and women. The general feeling in Bangalore was that if Mr Gundu Rao had called for statewide elections on 14 June he could have assured himself a comfortable five years more.

But suddenly things have changed after 14 June. First, whether Mr Gundu Rao may or may not have unified his own party behind him, he has very successfully, very brilliantly, managed to unify the opposition against him. Second, the scandals that suddenly began pouring out after the middle of June have, after a long, long time, brought the people out onto the streets. Chief minister Gundu Rao has only added to the fire by staking both his own prestige and the credibility of the government in defence of corrupt rabble rousers like C. M. Ibrahim and hungry manipulators like F. M. Khan.

It would be a foolish commentator who said that anyone who had Mrs Gandhi's stamp of approval would actually lose an election in Karnataka, but Messrs Gundu Rao, F. M. Khan and C. M. Ibrahim, with substantial help from some of their colleagues are trying very hard indeed.

THE *Deccan Herald* is part of what Mr Gundu Rao calls the "liquor contractor press" since its owners also do business selling alcohol. But Mr Gundu Rao's anger against this newspaper has nothing to do with his beliefs about the nature of the national economy and the role of middlemen: after all, Mr Rao seems to get along well enough with contractors who sell timber in Coorg, for instance. He is angry and childishly abusive about the *Herald* for the simple reason that this newspaper does what a newspaper is, by all conventions, supposed to do: expose a racket if it can find one.

The 14 June issue of the *Herald* page-one'd a startling story, written by a staff reporter. The story did not mention any specific names, defining the central character of the story only as a "Congress(I) MP." But it did not take anyone any time to realise who was being written about. And if anyone had any doubts, the *Indian Express* (part of what Mr Rao labels the "jute press" since the owner, Mr Ramnath Goenka, once owned one of the largest jute mills in the country) cleared them the next day by mentioning the name of the MP. This is what happened in the darkness of the first hours of 13 June.

Mohammed Ali, a 22-year-old truck-

driver, was taking his lorry down the Bannerghata Road, just outside Bangalore: it was an hour past midnight. Suddenly, he found a stranded man on the road, waving at him. He stopped the lorry and enquired what the matter was. The man, who was clearly inebriated, explained that the car in which he had been returning home had broken down, and could he get a lift? Ali decided he would do his good deed for the night, and gave the man a lift.

The man got in, and the lorry drove on. Suddenly, after a little while, the man began insisting that Ali turn the lorry around, go back to where the car had been stranded. He offered to pay. But Ali insisted that his lorry was not in any condition to tow a car. The man got angry and abusive, even violent: the alcohol in his bloodstream was having its effect on his behaviour. Ali stopped the lorry, and the angry man began literally fighting with Ali in the middle of the street. The man then revealed his identity to frighten Ali: "I am Khan," the man said.

If there was the sound of authority in that voice, it was justified. "I am Khan": this was indeed the Great Khan of Bangalore, the man they called super Chief Minister: F. M. Khan, Fazal Mohammad Khan: Mr Gundu Rao had himself told Arun Shourie in



C. M. Ibrahim

the interview published in **SUNDAY** that F. M. Khan was sometimes called Field Marshal Khan and at other times called Father-Mother Khan, depending presumably on whether the Great Khan decided to cast a malevolent or a benevolent eye on you. This was the closest friend the chief minister had, he was the man who, with careful offstage prompting, had finally managed to make Mr Gundu Rao the star of the show.

Their personal and political association began in the late Sixties. It was an interesting alliance, since the two came from opposite ends of the social scale. Mr Gundu Rao came from a very poor family—indeed, one has to accept that his is a remarkable rise from a hut

F. M. Khan



to the chief minister's palace, even though the journey may not have been Lincolnian in its purity. Khan came from a family which owned coffee plantations: not rich, but definitely upper middle class. Khan was educated in the English medium and passed his Senior Cambridge (which probably makes him the intellectual of the coterie now ruling Karnataka) while Gundu Rao could not afford to complete school, because of his poverty. The two came into prominence at the time of the Bangalore session of the Congress in 1969, which led to the famous split.

They raised the banner of Mrs Gandhi in this state, the state of Nijalingappa and Veerendra Patil, considered one of the strongholds of the Congress(O). Devaraj Urs was the leader of Mrs Gandhi's forces then, and these young men were the warriors. Mrs Gandhi swept the 1971 polls, particularly in Karnataka, and many a future was made, many a past demolished. Among the stars that now began to



Devaraj Urs

shine were those of Gundu Rao and Khan.

Actually, there was a triumvirate: there was a third friend who displayed

loyalty and faith in Mrs Gandhi and became one of her principal spokesmen in the days when the 'grand alliance' used to sneer at her: C.K. Jaffer Sharief, who is now the minister of state for railways in Delhi. It was fascinating how they chose their roles to avoid future conflict. Jaffer Sharief wanted, in 1971, to get into the Assembly, but he was persuaded by F. M. Khan and Gundu Rao to go to Delhi instead, which he did, becoming an MP in 1971. Gundu Rao instead, went to the Assembly. And Khan, probably realising that he was not made of the stuff of campaigning heroes, appreciating that his proper genius lay in the anterooms where real power rested, took the simpler option of becoming a Rajya Sabha MP. The idea was apparent: the man that this group of Indira loyalists had slated for the chief ministership of Karnataka was Gundu Rao. It took ten years, three Lok Sabha polls and a great amount of *agni pariksha*, but succeed they finally did. Jaffer Sharief today is an impor-

The politics of goondalism

A front page editorial in Kannada Prabha 27 June written by editor, Khadri Shamanna.

IF Gundu Rao were not the chief minister he would be a big zero, and he has developed a bad habit of allowing his tongue to run riot. He thinks that never before in Karnataka has a man of his calibre adorned the chief minister's chair. Actually this is true. Never before did we have a chief minister who blabbered like this.

His anger at the newspapers is very old and meaningless. He doesn't know the ABC of journalism. Neither does he have any idea of the values of public life. He has come to occupy the chair on the strength of an extraneous force: he lacks competence, the character and the preparation needed for the job. His fulminations are at best, a bundle of irrelevant words. He has no concept of dignity of public life, he does not possess any ideas. He represents the new breed of politicians who have done no study, lack foresight and are not guilty of any ideology whatsoever. They are arrogant in the belief that whatever they do, goes.

The press in Karnataka has nothing to learn from them. We are the guardians of public good and not their sycophants. They boast of public support but what is the record of the last 18 months? Have they attacked poverty? Have they been able to reduce the numbers of poor? Or have they initiated steps to eliminate ignorance or the social curses? Nothing.

Take for example, the prices of essential commodities. Which is that commodity whose price has gone down? We get assurance after

assurance: all false. They boast of solving the people's problems. Have they seriously attacked any single issue? Everything boils down ultimately to propaganda. They think people are fools and if somebody attacks them they get angry.

Gundu Rao has one thing to his credit—the shower of bullets. How many bullets have been fired by the government? Such police atrocities had never taken place before. More than 50 have been killed. This is massacre.

There has been repression on the peasant movement all over the state. Workers are attacked. The middle classes are groaning. There is nobody to listen to them. Life has become a huge burden for all these classes. Whom are they (Rao's men) attempting to serve? Smugglers have been helped. He talks about contractors—they are all in his pocket. One set of contractors may not be there, but this government is a hireling of another set of contractors.

Corruption is at its zenith. Let them swear that they are not taking black money. Are they not earning funds by all means for the party? Where do they get their money—the kind of money that they are spending on elections? Whom are they fooling?

They attack the opposition parties but they engineer defections. Is that politics? Defectors have been honoured and those who have refused to defect have been jeered at. Is this heroism? We would have said *shabash* if they had attempted to solve at least one of the many

problems of the people. None is in sight. Irregularity, goondalism and corruption have been encouraged. Even the ministers are corrupt. Where is the question of the respect and prestige of the government?

They have given a go-by to the independent functioning of the police, established double standards—one for the rulers and one for the ruled. The rule of law is in great danger and the administrative apparatus has become an obedient slave of the ruling party. A very dangerous situation. And if someone exposes all these things they are threatened. Do you think the people will swallow all this and live like sheep?

In the last one and a half years no decent value has survived. This is the politics of goondalism, and if anybody thinks the people have accepted it, it's a mirage. If the people are informed properly the common man in Karnataka is bound to stand up. A primary duty before the opposition today is to forget all their differences and come together. Even the symptoms of their coming together becomes a nightmare for the CM and if they become one, the future task is easy.

This is not a question of individuals. There may be one man today in power. Some other man may come to occupy power tomorrow. But the most important fact is the value of democracy and the value system attached to it. We think it is our sacred duty to stand by these values irrespective of the

tant minister at the centre, and Khan and Gundu Rao have got the state of Karnataka under their thumb.

But the alliance between the three, perhaps inevitably, given the style and content of Indian politics, could not last. Jaffer Sharief for a variety of reasons, moved away from Khan and Gundu Rao. This factional fighting was evident, for instance, in the elections to the executive committees of an important Muslim institution in Bangalore, the Majlis-e-Milia Islamia. F. M. Khan wanted to be a member of the executive committee, and he stood for elections. There is an electorate of about 600, and F. M. Khan was defeated soundly by Jaffer Sharief's candidate. (Incidentally, this was the first and only election that F. M. Khan has ever fought. He lost it.)

However, this hardly diminished his power in the state. Gundu Rao displayed unquestioning faith in Khan's advice, and now anyone who wants work done in Karnataka simply walks across to Khan's spacious house,

from where a kind of parallel government operates. If you want to put any deal through in Karnataka, it is better to go to Khan than to Gundu Rao.

Power has made Khan rich, and removed any limits on his arrogance. The administration appreciates his power, and the contractors, the industrialists know whom to please. Nor does Khan display too many scruples, whether in his private wheeling and dealing or in his public politics. An instance. Khan is the president of INTUC. Recently, there was the massive strike in the public sector undertakings around Bangalore. Far from behaving like a trade unionist, Khan played the role of an active strike-breaker: he even allowed his personal car to be used by anti-social elements who attacked the office of the joint action front while the union leaders were having a meeting there. But obviously no one had the guts to say anything to Khan.

It is in this context that the story of what happened on the night of 13 June

becomes understandable.

While F. M. Khan was abusing and hitting the poor lorry driver, two constables, on their beat, turned up. Ah, the police: they wouldn't dare disobey Khan, would they? Khan ordered them to get into the lorry, and they drove to the Jayaprakash Nagar police station. Khan, still drunk both with alcohol and power, shouted at the police there to take action against the driver, for having had the temerity to disobey him. The police obviously could not do that, the lorry driver had committed no crime. So Khan now started beating up the policemen. He shouted that he wanted the police commissioner Mr A. R. Nizamuddin at the police station within ten minutes—and if that did not happen, he would burn down the police van: at one point, Khan snatched a rifle and threatened to shoot a police officer since his drunken orders were not being obeyed. Eventually, the deputy commissioner of police, Dr Ramanujam and the police commissioner A. R. Nizamuddin had to rush

Was the Shourie-Gundu Rao interview ethical?

Apart from landing Mr Gundu Rao and Mr F. M. Khan in trouble with the Gandhi and Other Congress(I) leaders at the centre, Arun Shourie's account of his lunch with Mr Gundu Rao (SUNDAY 14 June) has led many to ask whether it was proper for a journalist to report what had been told to him across a lunch table. Even more than politicians, journalists, who prize their relationships with their sources, were asking this question. SUNDAY spoke to Arun Shourie.

Q: Mr Gundu Rao has landed himself in deep trouble by inviting you to lunch with him. He has said that your decision to report what he said over lunch was a "breach of confidence". How do you respond to this charge?

A: First, I'm not a confidant of Mr Gundu Rao. Where is the question of his repeating confidence in me? It was only with reference to one name—the precise number of ministers in the central cabinet who bore the name—that he asked me not to publish what he was saying. That name I did not say.

Q: But surely, he would not have said all that he did if he had surmised that you were going to publish all that he was saying?

A: But why should I make assumptions about Mr Gundu Rao's private motives? For instance, he said a number of things in praise of himself—the way he functions, how he does not care for office, how he is accessible to people, how he has achieved a very clear sense of direction in administration, and all

these were said at the same lunch and in the same tenor as the things I reported. Now, what if I had woven an article around these points of self-advertisement? Would he have shouted, "Breach of confidence?" Or, is it the moral that I breach his confidence when I write what, though truthful, is embarrassing to him but I do not breach his confidence when I report what is favourable to him?

Q: But how do you explain his saying all that he did to a total stranger?

A: He is a simple minded fellow, a sub-bully. The braggart in the sub-bully got the better of him. Moreover, I'm sure you know the explanation Mr Khan said he gave been purveying in Delhi are not all that innocent. Here is the gist of what they have been saying to exculpate themselves: "We knew this fellow is hostile to Madam. How should we win him over, we thought. We learnt that a bribe won't work. So, we called him to lunch. At lunch if we talked just

formally, he would be won over. We thought we should give him the impression that we were taking him into our confidence. So, to give him the feeling that we looked upon him as one of us, we talked freely. We acted only to help Madam. He betrayed us." Is it the moral, then, that when they try to trap me that's just "politics" but when I do what they did not bargain for, that's "betrayal"?

Q: After the embarrassment they have suffered, what advice would you give Mr Gundu Rao and Mr Khan?

A: The lunch route having failed, try the bribe route next time!

Q: But, surely, serious questions of journalistic ethics are involved?

A: Of course, they are. And all of them dictate that such accounts be published. Is it my duty to portray the true state of affairs or is it to help sundry politicians to hide the truth they speak in private while broadcasting the lies they hurl from public platforms?

Q: But if journalists follow your example, they will lose all their sources in the government. Who will then tell them what is going on?

A: That is one of the best reasons for publishing such accounts. Namely, that such publications help snap the cosy links between journalists and politicians. These links severely debilitate the press today. How can the press be independent, how can it do its duty of uncovering the truth when it is enmeshed in these cosy, almost incestuous, relationships?

Arun Shourie



down to the police station and with great difficulty managed to persuade a drunk, violent, irresponsible F. M. Khan to go home. And what a way he went home: angry that the police would not listen to his every stupid whim, he refused the offer of a lift in the police vehicle and actually walked the few kilometres to his home. But this time the senior police officers were taking no chances: they followed the Great Khan all the way home, and saw him safely to bed—to ensure perhaps that he did not ask any more lorry drivers for lifts that night. Incidentally, Khan's companions in the original car which had broken down had managed to reach their homes without any fuss, despite the fact that there was a lady in the car too, according to some sources.

The next day, the whole administration tripped over each other's lies in their effort to cover up: it was not a very successful cover-up. Actually, the point is not that one MP got drunk, or that he was in company that some moralists might find objectionable: these are matters of Mr Khan's private life, which is his business. He is perfectly within his rights to entertain himself as he wants to. But what this episode reveals is the nature of the government that Mr Gundu Rao has created in Karnataka. One man's whim can bring the whole of the police force to its knees. The behaviour of the senior police officers in order to ingratiate themselves by saving Khan's skin (they gave contradictory denials, and paid off the constables to keep their mouths shut), and Khan's own behaviour have had their impact on the police force. For the first time the police in Karnataka are displaying their resentment against any government, and this can have very serious repercussions, as is obvious. Worse still, the chief minister makes the defence of such conduct a prestige issue. But if Gundu Rao's defence of Khan is stupid and harmful, then one hardly knows how to describe his defence of an amazing man called C. M. Ibrahim.

“Mrs Gandhi is an international prostitute.” This vile, ugly, stupid statement was made publicly not by a crank, not by a Naxalite, not by an extremist member of the RSS or the Jamaat-e-Islami, but a man called C. M. Ibrahim, currently the minister for planning and *wakf* in the government of chief minister Gundu Rao, the man for whom Gundu Rao is willing to stake the survival of his government. Even as the opposition's agitation against Ibrahim's continuance in office despite the sordid story of attempted rape by Ibrahim's brother spreads all across Karnataka, Gundu Rao grows more obstinate about retaining him. He even sent Ibrahim to Delhi to see Mrs Gandhi and plead his current loyalty—but Mrs Gandhi could hardly have known the history of the man she was meeting on the recommendation of her faithful chief minister.

But first a brief look at Ibrahim's rags to riches story. Like Gundu Rao, Ibrahim too comes from a poor family, and spent much of his early life strug-

gling to survive. But he was an ambitious man, and simple survival did not seem sufficiently commensurate with his self-perceived talents. With survival he wanted recognition. And the road to recognition was inevitably politics.

Chand Mahal Ibrahim was born, according to the Karnataka Legislative Assembly's *Who's Who*, in 1949; is now an “agriculturist” whenever he is not earning his money through politics. But his family did not possess any land for agriculture when he was very young; Ibrahim has had to struggle hard for a living—according to some people, he even had to work as a waiter in a small hotel. But he was destined to go far, for two reasons: first, he was a genuine orator; second, he was, fortuitously, a Muslim. And he was quite happy to be a token Muslim leader for anybody who offered him exposure in exchange.

He began his politics in the language agitation in the Sixties, becoming a *Kannada chaluvaligaruru* (a fighter for Kannada). This and his oratory attracted the attention of senior Congressmen like Veerendra Patil and Ramkrishna Hedge: incidentally, Ibrahim was fluent not only in Kannada, but also in Urdu, Hindi, and Malayalam (he is married into a Kerala Muslim family). Then came the split in 1969, and all the important Muslim leaders of Karnataka went over to Mrs Gandhi's side. Messers Veerendra Patil and Hedge were looking for their share of Muslim leaders. They found Ibrahim: at the age of 20 he became convenor of the Congress (O)'s youth wing in the state. That was the chance. Ibrahim soon outshone all the senior leaders on the public platform. His speeches began to be taped and sent to those places which he could not visit. He was in tremendous demand. In 1974, he was given a Congress(O) ticket for a by-election to the Assembly. Ibrahim lost, but many observers

thought that a star was being born. It was in this campaign that Ibrahim also began to consolidate another reputation: for particularly vituperative speeches against Mrs Gandhi.

Then came 1975—and Chand Mahal Ibrahim became an Emergency victim. He went to jail. (According to some allegations, he displayed remarkable dexterity in jail to help make his life comfortable.) However, he remained in the opposition fold all through those tough 19 months and was an obvious Janata candidate in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections. He was pitted against Mr F. H. Mohsin, who had been deputy minister for home affairs in Delhi. He lost, but once again his speeches lingered in the public memory for the exceptional bitterness they voiced against Mrs Gandhi. Some quotations “Indira Gandhi is the worst known dictator in the world...” “Indira Gandhi should be held personally responsible for all the excesses of the family planning programme...” “Indira Gandhi is a big cheat, a liar...” And of course, the quotation already reported, which in fact made him known all over Karnataka. Eventually, he won an Assembly seat in 1978 on the Janata ticket.

He continued this style of campaigning in the Chikmagalur Lok Sabha by-election which was so crucial to Mrs Gandhi. Mrs Gandhi became a Draupadi with five husbands, and much else. An interesting example of Mr Ibrahim's style is available from his description of Mr Urs, who was then handling Mrs Gandhi's campaign “Urs is a *shikhandi* (a eunuch)”

But Mr Ibrahim was simultaneously, not taking chances about his future. The Janata was clearly on the decline after Chikmagalur, and he began wooing Mr F. M. Khan. Just before the 1980 Lok Sabha elections, along with the Janata hero of Chikmagalur Mr

Bangarappa: waiting in the wings

After its run of 18 months, the Gundu Rao government has had enough casualties for its opponents to rub their hands in glee. Though, of late, he hasn't expressed himself publicly, the one person who must be overjoyed at Gundu Rao's discomfiture is Mr S. Bangarappa.

Mr Bangarappa, the flamboyant, 47-year-old former socialist who dabbled in acting and singing before entering politics, has been waiting in the wings for some time now, and is considered one of the four persons who are tipped for the chief ministership of Karnataka in the event of Mr Gundu Rao's ouster. That Mr Bangarappa hopes to become the CM in such an event is no secret in Karnataka. He has been repeatedly commended, even by his enemies, on his administrative and political ability. As minister of state for home affairs and then a cabinet minister in the Urs ministry, his efficiency was never questioned. His handling of the revenue and agriculture portfolios in the Rao ministry,

till he fell from grace, was equally competent.

As a backward classes man he was, and still is, a prime mover among the dissidents in the Congress(I) opposing the government of Gundu Rao, who is a brahmin. He made his first, though unsuccessful, bid for the CM's chair towards the end of last year when he publicly questioned Mr Gundu Rao's efficiency and integrity. (SUNDAY, 15 March). It was for this that he was stripped off the presidentship of the PCC(I) and later forced to resign from the cabinet. Needless to say, this must have earned Mr Bangarappa the displeasure of Mrs Gandhi also. He had done the unforgivable: stirred up open dissension against a Congress(I) CM. In the process, he weakened his chances of becoming the next CM of Karnataka. Having waited in the wings for so long, it seems that he will have to practise his lines a little longer.

Louise Fernandes

Veerendra Patil, Ibrahim joined the Congress(I). The rewards were immediate. Urs collapsed after Mrs Gandhi's smashing victory; Mr Gundu Rao formed a government. Not only did Mr Ibrahim get a place in it, but he also got very, very lucrative portfolios: food, civil supplies, small scale industries, labour.

It did not take Mr Ibrahim long to get embroiled in scandal: in cement and steel quotas; in licences for roller flour mills. The opposition demanded his resignation, but Gundu Rao was determined to protect his new-found friend. However, even Gundu Rao could not avoid, eventually, removing the portfolios from his loyal minister, and Ibrahim was left with only planning and wakfs.

In the meanwhile, Ibrahim's brothers were using Ibrahim's name to virtually terrorise their home district of Bhadravati. Theirs was a shady existence. One brother was even killed recently in what is believed to have been a virtual gang war. And then in May, a brother called Khader did something which eventually aroused the state because of a mother's courage. A washerwoman called Padmakka was ordered to send her teenage daughter for Khader's pleasure. Padmakka decided to challenge the arrogant might of this family rather than succumb, and filed a complaint with the police. Thanks to the honesty of the police officer, the FIR was filed. And then all the power of authority, stretching from threats to bribery, to abduction to transfer of police officers, was used to make Padmakka withdraw the FIR.

By the middle of June, these happenings became public knowledge (once again the 14 June syndrome seems to operate). Women took up the cause; students demonstrated; *bandhs* closed down towns (including, interestingly, Chikmagalur); police associations voiced their displeasure against the government. For instance, on 21 June the Shimoga district police (Bhadravati is in Shimoga) went on a sudden strike because of the transfer of Mr B. N. Nagraj, their SP, and because Mr N. K. Bhat, DIG (Corps of Detectives) had been suddenly asked to go on leave. The fault of the officers was that they had the courage to register a case of kidnapping, attempt to rape and wrongful confinement of Padmakka, against Khader (Ibrahim's brother). And they had also registered a case against the minister himself, for wrongfully confining the woman in his official residence in Bangalore.

Ibrahim's answer to all this was typical. A Minorities and Backward Classes Action Cell was formed, and it immediately held a function to felicitate Ibrahim for his "services" to the minorities and backward classes. And Ibrahim lashed out at the press and the "communalists" who were "challenging" his saying that, "Our mothers and sisters are not barren. If you finish one Ibrahim, lakhs of Ibrahims will be born." The orator still survived, even if the audience was dwindling. What was most interesting about this function was that Mr. F. M. Khan, who was also to be similarly honoured, kept away.

June 14 again. An issue of SUNDAY hit the stands in which was published Arun Shourie's interview with Mr Gundu Rao, in which Mr Rao had said the kind of things no Congress(I) chief minister should be telling any journalist, particularly not Arun Shourie. As if the woes of having Khan to the left of him and Ibrahim on the right were not enough, another dimension had been added: rudeness towards central leaders. But this was vintage Gundu Rao—a man who had begun to think that he was the greatest, the most loyal: indeed, indispensable in the midst of dispensable idiots.

The language that Mr Rao employs to describe those persons or institutions whom he considers his enemies is lurid, to say the least. Indeed, his attitude to many aspects of existence seems quite unique, whether it be newspapers or adolescents. (There is a story doing the rounds in Bangalore that in a speech at an annual function of a school, Gundu Rao's advice to the young boys was to concentrate, at this time in their lives, on having love affairs and enjoying themselves. I know a lot of people who would consider this excellent advice, but it did not go down too well with the parents.) But Rao and Khan have got away with dangerous pranks in the past—as when they asked Youth Congress boys to lay siege to the offices of the *Indian Express* to teach the newspaper a lesson. This attitude to power was bound to extract a heavy price.

Gundu Rao has his complexes; perhaps some of them result from the many obstacles he has had to face—being a man who started life without either money or a family tradition in politics. People who know him well insist that behind all this bluster there is a strong element of sincerity and a genuine desire to get things done for his state. But this is more than offset by a tongue which has poison on its tip, and a mind that is less than brilliant.

There are many interesting things about Mr Gundu Rao's past; and perhaps there will be more interesting things in his future. He has been a bank clerk who had to leave his job in suspicious circumstances; he has been a bus agent; he has been forced to earn a living in a variety of ways. But one of the lesser-known facts of his past is the one that he was once a journalist himself, and wrote in a district daily called *Shakti* (Rao has rewarded his old mentor, the proprietor and editor of *Shakti* Mr Gopal Krishna by making him editor of *Samjukt Karnataka*). He once even tried to expand his interest in journalism by becoming the local agent for publications. Ironically, the paper whose agency he wanted very much was the *Indian Express*.

In his more than a year of office (it was a first year marked by a continuous series of felicitations which really ended only with a felicitation marking the end of his first year as chief minister), Mr Gundu Rao has a number of achievements to his credit. But the people, it seems, will not remember the man who built roads or who cleared files: they will remember him as the man who defended C. M. Ibrahim and spat at whoever came in the way of his whims.

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S-7

The eager centre court crowd came looking for a stimulating confrontation. Vijay Amritraj, the great Indian stylist in his career-best form at Wimbledon faced Jimmy Connors, one of the players he respects most, the 1974 champion and a real belter of the ball. But, in a little more than an hour, Vijay had gobbled up the first two sets, and the match was his for the asking. It was a rather one-sided affair. Until, in the third set, when with the score at 30 all and 2-1 in his favour, Vijay first resisted a volley and the ball fell inches inside the baseline, and then simply did not try hard enough to intercept one that went past close to his left shoulder. Thereby, he muffed two possible winners, which would have given him the vital break, and probably the match. After that he ran out of steam and the American, grasping the opportunity like a tiger on the prowl, reeled off accurate, bullet-like returns to wrap up the contest in five sets.

What a disappointment it was for the centre court crowd. They had sympathised briefly with Connors when he was down and seemingly out but, for the greater part of the duel, had rooted for the persuasive Indian. They had got their money's worth, but they could not fully rejoice at the final outcome.

How did Vijay have all eyes on him in the quarter final tie? On the very opening day at the All-England Club, he avenged his defeat in the hands of Jan Kodes, who had beaten him in the quarter-finals in 1973 (the year he won the title), crushing him in straight sets. Kodes is now well past his prime, but those who witnessed Amritraj's display that afternoon, went back with the impression that the Indian was in devastating form, and Brian Teacher, the sixth seed and his next hurdle, was in for a very tough time. It turned out to be more than that as the American, despite putting his best foot forward, found Vijay to be superior, and lost in five sets. Tom Wilkison, another American, was overcome in four sets, and in the fourth round, Paul Kronk was crushed in ruthless fashion. This

last clash could have been with Clerc, but the Argentine caved in rather tamely to the Australian.

That was how the curtain effectively came down on Vijay Amritraj in Wimbledon '81. (The next day he and brother Anand also lost out in the doubles' quarter-finals.) But where did it begin? Vijay Amritraj first hit the headlines in 1970. Those were still the days when a defeat for Premjit Lall or Jaideep Mukherjea or even Ramanathan Krishnan in the hands of an Indian player was a rare occurrence. Despite approaching the end of the road, these three, and Lall in particular, seemed to have enough firepower to outgun the rest. Thus, on a murky, mid-monsoon afternoon—as I remember—when the handsome hard-serving Lall met the dark and ebony wisp of a lad from the south, Vijay Amritraj, then the national junior champion, on the gravel courts of Calcutta's South Club, the outcome, so the experts thought, was a foregone conclusion. No one begrudged the youngster's talent or promise, but few could believe that he was capable of an upset, and that too at Lall's home venue. But the unforeseen became a reality, and a new star had arrived on the Indian tennis scene.

Amritraj's early rise was quite meteoric. In a little more than two years after "scalping" Lall, he had grabbed the national crown, and in

another ten months had made his presence felt in the international circuit in no uncertain terms. In fact, in 1973 he won the Volvo Open in the USA, reached the quarter-finals at both Wimbledon and Forest Hills, lifted the Indian Open and, not to be ignored, twice defeated the redoubtable Rod Laver. Indeed, commenting on the then crop of rising players in world tennis, Arthur Ashe, made that renowned remark about the "ABC" of tennis: Amritraj, Borg and Connors. Such was the respect for the Indian—a reverence shared by many a pundit. But while Bjorn Borg and Jimmy Connors responded with vigour to the prediction, Amritraj fell away disappointingly. Not only that, he became prone to injuries. If it wasn't the elbow, it was the knee. If it

WORLD'S BRAVEST LOSER

"He is a dangerous player. You never know what he is going to do." That is Jimmy Connors on Vijay Amritraj who was once again close to performing a miracle at Wimbledon this year. At 27, when most tennis professionals begin to pack up, he was almost written off; this year he was not even seeded in Wimbledon. But by stretching Jimmy Connors, seeded third in the tournament, to a five-set thriller before bowing out Vijay has lived up to his own motto: never say die. ASHIS RAY who watched his performance presents a close-up.



wasn't the knee, it was back trouble. Indeed, his appearances at Wimbledon became synonymous with strappings around some part of his frame or the other. Moreover, year after year he would come to the Mecca, raising great expectations, always labelled of dark horse yet never fulfil the faith.

It was possible to appreciate his many qualities, his stylish approach for one, but the record remained lacklustre. When he lost to Borg in five sets in 1979, he had been in sight of victory in the fourth set, being up 2-1 and plus a service break. People called the match "a Wimbledon classic." They don't easily do that. But the truth remained that he didn't triumph. Indeed, when he went down to Jose Lois Clerc last year, after taking the first two sets and leading decisively in the third, the majority were prepared to write him off for the future.

They were convinced that he was too soft, and in an era in which champions are made in their early twenties, he was considered too old. To the trained eye, it was not the absence of a killer instinct, but the categorical lack of a defence. Amritraj was unquestionably one of the finest strokeplayers in the game, whose combination of power and touch, the finesse with which he executed his shots, was a real treat. But at the highest level of the game, it is not every day that one can get away with an unalloyed exhibition of attacking tennis. The ability to simply block a service return or when it comes to volleys or groundshots, to just put it back on court, is as essential as blazing an aggressive trail, an element outlined only too well by the incredible Borg.

Sports commentators began to sum him up with a degree of finality and compare and assess him with the other recent great of Indian tennis—Ramanathan Krishnan. Both were from Tamil Nadu and both studied at Loyola College. Both had always exuded excellent court manners and won the

hearts of spectators, if not always their own matches. They had another thing in common and this relates to mobility. Neither quite fell into the category of swift movers, neither is quite fleet-footed.

But that's where the identity ended. Vijay's boyhood idol was Pancho Gonzales, and, over the years, he had immense admiration for Rod Laver, Ken Rosewall, Illie Nastase and Jimmy Connors. Rama Rao was his first coach, and in fact, it was this person who actually put the racket into his hands. In the case of Krishnan, it was his father T. K. Ramanathan.

Also, "Krish" was a bit overweight, even bulky, round-faced and not very tall. His younger compatriot was slim and sharp-featured. Krishnan was very "Indian." Vijay was more westernised. For Krishnan, tennis was an obsession, although he did devote a fair amount of time to his business. Vijay's interests are more varied, and it included stomping the social scene at the most talked-about level in west-Hollywood and New York.

As for acumen, Krishnan possessed a weak serve, but a safe smash and volley. His strength was derived from his ground strokes, which he executed with seemingly no strain, with a backhand which was one of the best in the game. Vijay banked mainly on a cracking serve and crisp volley, with flat forehand of great velocity—an additional asset.

Vijay, though, for all his plus points, had not attained the heights of Krishnan: the maestro reached the semi-finals at Wimbledon twice, and boasted many a notable Davis Cup win. But his mesmeric appeal on court was no inferior. In an age of increasing tantrums, he was a gentleman. He applauded whenever an opponent produced a good shot, always apologised for "net cord," and sometimes even went up to the umpire to ask for a "let" if he felt his adversary had been wronged. Furthermore, his rendition

was all harmony and rhythm, full of grace and elegance. If he had a shortcoming, it lay in his apparently lethargic disposition. Many shots went past him, which, with more effort, he could easily reach. But he preferred not to stretch himself. Instead, he thrived in creating the ground for a ball to come straight at him, which he could then put away with composure. That demanded class, but then, he reeked with that generally elusive quality. And, so, with an abundance of potential, but a lack of commensurate wins, he arrived this year for his tenth campaign at Wimbledon. One of those whom you appreciated while the others finally won. And both at Queen's Club and Beckenham which preceded Wimbledon, Vijay lost in the first round, which did not seem to augur well, and most certainly made fewer tennis writers in Britain take notice of him.

But contrary to all this, Vijay himself never lost heart. He stuck to a statement he first made in 1974: "I can win Wimbledon." Everytime he repeated this remark, it sounded more ridiculous. But he quietly went about his business, working harder and harder, and lately with the aid of Roy Emmerseon, whom he chose as his coach as he wanted advice from a man "who had won Wimbledon, and who knew what it was all about." That paid dividends. He is out again at quarter-finals but Wimbledon surely has not seen the last of him. His demonstration this year, if anything, has opened up a whole new future. With those priceless years wasted, and at 28, he will possibly find it difficult to actually lift the crown. But, most probably, in the next year or two he is going to come very close to accomplishing his life's ambition. His ability to be a brave loser and willingness to persevere have given him this new lease of life in the reckoning of international tennis.

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'I can still win Wimbledon'

Vijay Amritraj tells Ashis Ray in London

At Wimbledon, it is mandatory for players reaching the quarter-finals to make themselves available for press interviews as and when desired. So, after the titanic Connors-Amritraj tussle, a request was duly sent to the latter to present himself in the conference room. The appointment, in fact, was billed 45 minutes after the match and a host of journalists had one question uppermost in mind: How could you lose a match after leading two sets to love? But it proved a futile wait as the tournament referee, after a while, informed that Amritraj had a doubles match, and would come around only after that had been completed. Fading light left the encounter of the Amritraj brothers with Frew Macmillan and Buster Mottram inconclusive. And by the time Vijay was ready to take on the media, it was past nine o'clock in the evening and the scribes had either gone home or were too busy filing their copies. To them, perhaps, the Indian's frustration was yesterday's

Q: How do you sum up the match against Connors?

A: My best chance was in the third set. I think I should have applied more pressure in this set, because from the fourth set onwards he got stronger and stronger.

Q: You looked very tired from pretty early in the fourth set. Would you ascribe this to the fact that you have had to play plenty of doubles and mixed doubles matches, whereas Connors had a full rest from such engagements.

A: Yes, that was a factor, but at Wimbledon, I like to play in all events. Maybe this is not the right thing for, if winning the singles is your ambition, then you should refrain from participating in the other competitions.

Q: Did you have any special strategy for the match?

A: Not really, except that I realised that I had to come in early and win at the net. That's the way I play best. I win most of the matches at the net.

Q: And, you think the centre court played upto standard because several players, McEnroe in particular, have been very critical of the "bounce" this year.

A: I think the court played pretty true. It was slower because of the rain, which did not help the serve and volley game, but otherwise it was quite all right.

Q: Anyhow, this has been a breakthrough Wimbledon for you. You've reached the quarters.

What now? Where do you stand after this performance?

A: Well, it's convinced me that I am up there with the "big" guys. I feel now that there is very little difference between me and the top three, and the fact that I reached the quarter-finals at Wimbledon this year will give me an added incentive to work harder. I'll try and make one or two changes in my technique, but basically, I shall be attempting to improve my physical capabilities.

Q: I suppose, looking back on Wimbledon '81, the triumph over Brian Teacher would rank as your most important victory. Were you confident of beating him before you played him?

A: I am confident of beating most guys, and I have got the better of Teacher a few times recently. But all matches between us had been very close. In this particular meeting, I came back very strongly in the fifth set, while he concentrated on just holding his serve in this set. That decided it, I think.

Q: In view of the fact that you have done a lot better this year than in previous years, barring 1973, have your planning and preparations this year been any different from past seasons?

A: No, I think it's been just the same as last year. I avoided the French open, arrived in England early, underwent four weeks of grass court practice. At this stage of my career, I don't think I would do anything drastically different. I like a minimum of three or four weeks practice on grass, instead of coming here just a week before Wimbledon.

Q: But you lost in the first round at both Queen's Club and Beckenham. Wasn't that a setback?

A: Not so. Doing well at Wimbledon is the main objective. What you do in other tournaments does not matter that much. But of course, I would have liked to do well at Queen's Club because that's an important tournament. Beckenham is not part of the Grand Prix circuit in any case.

Q: The next "crucial" assignment, I reckon, is the US Open. How do you fancy your chances there after the Wimbledon showing?

A: Again, it's all a question of putting it together. The US Open normally takes place in high temperatures, and therefore it's quite a physical test, although you get a break after the third set. The surface is medium fast, so it's more of a baseline game than at Wimbledon, although not as much as on the clay courts in the French Open. I am hitting my ground shots well, so I feel reasonably reassured.

Q: And what about Wimbledon next year?

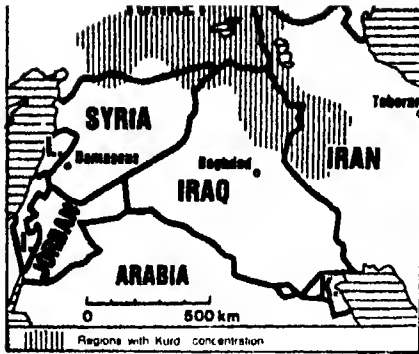
A: Well, it's still too early to talk about Wimbledon next year. A lot depends on how well I play early next year.

Q: Do you still believe you can win Wimbledon?

A: Yes. The day I stop believing, that I'll lose my motivation to play tournaments.

story. Not to me, though. And I accosted him outside the dressing room when he was about to take the car back to his hotel. After losing a match he might well have won, and then trailing in the doubles, where again the Indians had been on top, and more significantly, after playing eight gruelling sets in the space of six-and-a-half hours, he looked completely exhausted, but still managed a smile.





INVESTIGATION

The strange story of Indian hostages in Iraq

Three Indians working in Iraq are being held as hostages since 31 January this year by the Kurds in an unspecified area somewhere along the Iraq-Iran border. The Kurd freedom fighters who belong to the Socialist Party for United Kurdistan will only release them if India accepts certain conditions. Gerard Guitton, a French freelance photographer stumbled across the hostages this April. There are seven

of them: three Indians, three Lebanese and one Briton. MADHU JAIN met Guitton in Paris and obtained the photographs of the hostages. There was also a photograph of the place where they have been kept, but Guitton did not part with the photograph as it could identify the place. In the first week of June a prison near the hideout was bombed and it is not certain if the hostages are alive.

cave in the same area. The hostages were kept in the cold and damp cave until party officials of the PSUK decided what they wanted to do with them. It was a long wait: 18 days in a cave lit only by gas lamps. Later, they were transferred to the hideout near the Iraqi-Iranian border.

The transfer was not an easy one—an ordeal, in fact, as it was done clandestinely. The rugged mountains' narrow passes and gorges makes access almost impossible, especially in winter. Even in mid-February the temperature slips down to minus six degrees centigrade. It took over ten days by mule and horseback over flint corniches and snow-covered slopes (some passages were only 30 centimetres wide) to get to the base camp of Dr Mamoud Osman, leader of the PSUK.

A small man in his forties, with a colt hanging from his belt (only the chiefs wear their guns in this cowboy

It is like any other bungalow, with little to distinguish it from others. It is unguarded and there is little evidence of what it really is: the place where seven people, including three Indians, have been kept hostage since 31 January this year by the Socialist Party for United Kurdistan (PSUK). The region, somewhere along the Iraq-Iran border, is mountainous and protected by natural barriers—a rugged countryside and narrow passes accessible only to mountain goats and well-guarded by Peshmergas. It is the ideal hideout for the Kurds.

Inside the bungalow Harry Joplin, thirtish, short, with a salt and pepper moustache and dressed in a check shirt and pyjamas is trying to light a fire to cook his breakfast. He is one of the Indian hostages and used to work as a secretary for an Iraqi water adduction company in Baghdad, called Ketreneh. On the floor there are seven mattresses in a row on which sleep the six other hostages: two Indians, three Lebanese and one Briton, all of whom worked for the same company. The other two Indians are A. K. Narayan, a foreman and Shamsuddin F. Quereshi, an engineer.

On 31 January in Dukan, a small city in Iraqi Kurdistan, located 200 kms north-west of Baghdad, the seven men were on their way home after their day's work when they were arrested during a countryside check by guerillas. All of them were arrested by a few Kurd rebels and brought to a



The hostages: (Left to right) S.F. Quereshi, A. K. Narayan and Harry Joplin

style), Dr Osman was quite ill at ease. Not quite used to hostages, he tried to justify their presence. "The Palestinians succeeded in getting an international audience largely because they took hostages and hijacked planes," he told me in excellent French. Dr Osman intends to do the same—though not hijack planes, yet. To get an international audience, Dr Osman has placed three conditions for the release of the hostages: First, India and Great Britain should stop giving arms or help to the Iraqi government; second, the Peshmergas in death cells in Iraqi prisons should be released; and third, their families—women, children and old people—now under arrest, should be set free. "We are fighting for an autonomous Kurdistan in a democratic Iraq," Dr Osman added.

Meanwhile, the seven hostages, though well looked-after, are getting extremely homesick. A. K. Narayan, who in beige jeans and leather boots looks a little different from his fellow hostages in Kurd pyjamas and rubber slippers, does not know how to spend the day. Quereshi who has a young face with a tiny moustache is anxious about his family. He has only one child and longs to be with his family again. "It is true that we are treated well and have not been subjected to any interrogations or any cruelty, but we have no news from home. We don't know the conditions for our liberation and we pass the time aimlessly, in complete ignorance of what is to happen to us."

Boredom has made the hostages edgy and tense. Their days are spent in waiting with nothing to do. There are no books either that they could read. They lead the simple lives of the the Kurds: wash in the nearby mountain stream, eat the simple food shared by everyone else—rice, bread and small bits of meat. There are no green vegetables or fruits. Their only physical activity consists of cutting wood or walking freely in the mountainous region. The terrain is so rough and difficult that it is impossible for them to escape. None of them has even made an attempt so far.

Dr Osman has still not succeeded in getting an international audience and the kurd guerillas remain isolated. The leftists of the west who are usually quick to the draw when it comes to defending the rights of the oppressed, have done nothing to draw international attention to the condition of the Kurds—who have been oppressed for years.

When I had visited the same place two years ago, I had seen a freshly bombed village. Six people had died in the bombing. Carcasses of cattle lay strewn all over. Only the men in the fields escaped the bombs. Since then the situation has not changed very much. As Dr Osman said: "The Iraqi government wants to create an economically dependent state of Kurdistan so that it can destroy the spirit of resistance and all attempts at solidarity of the Kurds. The army has transformed into a desert the 20 km stretch

A hostage writes

This is a letter written by the British hostage, Mike White, to a friend in Paris, sent through a French reporter:

Kurdistan Somewhere
April 1st 1980

Dear Danny,
As you might have heard in the news I got myself in a bit of a jam this time. Since 31st January, I have been abducted by the Kurdish freedom fighters. I had a reporter from *Le Matin* come today but as you know my French is almost non-existent, in fact from today's interview I would say extinct, as he really only speaks French. Anyway, he kindly said he would deliver this note for you. Can't remember if I answered your last letter or not and I hope I have the address right as it's the only one I can remember. Really, it has been quite an adventure, especially the first month, as

18 days were spent in a cave up in the snows which was not too pleasant. We also travelled long by mule and foot. I was thrown off three times, luckily without injury, only my dignity... Also, sometimes the snow was waist-deep at times. Now we are at their headquarters. So just sleeping, eating and passing time at everything we can devise. The food is very basic, mainly rice, beans and potatoes which is not my idea of food but not doing me any harm. Not a drop of my favourite liquid has passed my lips, only water and tea. I get on very well with the Kurdish and they assure us of our safety but what they want to trade us for you will have to see in the papers. Well, hope you are keeping okay. I promise I will come and pay you a visit when this is all finished, soon. I hope. Bye for now.
Love,
Mike

along the borders of Syria, Turkey and Iran where military operations are on the increase, as are the fortifications. The evacuation operations have resulted in the deportation of 150,000 Kurds to southern Iraq, leaving behind a prosperous and fertile area spread over 25,000 sq kms—twice the size of Lebanon. Thus 1,150 villages have

been wiped off the map. And to prevent the return of the Kurds, the army is trying to destroy all traces of human life. The houses are burnt, the cattle killed and plants destroyed by acid. Even fountains and other sources of water have been cemented over. All this repression has led more and more Kurds to join the guerillas."



Dr Mamoud Osman, the Kurd leader

The first language riots occurred in Assam in 1960 with inevitable repercussions in West Bengal. Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy, the physician-turned-politician who would have been hundred on 1 July next year, was then the chief minister of West Bengal. SAROJ CHAKRA-BARTY, his personal aide for 14 years, gives an insider's account of how Dr Roy dealt with the problem



How Dr. B.C. Roy solved the 1960 Assam crisis

On the evening of 17 June 1960, Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy left Calcutta for a three-week vacation to Ranikhet, UP, his favourite hill station. It was not really a pleasure trip. At Ranikhet, in comparative peace, he wanted to pen his thoughts on West Bengal's third five-year plan, which was to be finalised soon. It was a hectic period, with Dr Roy dictating notes running into several hundred pages. But, there was a sudden interruption. The date: 5 July. The cause: a cable from his senior cabinet colleague Prafulla Chandra Sen. It was about a massive exodus of Bengalees from Assam following communal disturbances there and it urged Dr Roy to return to Calcutta to tackle the problem. Dr Roy tried to get in touch with Mr Sen over telephone the same day but failed. Only on the following day could he reach Mr Sen, and he told him that he would return to Calcutta soon.

Another headache for Dr Roy was the threat by central government employees to go on strike from the midnight of 11-12 July. We had to reach Calcutta before they went on the strike that was bound to affect air, railway and other transport services. Defying an inclement weather, Dr Roy just made it in time to Calcutta. Immediately on his arrival he met his cabinet colleagues as well as a number of MLAs and MPs to take stock of the situation. And in the evening of 11 July he wrote a letter to Prime Minister Nehru recording his first reaction on the disturbances in Assam:

A well-thought-out programme of attacking the Bengalees alone in Assam was started perhaps at the time of the sittings of the State Reorganisation Commission. The feeling, which had been simmering, has come out again. The actual incident started when a boy belonging to Sibsagar district and staying in a hostel in Gauhati was killed by police firing. The SP is a Punjabi, and not a Bengalee. Unfortunately, the Assam Government allowed the body to be carried in a truck from Gauhati to Sibs-

gar, a distance of 230 miles. On the way the body was utilised for inflaming the passions of the people and no steps were taken to stop this.

"But unfortunately, the Assamese utilised this incident of the boy killed as if it was due to Bengalee hatred of Assamese and passions were thus inflamed and things started moving. No steps were taken by the Assam Government to nip the thing in the bud. Unfortunately, many of these Bengalees were settlers from East Pakistan to whom help had been given by the Government of India and they have become unsettled again. (One million Bengalees lived in Assam then.) About four or five thousand of them have come to Alipurduar (a sub-divisional town of West Bengal) bordering Assam and some to Siliguri and Jalpaiguri.

Prime Minister Nehru sent an immediate reply giving his version of the background of the cause which led to the tragedy. Nehru's version of the anti-Bengalee riot was dominance of Bengalees in government service, railways and industry. During this hectic period, the Assam chief minister, Bimala Prasad Chaliha, was under Dr Roy's treatment in the SSKM hospital, Calcutta following an attack of low fever which doctors in Gauhati could do little about. The burden of the administration fell on Fakruddin Ali Ahmed, finance minister, who was the seniormost in the cabinet after Chaliha. I remember, one morning, Fakruddin Ahmed entered our room in the secretariat seeking an impromptu interview with Dr Roy. When he was escorted to the chief minister's chamber, after a preliminary exchange of greetings, he was upbraided by Dr Roy for his utter failure to deal with the situation.

Violence in Assam continued in full fury. On 27 July, Dr Roy left for Delhi not only to participate in a meeting of the Congress working committee but also to avail himself of the opportunity to evolve a strategy in consultation with his friend, Prime Minister Nehru, home minister, G. B. Pant, and Assam leaders, particularly Fakruddin Ali



First step: Parliamentary delegation on way to Assam for an on-the-spot enquiry into the riots

Ahmed. In between the sessions of the working committee, I saw Nehru and Roy travelling in the same car to the Prime Minister's house. There they would exchange views over lunch and dinner. The situation in Assam monopolised the discussions of the committee. The Assam Congress leaders assured their cooperation despite the fact that there was a feeling among the articulate section of the people of Bengal that Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Moinul Haq Chowdhury, the Bengalee agriculture minister of Assam, had secretly encouraged infiltration of Muslims from East Bengal.

The first major step taken by the national leaders was to send a nine-member parliamentary delegation to make an on-the-spot enquiry into the riots, assess the extent of damage suffered by the minority community, meet a cross section of important people and submit a report. Accordingly, the delegation members airdashed to Assam on 27 July, toured the worst-affected districts, met various people and submitted their report on 30 July. The Congress president, U. N. Dhebar, and Prime Minister Nehru subsequently made extensive tours and addressed rallies which helped control the situation.

B.P. Chaliha calls on Dr Roy



West Bengal observed 15 August 1960 as a day of mourning in protest against atrocities committed on Bengalees in Assam, responding to a resolution passed by the WBPCCC, at the initiative of its president Mr Atulya Ghosh, and the chief minister. Instead of the national flag black flags flew at half mast over rooftops and silent processions were taken out in the afternoon to express sympathy with riot victims.

EFFORTS SUCCEED

After eight months of hectic efforts a normalcy was restored and in February 1961, an atmosphere was created for the Bengalees who had taken shelter in West Bengal, to return to Assam. The chief minister had sent his emissary, the WBPCCC chief Atulya Ghosh, to meet Assam leaders and find out whether the refugees could be sent back safely to their homes or to camps in the troubled areas until new homes could be built for them. On his return from Assam, Mr Ghosh reported to Dr Roy that the refugees could begin their return trek. Reports also reached Writers' Building that the refugees too were, by and large, willing to return to

Searching for a solution: Nehru with Dr Roy



Bengal's anger: WBPCCC chief Atulya Ghosh addressing a protest rally

their homes. It was after Atulya Ghosh's report and his interview with leaders of Bengalee evacuees that Dr Roy made up his mind and wrote to Nehru on 28 February 1961.

Quite a good number of persons who have come away from Assam and are staying in our camps in North Bengal came to see me today. Along with them came some of the leaders of the political parties. The attitude of the political leaders appeared to be very reasonable, as they insisted upon these men going back provided, as arranged between Asoke Sen and the chief minister of Assam, when they go back, (they) receive help according to their financial condition in order to start on their own again. I understand from Asoke Sen that this was what had been agreed to.

As you know, a joint statistics was taken of these men in the camps and the results have been sent to Assam government towards the end of January. They have verified about 800 families, i.e. about 4,000 persons regarding their eligibility for getting relief. They have not yet done the rest. I do not know when they are going to scrutinise the whole list. Meanwhile, I asked the Assam people whether they could give us an undertaking that if



English to Bengali: Dr Roy at the AICC session in Durgapur.



Mourning the deaths: demonstrations against Congress at Durgapur.

they get financial aid after their return to Assam they would return immediately. This they agreed to.

I would now request you to make an announcement that the Assam government would pay to the Bengalees who return to Assam a sum not exceeding a certain figure so that they might start life again and feel encouraged to go back. Up till now the West Bengal government has spent nearly Rs 47 lakhs on the Assam refugees. I had written to you previously about getting help from the government of India, but so far I have heard nothing from you.

On 1 March Nehru wrote back: Your letter of the 28th February has just reached me. This is about the persons who came from Assam to your camps in West Bengal. As it happened, Asoke Sen came to see me just now when I had a talk with him.

I am anxious that these people should go back to Assam as soon as possible and I am writing to Chaliha on the subject.

There can be no doubt that these persons, or most of them, will have to be assisted in finding their feet again. It is difficult however, to say at present as to what extent they can be helped. I am referring this matter to our Finance Minister because, anyhow we shall have to help them to some extent.

Asoke Sen has just asked me to appoint Mehr Chand Khanna to help

in this task in Assam. I told him that I was quite prepared to do so and I shall ask Mehr Chand accordingly.

The chief minister also maintained contact with Bengalee students from Assam, mostly belonging to the medical and engineering faculties who had been lodged in two hotels in Harrison Road (Mahatma Gandhi Road), central Calcutta. One day he sent for them and asked them to pack up and return to their colleges in Assam. One of them expressed his unwillingness to go back as he feared their presence might lead to physical assaults from his Assamese classmates. To this Dr Roy said, "Look I have ensured complete safety for you all. A young woman leader of the Congress, Abha Maiti, and Moinul Huq Chowdhury who is here to escort you, will accompany you and stay with you as long as you do not feel secure."

The students were satisfied and agreed to go back. Dr Roy arranged a Dakota plane for their journey back to Jorhat. He asked me to commandeer two police vans before dawn on the following day to his house, pick up the boys from their hotels and take them to Dum Dum airport. At 4.30 am the two vans parked before chief minister's house. I boarded one of them, went to the hotels and found the young men ready for the journey. They were in high spirits. When we reached Dum Dum it was drizzling. Moinul Huq and Abha Maiti had already come. The

chief minister was the last person to reach the airport.

It was about 7.30 am. The students stood in a queue and followed the chief minister who circled the plane chanting Vande Mataram. One by one all of them boarded the plane. In that bad weather the plane disappeared in the sky. We spent an anxious day awaiting news of their safe arrival and reception at Jorhat. In the afternoon Abha Maiti and Moinul Huq both rang up the chief minister to say that everything was all right and the return of the Bengalee students had caused no untoward incident.

Just as things appeared to be settling down violence erupted again in Assam. The Bengalees in the district of Cachar where they were in a majority had been resisting imposition of Assamese as the exclusive medium of education in the state. A flash point was reached in May when police opened fire on a procession and killed 11 persons. It was in this tense background that the WBPC held a session of the All India Congress Committee at Durgapur. One reason why West Bengal offered to host the session was to convey her deep distress to the central leaders over the happenings in Assam. Not surprisingly therefore, Dr Roy preferred to address the delegates in Bengali. He had in all previous Congress sessions spoken in English. By going for Bengali he wanted to emphasise the place of mother tongue in

Destitutes again: emigrants from Assam seeking shelter in West Bengal



The solution: Lal Bahadur Shastri discussing his formula with Dr Roy in Calcutta.



national integration. He said: "If national integration has any meaning, it means the right of development of an individual, and this can be effectively achieved only through the mother tongue. It is the function of the Congress to help in the development of a national outlook among the people." Both the Prime Minister and chief minister had to face angry demonstrations following the loss of 11 lives. Nehru suggested postponement of a decision on the language issue for a year and allowed status quo to remain during that period. Congress president U. N. Dhebar moved the most important resolution on national integration. A sub-committee chaired by Mrs Indira Gandhi had prepared the report. In doing so, Dhebar remarked, "If we are to survive as a nation we must get rid of the sectarian approach based on caste, religion, language and adjust ourselves with the fast changing society." The Congress high command thereafter selected one of the most astute politicians of the party, Lal Bahadur Shastri, to undertake a tour of Assam in the first week of June to hammer out a solution of the language problem. Shastri exchanged views with the two hostile groups, Assamese and Bengalees, during his tour of Assam and succeeded in arriving at a consensus on this tangled question.

THE SHASTRI SOLUTION

On his way back to Delhi Shastri held a closed-door meeting at Dum Dum airport with Dr Roy on 6 June and reported to him the formula. Dr Roy's reaction was favourable. He remarked to pressmen, "I think to some extent Shastri has eased out certain problems. You cannot expect everything to conform to your belief. There should be a compromise between what you want and what you have." The main features of the Shastri formula:

Do away with the provisions relating to mahakuma parishads from the Assam Language Act. Mahakuma parishads, subdivisional bodies and municipalities were given the authority to alter the official language in their areas if so desired by a two-thirds majority of the members voting in favour of such an amendment.

Communication between the state headquarters and Cachar and the autonomous hill districts to continue in English until replaced by Hindi.

At the state level English will continue to be used for the present, later English will continue to be used along with Assamese.

Linguistic minorities in the state will be accorded safe guard as provided in the government of India's memorandum of 19 September 1956.

Thereafter the chief minister held a series of talks with linguists and opposition leaders, including Jyoti Basu, and made a public statement that the Shastri formula should be the basis for a compromise on the language question and should be accepted by all. He advanced a new three-point formula for the solution of the problem which was affecting the whole country.

- The need for every state to be declared as a polyglot or multilingual state. The conditions under which more than one language should be accepted in a state depending upon the situation prevailing in a state.

- Recommendations contained in the memorandum of the government of India of September, 1956 require to be formulated in clear terms and an authority should be constituted to see that the provisions for protection of minorities are implemented by the different states.

- That in order to give protection to the minority in a particular state so far as their language is concerned under Article 347, the language of the Article should be changed in order to enable the President to act in the manner the Constitution-makers intended him to do.

Dr Roy discussed the formula threadbare with Jyoti Basu, the leader of the opposition. Basu thought it was reasonable and promised to back it up. Extremists among the Assamese, however, expressed their dissatisfaction with the formula by burning many houses in Hailakandi belonging to Bengalees and inflicting injury to many which led to a police firing that took a toll of seven Assamese lives.



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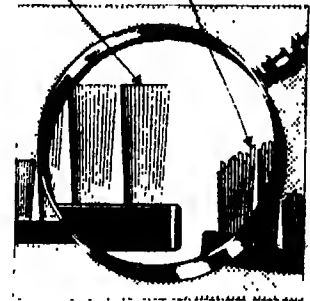


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How are the exiled Pak prisoners now?

Pakistan International Airlines' flight No 326, a Boeing 720 with 148 passengers on board, left Karachi for Peshawar on schedule on the evening of Monday 2 March. Soon after the plane had gained a steady height, three young men, brandishing guns, walked briskly into the cockpit. They wanted the plane to be diverted to Kabul. When they clambered down the exit ramp at Damascus airport on 15 March, holding their pistols high, the V for victory sign which they flashed said it all. They had pulled off one of the most successful acts of terrorism in recent memory. They had held more than 100 people hostages for 13 days, killed one passenger in the escalating tension, and finally forced the dictatorial regime of Pakistan's General Zia to release 54 political prisoners held in Pakistan jails. The pro-Bhutto hijackers, later identified as Salamullah Tippu, 22, a former science student at Karachi's Jinnah College, Nasir Jamal Khan, 25, and Arshad Hossein, 23, originally wanted 92 prisoners to be released, but finally agreed to settle for 55 (of whom one could not be traced), after protracted negotiations in Kabul and Damascus. General Zia yielded, but not before he had thrown some mud at hijackers. Islamabad claimed that two of them, Salamullah and Nasir Jamal, had police records and were wanted for killing fellow undergraduates. Islamabad had a long chargesheet against the 54 to-be-freed prisoners: 19 were accused of murder or attempted murder, six were charged with smuggling Soviet arms to Pakistan, two had been convicted as Soviet spies, eight were charged with distributing seditious literature and the rest had been held on various charges of sabotage and subversion. (A significant number were incidentally accused of Soviet-inspired treachery.) However, flying out of Pakistan did not end the ordeal of the freed prisoners. Even as the plane carrying them was approaching Tripoli, Libya suddenly went back on its promise to offer them and the hijackers asylum. The plane had nowhere to go till Syria finally announced it would take in the prisoners. But their miseries remain. "We are like flotsam, neither here nor there," said Wahab Siddiqui, one of the freed prisoners, who was the Editor of *Al Fateh*, an Urdu weekly of Karachi to an Indian visitor at the Damascus airport hotel early last month. Siddiqui with two others recorded their experiences on that journey to "freedom" in the middle of March, explained why they opposed General Zia, and narrated their present frustrations. Their account obtained by SUNDAY:

The place: Karachi international airport. The day: Saturday, 14 March 1981. The time: early hours of the morning. The sky is overcast. It has rained through the night and now, in the pre-dawn darkness the harsh lights of the airport barely succeed in making dents in the sheet of darkness all around. When the clock strikes half past six, security guards open the gates meant for the PIA engineering department and let in a convoy onto the tarmac.

At the head of the convoy is a jeep carrying army officers and a bunch of armed guards. Close behind it is a jeep with police officers in it. The third vehicle is an army truck packed with soldiers with their guns poised. Trailing right behind are a closed van, a police jeep, an army truck, another closed van and another police jeep. Two more trucks bring up the rear.

The convoy drives up to a parked PIA Boeing which is being fuelled. The aircraft is surrounded by policemen, commandos and personnel from the various security and intelligence agencies, fully equipped with automatic weapons and walkie talkies. Close to the plane is a bus. In it are a dozen men. Some carry notebooks, others cameras. Newsmen, of course. Outside are two TV teams—one from the BBC and the other from Pakistan television. It is the kind of scenario that is associated with the arrival or depar-



COURTESY FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW



(left) A hijacker waving gun from the cockpit of the PIA Boeing (right) Salamullah Tipuu, the leader of the hijackers.

ture of a visiting dignitary. But, no, the convoy does not bring in any VIP. In the black Marias are prisoners collected hastily from an assortment of Pakistani jails and brought to Karachi to be flown out of the country within the deadline set by the three hijackers who are holding over a hundred PIA passengers and crew hostages in Damascus. The prisoners are shabbily dressed, their faces pale and unshaven, their hands tied behind their backs. The armed personnel jump out of the jeeps and trucks and surround the closed vans, inside which the prisoners wait restlessly. The minutes drag on.

7.30 am: The sun is playing hide and seek with the clouds. Presently, two jeeps race in and draw up before the plane. The first of the jeeps has three prisoners—two men and a woman. The men have their hands tied behind their backs while the woman has hers tied in front. The posse of armed guards accompanying them includes a woman constable. The other jeep, likewise, has armed guards but with just one prisoner. The security personnel are now joined by PIA officials.

8 am: The action begins. Doors of the first prison van are thrown open just as a voice commands: "The prisoners are to be brought out one by one and until one is pushed into the aircraft, the next one isn't to be let out."

The first of the prisoners gets out of his van, taking his first tentative steps on the rain-soaked tarmac. Two securitymen grab him roughly and swiftly frisk him for concealed weapons. A third checks the knot of the rope tying his hands, tightens it further, while a fourth searches his pockets. He is then ordered to board the aircraft. He stubbornly refuses to oblige. A policeman tries to push him and the prisoner throws up his head and shouts: "General Zia *murdabad!* Down with the army dogs! Death to martial law! Bring back democracy!" Two commandos swiftly grab him, one of them clamps a rough hand on his mouth, and he is pushed into the aircraft where he is subjected to a second security check.

Fiftythree more prisoners are similarly brought into the aircraft. Curtains divide the plane into two sections. Col Tariq Mustafa of the SSG, the elite Pakistani commando organisation, sits in the front section along with ten of his men, a doctor, PIA officials and the airhostesses. During the Bangladesh liberation struggle, freedom fighters in that country had given Mustafa the nickname of "TM the Butcher" because of his role in the genocide of Bengali masses. Col Mustafa belongs to the notorious army torture house at Attock fort and, now, is in overall charge of this flight. In the rear, five commandos led by Captain Afreedi of the SSG stand guard over the prisoners. Also in the aircraft are Mohammad Ali Hoti, education minister in Zia's cabinet, Gen Rahim, defence secretary and the chairman of the PIA.

The captain of the aircraft refuses to take off unless the prisoners are all handcuffed. It is a PIA Pilots' Association decision because the crew apprehends a hijack attempt. Col Mustafa orders that the prisoners be handcuffed. They put up a stiff resistance to this added humiliation, but to no avail.

11.30 am: The flight eventually takes off; a flight without parallel in the history of the PIA, perhaps also in the history of aviation. Fiftyfour handcuffed prisoners from different Pakistani jails, army lockups and the forts of Lahore and Attock are being flown out of the country against their will (expressed in writing) without any passport or any other identifying document.

The plane flies non-stop for four

hours before it reaches its destination: Aleppo in Syria. Just before the plane touches down, Col Mustafa's and his deputy, Captain Afreedi's behaviour changes: they are sweetness personified. They tell the prisoners apologetically: "We were compelled to behave the way we did because we had orders from the higherups. We don't have anything personal against you."

Refusing to be taken in, the prisoners spit back: "You are a henchman of Gen Zia and a partner in his crimes. You know very well that he wants the fragmentation of Pakistan and that he is an enemy of Islam and a murderer of Palestinians (in 1970, Gen Zia trained the army of King Hussain of Jordan which conducted the "Black September" operation against Palestinians; several thousand Palestinians were killed). Time will pay you back in your own coin."

A half-hour passes before Syrian officials enter the aircraft. At their insistence, handcuffs are removed from the prisoners. A Syrian official reads out the names of the prisoners and one by one they are let out of the plane. A medical checkup follows. They are then taken by bus to a Syrian aircraft which takes off in no time. Destination: Tripoli, Libya.

This special flight has just the prisoners and none else. But, on reaching Tripoli, the plane circles over the airport trying in vain to secure permission to land. The Libyan authorities had earlier agreed to take the prisoners but, now, the control tower is adamant in its refusal. Realising that Libya will not yield, the commander of the aircraft flies out to Athens, Greece. After refuelling, the plane returns to Syria, landing at Damascus at 11 am local time.

Syrian security staff assume charge of the prisoners, taking them to the airport hotel which has been cleared of all other guests. Now the hotel lodges only the prisoners and Syrian security personnel. The security arrangement is elaborate and the prisoners are forbidden to step out of the hotel.

Thus were 54 Pakistani prisoners forcibly thrown out of their country. Addressing a press conference at Peshawar airport, the general railed against the prisoners, branding them criminals, dacoits, murderers and enemies of the nation. But, the fact is that despite relentless efforts for over



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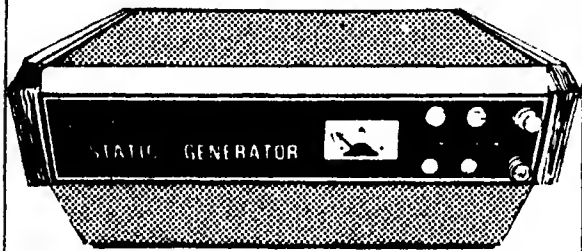


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three and a half years, Gen Zia's military courts have failed to prove the allegations against them. And yet, Pakistani papers quoted Zia as declaring: "I will bring them back and send them to the gallows (*qaza*)."

Moreover, ever since the PIA Boeing 720 was hijacked on 2 March, Zia has been cleverly utilising the hijacking to further his own political ends. He laid the entire blame for the hijacking on the People's Party of Pakistan (PPP), the largest political party in the country. Using that as an excuse, he had the party chairman, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, and her daughter, Benazir, thrown into gaol. Members and leaders of other leftist parties have been similarly persecuted. According to a rough estimate, Pakistan has over 10,000 political prisoners. Many of them come in for very rough treatment in what have been described as "torture houses" at the Lahore and Attock forts, the naval headquarters, Maler cantonment and the military camps in Lahore, Hyderabad and Peshawar.

Even though he had no connection with any political party, Wahab Siddiqui, the editor-publisher of the Karachi weekly *Al Fatah* was arrested on 1 January 1981 and kept under police custody for nearly three months. During this period, military and police personnel tortured him severely. He was given electric shocks, beaten up, his nails were pulled out and fingers pressed with pliers. So much so that he had to be hospitalised. Bhutto's lawyer and ex-attorney general, Yahya Bakhtiar, a heart patient, was also tortured severely.

The hijacking was a cue for Zia to create an atmosphere of fear and panic. The leaders and members of all the eight political parties were arrested *en masse*. Zia even got several laws amended or abrogated to suit his military rule. For instance, an appeal to the Supreme Court against the judgment of a military court has been disallowed. Judges of superior courts have been asked to take the oath for a second time. Some of the judges have resigned in protest.

That Gen Zia has used the hijacking in his battle against the PPP is evident from the fact that his controlled media have branded all the 54 prisoners as supporters of Al Zulfikar, which is credited with the hijacking. The fact, however, is that most of the 54 are either unconnected with any political party or are supporters of parties other than the PPP. Shah Muhammad Shah, for instance, is the vice-president of the Pakistan National Party. He had been released from jail in February 1981 but, after the hijacking, he was suddenly picked up, lodged in a police lockup for 24 hours and forcibly despatched to Damascus.

Said Wahab Siddiqui: "The fact is that none of us (the 54) has any connection with Al Zulfikar, nor do we know the hijackers. If that were the case we wouldn't have informed the Zia government in writing that we had no desire to leave our country but would rather languish in Pakistani jails. Moreover, terrorism is pointedly absent from the list of allegations prepared against us by the Zia government. We are Pakistanis who love our nation and love democracy. We believe that only through democracy can Pakistan progress while remaining united. Pakistan is a federation of four states. If this federal structure is undermined, Pakistan will break up into its constituent states. (The earlier military regime brought about the separation of East Pakistan.) The situation is worsened by the fact that the armed forces and bureaucracy of Pakistan are heavily dominated by Punjabis.

"We also feel that the generals and bureaucrats did not bring Pakistan into being. It was the people led by the political leaders who did so. Which is why we want an elected democratic government in Pakistan. And, therefore, we are being persecuted by the military rulers."

Meanwhile, the exiled prisoners who had no desire to be freed appear to be paying a heavy price for that 'freedom.' More than three months have passed and they are stuck in Damascus, without hope, without any idea about their future living in an alien land. Most of them want to return home but President Zia-ul-Haq will not take them. And why should he? The hijackers had played into his hands and the prisoners exchanged for the hostages gave him the excuse he was looking for to beat his opponents. Said Siddiqui: "The thought that we are his cat's paw is even more depressing."

China should respect India's self-interests

India-China relations have definitely taken a turn for the better and Mr Huang Hua's just completed Delhi visit, which was put off once, is being seen by many as a breakthrough. But it would be wrong to think that the two countries can go back to the *bhai bhai* days again soon. Much water has flown down the Ganga since then. And there are major obstacles on the way, both old and new. For one thing, the big powers waiting in the wings do not like to see two major Asian countries burying their differences and coming together.

But the biggest obstacle in the way of India-China friendship is the border dispute. This is a British legacy for India and an imperial legacy for China. India inherited a border from the British which it feels obliged to defend and China is haunted by memories of a glorious and massive empire. The border has also spawned fresh disputes since the birth of Independent India and New China, leading to the calamitous war of 1962. This is still so fresh in Indian minds that it makes the border issue a major factor for India.

So far as the eastern sector of the border is concerned, it does not pose much of a problem. Both China and India can accept the McMahon line. The central sector is also not so problematic. But it is the Aksai Chin area which poses the real problem. Neither can India accept China's claim in toto, nor can China surrender all that it is holding on to now. Strategically, they are keen to retain much of the area. The Chinese are aware that a border settlement with India will not come quickly or easily. So they are suggesting the normalisation of relations in other fields first, by skirting the border issue. But the Indian leadership cannot accept this for a simple reason—the Indian people are not for it. Moreover, there are far too many in India who have a vested interest in keeping the border dispute alive. While India should not adopt a very rigid stand in this regard, it must be realised that long-term friendship between India and China will be impossible unless the border dispute is solved.

Of the big powers, earlier it was the Americans who were mainly interested in keeping the India-China border dispute alive. They even went to the extent of distribut-



By BARUN SENGUPTA

ing aerial maps of the Aksai Chin area, to Indian MPs and journalists, showing heavy Chinese road construction-work in the area. Some knowledgeable people have also hinted that the USA had a hand in the border war of '62. And we should not take it for granted that since the Americans and the Chinese are *bhai bhai* now, the Americans will also welcome normalisation of relations between India and China. India and China operating in close concert in international affairs would reduce American manoeuvrability. The only difference now is that the Americans cannot oppose India-China friendship as openly as they did in the height of the cold war.

But the Russian position now is of almost open opposition to the normalisation of India-China ties. Pro-Russian elements in India never miss an opportunity to hit out at China and discover Chinese hands in whatever goes wrong in India. Both China and Russia consider each other their enemy number one and both have vital and conflicting interests in south and south-east Asia. There is also the question of Afghanistan. Russia would dearly like India to stir up trouble with Pakistan so that it cannot pay attention to its western border and the Russian presence there and, conversely, China would not like Pakistan to be disturbed in any way so that it can play the North Vietnam

The border dispute is a British legacy for India and an imperial legacy for China. India inherited a border from the British which she feels obliged to defend and China is haunted by memories of a glorious and massive empire.

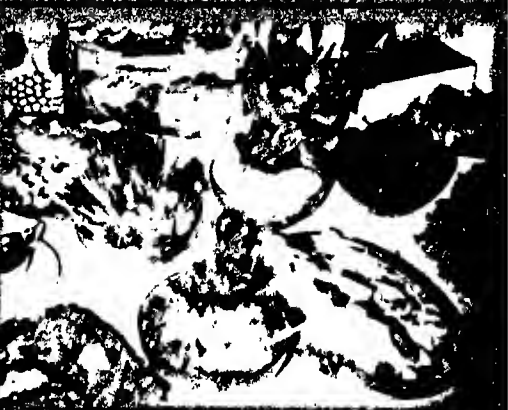
in Afghanistan and trouble the Russians. So here we have a total proximity of American and Chinese interests: both do not want Pakistan disturbed. But for this Indian help is needed.

China also has to contend with another contingency: a takeover in Pakistan by a pro-Russian group in its army. This is something that India will not also relish overmuch. A pro-Russian regime in Pakistan will make the Russians all too powerful and bring them right up to India's doorsteps. Such a scenario looks all the more forbidding with present developments in Iran.

The Chinese leadership used to consider Mrs Gandhi to be a pawn in the hands of the Russians until the early Seventies. But then they saw her reject Mr Brezhnev's Asian security plan and send out feelers to them before her fall in 1977. During the Janata raj the Chinese expected Indo-Russian relations to decline. But that did not happen. This was followed by the Afghan developments. All of which made the Chinese realise that a lot was to be gained from normalising relations with India. But the communist leadership of China never does anything in a hurry in foreign policy matters. Their new emphasis on India will take shape only very slowly. They also realise that India cannot take a U turn vis-a-vis Russia overnight.

In this business the Chinese leadership is in a more advantageous position than their Indian counterparts. There is no pressure of public opinion of the sort faced by Indian leaders. Nor can the American and Soviet lobbies be as active in China as they can be in India. The Chinese can also depend on two other factors. First, Mrs Gandhi. She is a pragmatist in foreign policy matters and is not "pro" any particular big power. India's national interest comes to her first. So anyone basing his approach to India on what is in India's best interest will find a good response from her even if that does not fit in to super power plans for the region. Second, there has been a big change in Indian public opinion. No political party in India can any longer whip up an anti-Chinese campaign unless the Chinese bring it upon themselves by some act of insincerity. So the future of India-China relations is bright if the Chinese respect India's self-interests and appear to be sincere.





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Iyengar's A

Louise Fernandes describes how a Bangalore family



Srinath with the smaller of the two pythons in the collection

Gerald Durrell would have loved to meet the M.K. Srinivas Iyengar family of Bangalore. The Iyengars share the enthusiasm and loving care for God's "lesser" creatures that are shown by the author of *My Family and Other Animals*.

The sign outside their duplex house in Bangalore's developing suburb, Banashankari 11 Stage, reads: "Mini Zoo." Srinath Iyengar, the second of the family's three sons, hastens to clarify that the family does not run a zoo in the accepted sense of the term—more a rehabilitation-cum-education centre for animals. Sick and wounded animals are brought here for treatment before being rehabilitated in their natural surroundings and groups of children and wildlife enthusiasts are given a crash course in understanding animals.

The narrow side-entrance, garage and backyard of the Iyengar house accommodates a colourful and varied assortment of animals. Some, like the epileptic gazelle and the wounded night heron are there to be nursed back to health. Some others, like the monitor lizard which, without its fore-limb fingers, is a permanent cripple, are there to stay. Yet others, like the new-born vipers and water snakes will, when they are mature and can fend for themselves, be set free or be housed in the Banner Ghatta snake-farm which Srinath has helped set up.

The family has its successes and failures and shares human apprehensions when its "youngsters" are ready to leave the fold. In their turn, some of the animals refuse to be parted from them—like the Brahminy kite which came in as a wounded fledgling and now is content to perch on its cage and the young jackal which now sits in the backyard and catches stray bandicoots which come in at night.

The bandicoots and other rodents help towards feeding the family's formidable collection of reptiles housed in a staggering array of tanks, cages and tins in the crowded garage. The

assortment ranges from the harmless garden variety of the green whip snake and the rat snake to the deadly cobra, python, sawscale and Russell's vipers and totally venomous black scorpions. The last are so vicious even with each other that they have to be kept in separate boxes.

While the casual visitor to the menagerie may recoil in horror from the writhing creatures, the Iyengars feel only affection and love for them. Though they have taken the precaution of keeping a ready stock of antivenom in the house, they have not had cause to use it in a long time. The entire family—M.K. Srinivas Iyengar, his wife, Janaki, sons Raju, Srinath and Shashidhar and daughter-in-law Sumitra, all seem to have a natural way with these creatures so that they think nothing of lavishing as much attention on a poisonous cobra as

another might over a pet spaniel. The casual visitor would be surprised to find during the day, at least four snakes roaming around the house or coiling themselves around the legs of the dining table. And the family doesn't lock away the poisonous snakes.

The family's preoccupation with animals began with Mr Iyengar who caught his first snake at the age of five. As a mining engineer posted in the wilderness of Bhilwara, Rajasthan, Panna, MP, Gope, Gujarat and Nellore, AP, he found ample opportunity to develop and nurture his love for animals and birds. In due course, he communicated this passion to his wife and sons. The latest convert is Raju's wife, Sumitra. The family soon hopes to initiate Raju's son, Vikram, into the tradition beginning with the rescue-an-animal-in-distress stage. The family

From left to right: Srinivas Iyengar with a rat snake, Srinath with a



Animal Farm

Combines its passion for animals with its workaday life

actively searches for new species of wildlife, studies their movements and conducts research into their habits both in the wild and in captivity. The number of inmates of the zoo swells and reduces from time to time. When we visited the Iyengars, the zoo housed 34 birds of 20 different species, three jackals, two mongeese, one monitor lizard, one toddy cat, guinea pigs, white rats, a gazelle, squirrels, angora rabbits, a tortoise, terrapins, geckos, chameleons, black scorpions and 51 snakes of 15 different species.

Though the entire family would love to devote its fullest attention to wildlife, circumstances do not allow this. For various reasons, mainly that it costs money to maintain the menagerie, the family has to work on regular jobs. A trust, called the Animal Rescue and Rehabilitation Trust, founded by the family on 6 June last

year brings in contributions from conservationists and wildlife lovers. Some more, though a meagre amount, comes in by way of token collection for a guided tour of the zoo. But all this is just a fraction of what is needed to provide proper diet to the collection. The Iyengars estimate an expenditure of Rs 1000-1200 per month. Though they are themselves strict vegetarians, they buy meat in large quantities for the animals.

Mr Iyengar supplements his income by selling his wildlife paintings and clay models of prehistoric animals. Wife Janaki, an accomplished needlewoman, crochets and embroiders animal motifs on patches and table linen, all for sale. Raju, a maintenance engineer with a local public sector unit, saves money by making and maintaining the cases and boxes. Srinath and Shashidhar take care of



Janaki with one of the family's rat snakes

minor treatment and healthcare of the animals. Shashidhar is an anaesthetist at a local hospital.

Only Srinath has been professionally able to indulge in his passion for animals. He recently quit a lucrative post as a medical representative for Hoechst to become the World Wildlife Fund's field executive (South). Besides, he is a member of the Karnataka State Wildlife Advisory Board and a member of the taskforce for the Banner Ghatta National Park, Ranbennur Wildlife Sanctuary and Badra Wildlife Sanctuary in Karnataka.

Srinath's pastime is lecturing on wildlife. It was while addressing an animal welfare conference in New Delhi that he attracted the attention of Mr Dinshaw Maleganwallah, director of the Dorabji Tata Trust. The trust subsequently awarded him an annual stipend of Rs 2400 to lecture on wildlife and animal welfare. The trust also donated Rs 5000 to the trust run by the Iyengars.

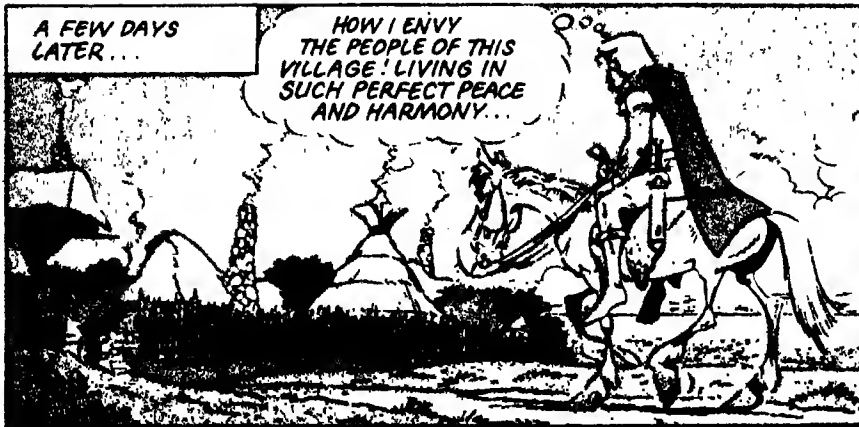
Their long attachment with wildlife associations and officials connected with wildlife conservation in India made the Iyengars cynical about the prospects of conservation in India. Conservation is in vogue these days and Bangalore has several wildlife clubs. But, says Srinath, there are many among these wildlife "enthusiasts" who pay lip service to animal welfare. Many, in fact, regard the membership of wildlife organisations as an easy ticket to a gaming licence. The cynicism takes on a bitter twist when Srinath talks of state government officials: "They (forest officers) have been trained to identify trees which need to be cut. They rarely know anything about wildlife," he complains.

A retired mining engineer, a housewife, a mechanical engineer, a bank employee, a former medical representative and an anaesthetist, together, spurred by their love for animals, have managed to combine their jobs and passion to successfully run a compact animal farm where all animals are equal. ■

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOUISE PERMANDES

Srinath, Janaki with a wild jackal and Shashidhar with a pariah kite





A FEW DAYS LATER...

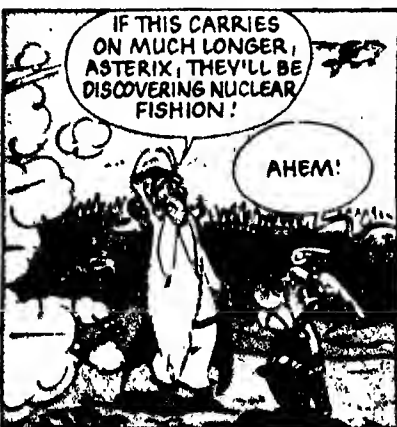
HOW I ENVY THE PEOPLE OF THIS VILLAGE! LIVING IN SUCH PERFECT PEACE AND HARMONY...



YOU STUPID IGNORANT LOT! I'M NOT SELLING ANY MORE OF MY FISH TO THOSE WHO DON'T APPRECIATE ITS TRUE WORTH!

GOOD!!! THOSE WHO APPRECIATE ITS TRUE WORTH WILL TURN IT INTO GLUE, AND IT WON'T SMELL SO BAD!!!

?!



IF THIS CARRIES ON MUCH LONGER, ASTERIX, THEY'LL BE DISCOVERING NUCLEAR FISHION!

AHEM!



CAN YOU TELL ME WHERE TO FIND VITAL-STATISTIX, CHIEF OF THIS VILLAGE?

?



VITALSTISTIX? HE'S ON HIS WAY!



STOP! AND THAT'S AN ORDER!



I'M GOING TO CRACK UP... I CAN FEEL IT COMING ON! YES... I'M GOING TO CRACK UP.

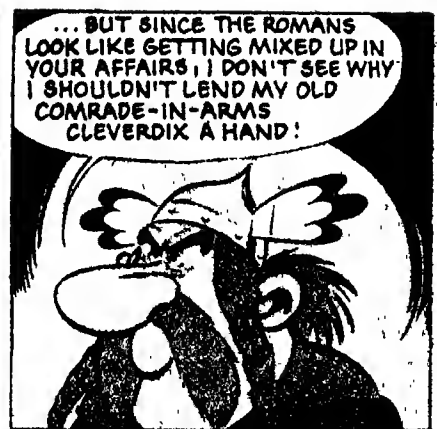


THIS IS IT! I'M CRACKING UP!

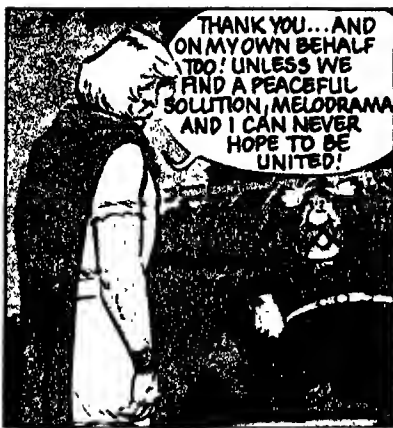


... AND THAT, O CHIEF VITALSTATISTIX, IS THE SAD STORY OF OUR VILLAGE. ONLY YOUR DRUID GETAFIX'S MAGIC POTION AND THE WISDOM OF YOUR EXPERIENCED WARRIORS CAN SAVE US!

HMPH, YES. SPEAKING OF THE WISDOM OF MY EXPERIENCED WARRIORS, I SOMEHOW FEEL I SHOULD BE PUTTING MY OWN HOUSE IN ORDER FIRST..



... BUT SINCE THE ROMANS LOOK LIKE GETTING MIXED UP IN YOUR AFFAIRS, I DON'T SEE WHY I SHOULDN'T LEND MY OLD COMRADE-IN-ARMS CLEVERDIX A HAND!



THANK YOU... AND ON MY OWN BEHALF I DO! UNLESS WE FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, MELODRAMA AND I CAN NEVER HOPE TO BE UNITED!



BOOHOOHOO ?



BOOHOOHOOHOO



WHAT'S THE MATTER, OBELIX?

SNIFF! I GET ALL UPSET BY LOVE STORIES WITH UNHAPPY ENDINGS! SNIFF!

HUH!



BUT THIS STORY'S ONLY JUST BEGINNING, AND IF CHIEF VITALSTATISTIX WILL LET US, WE'RE GOING TO HELP HISTRIONIX SOLVE HIS PROBLEMS!

OOH, YES, LET'S! GOODY, GOODY, GOODY!

WOOF WOOF!



THE ROMANS AROUND HERE ARE KEEPING VERY QUIET JUST NOW, SO I THINK I CAN JOIN THE EXPEDITION MYSELF! THE PEOPLE OF YOUR VILLAGE MAY NEED ME TO HELP THEM BRIDGE THE GREAT DIVIDE!



AND A LITTLE LATER...

WILL HE SING? WON'T HE SING? WILL HE SING? WON'T HE SING?

MAHARASHTRA

Dr Datta Samant is arrested!

State government uses NSA to curb trade union activities

Bombay: At five in the evening on 24 June, the independent MLA and trade union leader, Dr Datta Samant, was arrested by the Thane police along with major trade unionists owing allegiance to his union under the National Security Act. The government took all necessary measures to stop the workers' rally organised by Dr Samant and in a massive police bandobast, 5,000 workers were also arrested. Dr Samant's arrest was the climax of the bitter campaigning against him and his trade union by big industrial houses and till the time of going to press has seen widespread industrial unrest in the Thane-Belapur area which has a workforce of nearly 1.2 lakhs. There have been *bandhs* and strikes in Lonavla and Pune.

Veteran trade unionists like the CPI leader, Mr S.A. Dange, and the Lok Dal's Mr George Fernandes have protested against the arrest. Mr Fernandes said that Dr Samant's arrest was unjustified and added: "The law of the land should take its own course and neither (chief minister) Mr Antulay nor (labour minister) Mr Tidke can run away from this." But Mr Antulay supported the Thane police for arresting Dr Samant. He said: "I don't want to interfere in the working of the police. One cannot substitute administrative judgement with police judgement because then one would have no law and order in the state."

The campaign against Dr Datta Samant started as soon as the petite, bejewelled Mrs Sharyu Daftary took over as president of the Indian Merchants' Chamber. In early June a section of the trade and industry accused Dr Samant of making "sky-high demands on behalf of workers," "militant behaviour," "coercive and intimidatory activities," of being "uncompromising and intransigent," and of "misleading and misguiding workers who are illiterate to understand the problems of industry." All this was mentioned in a press note on labour unrest in industries in Maharashtra circulated by the chamber. The note further said, "The Indian Merchants' Chamber feels its duty to move further in the matter and take effective measures with the help of the state government to deal with such belligerent unions."

The state government rose to help the industrialists. The state's labour

minister, Mr N. M. Tidke, "having listened to the plight of the industries assured the managements of all possible police protection with a view to restoring normalcy in the factories and commencing production and that all the willing workers who join duty will be given protection." And when chief minister, Mr A. R. Antulay, held discussions with the executive committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), he assured the members that "acts of violence in the labour movement would be dealt with severely," and "anything or anyone that hampered production was anti-national." The



Shivaji Park deserted, shortly after the 24 June arrests; (inset) Dr Datta Samant

labour minister did not bother to hear Dr Datta Samant's views or find out what the workers felt.

Dr Samant prepared a fitting reply. He organised a million-strong workers' rally on 24 June. The entire police force converged on Shivaji Park, the venue of the rally, the Dadar railway station and several other points to prevent workers from participating in the rally. Police commissioner Kasbekar had earlier banned meetings and processions for 24 hours covering 23-24 June. The climax came when Dr Samant was arrested and sent to Akola jail. Thousands of his members and union activists were also put in different jails. The chief minister kept his word given to the FICCI to "deal severely" with the trade unionists.

A short while before the workers'

rally, Dr Samant spoke to Olga Tellis. Excerpts:

Q: I guess you are aware that a section of the Indian Merchants Chamber is forming a sort of trade union to fight you and you have been singled out as the main hindrance to industrial peace.

A: The capitalists are very cautious about saving their money by any means. I control about 5,000 to 6,000 units (of trade unions) in Maharashtra and Gujarat, so they are organising themselves to put me down and crush the trade union movement. I can understand Mrs Daftary's apprehensions. Workers of six or seven units owned by the Lalchand (her father) group have joined me. They are: Indian Hume Pipes, Bombay Cycles, Hindustan Construction, Cooper Engineering with about 3,000 workers. Except for Bombay Cycles, all other trade unions have sent a charter of demands. She has joined hands with the Kirloskars to interfere with my movement. I have unions in Bharat Forge (Pune) and Kirloskar Tractors (Nasik) where Mr Kirloskar is the chairman. You know there is a ban on my entering Pune. It is unfair for them to say I do not see reason.

In fact, I have 40 to 50 settlements (between trade unions and manage-

ments) in units like Khandelwal Udyog, Enarco, Murphy, Bush and Killick Nixon recently and the workers have got a pay rise ranging from Rs 200 to Rs 450. Their (the management's) criticism that there are more strikes and lockouts is also baseless. Of the 35 work stoppages in units controlled by me, 2 are lockouts. If you compare the number of units which I control that are on strike with the overall number of units that I control, you will find the former is not even one per cent. With 8-10 lakh workers what is one per cent? Certainly, not big enough to cry, 'Wolf!'

I've never pressurised or forced any employer in the last five or six years. All the bonus settlements (that I have done) were more than 20% and all the firms are doing well. The capitalists

have the capacity to pay but they have the greedy tendency to keep wages at a minimum level, taking advantage of unemployment in the country. And the government helps the employers by keeping silent. Employers ganged up in Gujarat, where I control about 100 units, to prevent me from going to Gujarat. The secretary of my Association of Engineering Unions, was arrested for three months under preventive detention, and was released only after we went to the High Court.

Q: Mr Antulay says that those who hinder production are anti-national ...

A: The limits of exploitation by our capitalists know no bounds. The (state) government gives them 85% of their costs, land, electricity, loans with no interest for 18 months, etc. Yet, in Vapi, we found that out of 30,000 workers, 10,000 get less than Rs 5 a day with no D.A. etc. It is an *adivasi* area and people are not organised, so exploitation continues. Therefore, many businessmen in Maharashtra threaten to go to Gujarat. Since the same political party is in power, in both Maharashtra and Gujarat, the government should have the same policy on wages. When helping businessmen *in toto*, why does the government not insist on a certain guaranteed wage? The government talks about socialism and democracy but it is least bothered about the exploited people.

Q: One of the allegations is your "point of entry" into a union. You barge in even when workers don't want you.

A: Take the case of Bharat Forge. The workers approached me three or four times and I told them unless they got the signatures of 90% of the workers I will not take up their union. It was only after the signatures were brought to me, and (they) paid their contribution that I accepted. It is surprising that the management says that only 100 workers have joined me. I told them to take a secret ballot and that if this showed I have just 50% of the workers (with me), I will resign. But let them take a secret ballot.

Q: Most of the companies where

you head the unions are 'so called "high wage" companies like Siemens, Bayer, Godrej and other engineering companies. How can you organise strikes in these companies?

A: Take Bayer. What's so high about their wages? Rs 800-900 is not a living wage today. Bayer's capacity to pay is tremendous. Their turnover is Rs 51 crores and yet their wage bill is a measly Rs 1 to Rs 2 crores. The profit margins of such multinationals is tremendous. The ironic part is that in Bayer, 150 workmen have been in temporary posts for five years. Is it fair? They call them seasonal workers. I filed a case in the industrial court for permanent posts for these workers. They (Bayer) just terminated their services. We then protested and they declared a lockout. You cannot say that I don't use legal methods.

In Siemens too, the majority—80%—is with me. They got a pay rise of Rs 300-400. Today their wage is Rs 1,200-1,300, but these firms have a capacity to pay much more. The cost of living is so high today that even Rs 2,000 a month is not enough. What is the value of the rupee today?

Q: Do you think strikes are the only way of getting justice?

A: Yes, only through agitations do

workers get anything. And time and time again we have seen this. Take Calico Chemicals. The minimum salary today is Rs 800 and the average is Rs 1,000. All this was given after a long strike. Workers also got arrears of Rs 25,000 each. Four hundred workers were made permanent after the 11-month agitation. Now everything is running smoothly. In Premier Automobiles, they are producing 74 cars a day. They signed (an agreement) with us two months ago and spent more than a year before that trying to ignore us and prop up *chamcha* unions. We got the workers several lakhs more than what was awarded to them after negotiations presided over by the chief minister.

Q: Mrs Daftary says that you are being instigated by politicians and legal luminaries?

A: This is humbug. Whatever I do, I do for the workmen. I am not anyone's stooge. I hate to see exploitation and workers are exploited today. One of the biggest problems faced by workers is the employer's right to close their factories. Five judgements have bestowed this right on them. Many do this and shift to Vapi or Khandla for more profits. They start parallel units. Milton, for instance, pays Rs 7 per day in

Outside Dadar railway station, arrested workers being put into a police van



Arrested workers in Dadar police station

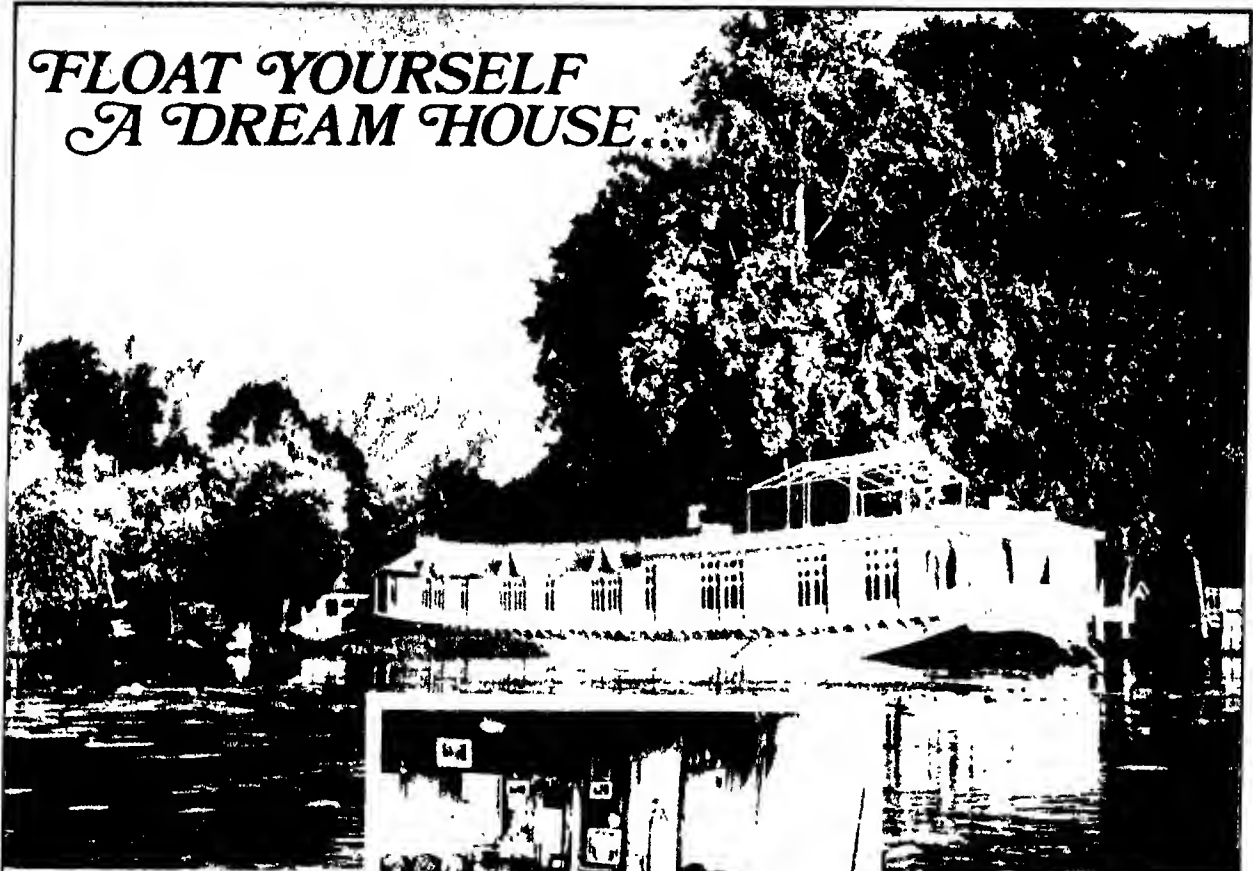


Khandla against Rs 20 in Bombay. It is not that they make losses in Bombay, but they want more profits. More than 200 units have closed down in the last three to four years and no chief minister has acted to stop this.

Q: Is yours a one-man organisation?

A: We have the Association of Engineering Workers and the Maharashtra General Kamgar Union—80% of our members belong to these two bodies. The remaining are internal unions run by a president. I am the president of the two bodies. There are five vice-presidents, one general-secretary and three joint-secretaries. In addition, there are 50 men on the executive committee. Then we have 25-30 legal advisers, 5-6 stenos and 10-15 clerks. The membership fee for any union is one rupee per month per worker.

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Through spring, summer and autumn you can migrate to the waters. On Srinagar's Dal and Nagin lakes, dream houses await you

Rent them for a day or season. Remember, lakes are for dreaming. And house-boats, the best way to live your dreams.

DREAM

Your house-boat is an island in itself. Complete with every comfort—even luxury Rock and dream in the fragrance of Deodar and Walnut wood that paves the floor and lines your ceiling.

BLOOM

Row out and bloom among lotus flowers. Watch all colours of petals glide past your shikara. And in the night, watch the stars descend on shimmering waters.

SUN

Laze your body on the houseboat terrace. A private way to reach the sun. Or sip cool drinks under the shade of coloured umbrellas.

SHOP

Don't stir out of your rippled home. Let the wares reach you on shikaras that nose and park by your house-boat. Shawls, papier maché, embroidery, jewels both mock and real! Or simply the choicest fruits.

...THEN WANDER THROUGH PARADISE

Srinagar is only the start of a fascinating holiday. In a land where every inch seems landscaped for your pleasure. Drive to Yus Marg (52 kms) for peace among the mountains, or to Kokernag (77 kms) to sip its healthy spring waters. Watch the trout feed at Verinag (76 kms), the source of the river Jhelum. Trek to Khilanmarg (6 kms from Gulmarg) or ride a pony through shaded forests. Sonamarg

(84 kms) the golden meadow and the Wular Lake (47 kms), the largest fresh water lake in Asia, make longer excursions. By the Wular, stop over-night at Watlab. Discover Manasbal (35 kms) the magical lake set among low ranges. Or Ganderbal (24 kms) washed by the Sindh Nallah. Athwatoor (9 kms from Bandipore) is a new discovery among the foothills of Rajdhani Pass.

Kashmir 

For a little more than it costs to stay at home.

No barter with Chinese

New Delhi: Talks between the Chinese foreign minister, Mr Huang Hua, and his Indian counterpart, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, were still going on in New Delhi when Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi came out with a public statement in Ranchi, that India would not be a signatory to any bipartite agreement under which a portion of Indian territory would have to be handed over to China in exchange for the occupied area. Her implication was very clear: there could be no barter.

Mrs Gandhi's statement came in the background of Chinese hints of a "package offer" to India to settle the border issue. The offer made by China is that it would retain Aksai Chin on the western border and return Chumbi valley on the north-east along with some more territory to India. In fact, Aksai Chin and Chumbi valley are Indian territories under Chinese occupation. Mrs Gandhi's statement simply rejects any such offers.

During three days of talks in the capital, Mr Hua and his delegation did not make any offers to India. At least, that is what the Indian foreign office has been saying. But, according to reliable sources, the Chinese did make such a proposal, indirectly. And India rejected it.

The net outcome of the Sino-Indian talks was the decision to "discuss the border issue," and the invitation to an "appropriate level" Indian delegation to visit Beijing in October. But the border question still remains unsolved and no understanding was reached on how to broach the border problem. In the words of Mr Hua, any settlement would have to take into account the historical background, the realities and the national feelings of the people of the two countries. Incidentally, this is precisely what the late Chinese PM, Mr Chou-en Lai, had stated 21 years ago at a press conference in New Delhi. This time, however, Mr Hua was

optimistic about a "fair, reasonable and comprehensive" settlement through negotiations. The bipartite talks were nevertheless, termed by Mr Hua as a "breakthrough." The Indian negotiators said it was a "positive development." Mrs Gandhi said "the agreement is that we should talk about it (the border issue)." This in itself is a significant development. But on what basis the final settlement will be reached is not clear. Having rejected the "package offer" India has definite ideas of what she wants for a final settlement of the border dispute.

Since the border question is the central issue to Sino-Indian relations, the view that differences on the border question should not stand in the way of improving relations is of no great significance. The Chinese, however, did show their desire for normalising relations when they offered to allow a "certain number" of Indian pilgrims to visit Kailash Parbat and Mansarovar in Tibet.

China and India held similar views on issues like support to liberation struggles, on apartheid and on economic problems of the developing countries. The Russians continue to be "hegemonists" for the Chinese. However, Mr Narasimha Rao made it clear that "our friendship with one country cannot be at the cost of another." Was this another way of telling our Soviet allies not to take us for granted?

A Special Correspondent



Huang Hua and Narasimha Rao: firm 'no' to the 'package offer'

Tibetan refugees marched to the Chinese embassy on 26 June in protest against Mr Hua's visit. A poster says: "Chinese warmongers, remove nuclear bases from Tibet."



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for you that you’ve
always wanted.”**



*The ideal gift?
Only the receiver can tell.*

*Unless it's a Bank of India Gift Cheque.
Beautifully decorative, like the
choicest of greeting cards. In
denominations of Rs 11, Rs. 25, Rs. 51
and Rs. 101. And payable at any of
1350 BOI branches.*

*Next time, give a Bank of India
Gift Cheque. Leave the choice in the
proper hands — the receiver's.*



**“So long as it’s not
a milk cooker.”**

Bring a rose into someone's life



Give someone a choice

*Gift
Cheque*



Bank of India

(A Government of India Undertaking)

How power projects are delayed

New Delhi: Muzaffarpur, in Bihar, is yet to have a power plant. Everything has been okayed and the public sector giant, Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL) has been entrusted with a turnkey contract for the project. BHEL floated tenders for the instrumentation equipment required for the plant and even chose an Indian public sector firm for it. But a snag has developed in the choice of the contractor. Siemens India, a subsidiary of the West German multinational, has staked its claim and the managing director of Siemens India, Mr Langer, is understood to have told BHEL chairman, Mr Puri, that unless his firm was considered for the instrumentation contract, the other collaboration agreements between Siemens and BHEL may be jeopardised.

There may have been nothing wrong in Mr Langer staking his company's claim to the instrumentation equipment bid, had Siemens India been a licence-holder of producing instrumentation equipment. Siemens has been trying to procure a licence in the field of instrumentation, but has not yet succeeded. Siemens India had a good spell for a few months last year, when on 25 March 1980, Mr Ramaswamy, a senior official of the Directorate General of Technical Development (DGT), the organisation of the ministry of industry which issues industrial licences, sent a letter (No. INST/9/(1)/'80), stating that Siemens India was also a licenced manufacturer in the field of instrumentation equipment. Very soon the fallacy of Mr Ramaswamy's letter was detected and on 7 October 1980 another letter was issued by the DGT, withdrawing the previous one.

But the DGT letter of 25 March was used by Siemens India to bid for the instrumentation contract. Siemens succeeded in getting the contract for the Chandrapur-2 power plant in Maharashtra on the basis of the letter. Meanwhile, when the case went up to the department of electronics and the DGT for a formal import licence (as Siemens India do not have an industrial licence, the question of manufacturing within the country does not arise), it was not granted. This has delayed the Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) Chandrapur-2 project by at least 16 months.

Due to the delay in the project, and perhaps due to other considerations as well, the Maharashtra government approached the union energy minister, Mr Ghani Khan Choudhuri. The state government asked him to use his good offices with the industry minister, Mr Charanjit Chanana, so that the power project at Chandrapur could be expedited.

Mr Khan Choudhuri spoke to Mr Chanana about Siemens India regarding the Chandrapur-2 instrumentation contract.

The delay of Chandrapur-2 is cited by BHEL engineers as an example why Siemens India should not be entrusted with the Muzaffarpur power plant contract. But BHEL chairman, Mr Puri, seems to think otherwise. The BHEL engineers would prefer to buy the equipment from one of the three Indian manufacturers, two in the public sector—Instrumentations Ltd, Kota and Keltron, Aroor—and the Birla-owned Taylors.

Siemens India have, however, managed to get the instrumentation contract for the World Bank-aided Ramagundam project of the National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) in Andhra Pradesh. Since this is a World Bank project there is no need for an import licence. Siemens have had their way although the bids of an Indian public sector firm was the lowest. It may be worthwhile for the government to enquire under what circumstances the letter (No. INST/9/(1)/'80) of the DGT was issued on 25 March 1980 and later withdrawn on 7 October.

Our Delhi Correspondent

MIZORAM

Peace is imminent

Aizawl: Talks between the centre and the Mizo National Front has reached a crucial stage. The chief negotiator for the government is Mr G. Parthasarathy, who once headed the centre's policy planning division. Mr Parthasarathy met Mr Laldenga on 31 May, for the first time, in a south Delhi residence and it is believed that they took an instant liking for each other. Since then Mr Parthasarathy has been closeted with the rebel president of the MNF and his ministerial colleagues, Rualchhina and Chawn-guzuala, at least thrice. There are hopes of a breakthrough in the talks and peace seems imminent in the future.

The talks got underway after Laldenga returned from a brief holiday in Srinagar to Delhi. Mr Parthasarathy has been asked to whittle down the 26-point political proposals put forward by Laldenga. Mr Laldenga had evolved these proposals after his ten-day visit to the MNF headquarters in

the second week of March 1981 (SUNDAY 29 March). The political proposals are still a closely-guarded secret. Reliable sources, however, mention that they contain such ambitious demands as the formation of an interim government in Mizoram headed naturally by Mr Laldenga, a separate flag and a new constitution. There are also proposals for the safeguard of Mizo customary laws, border trade with Burma and Bangladesh, the election of a governor, the dissolution of the ruling Sailo ministry, integration of contiguous Mizo-inhabited areas with Mizoram and granting of statehood to the union territory.

Before Mr Parthasarathy was named the official negotiator, Laldenga had four rounds of talks with the union home minister, Mr Zail Singh. The 53-year-old rebel MNF president continuously sends reports to his headquarters through his overground sources on the progress of his talks with the government. There is every likelihood of Laldenga agreeing to a Jammu and Kashmir-like constitutional status for Mizoram. An advisory council will then look into the surrender of arms from the rebel guerrillas. Mr Parthasarathy is finding out how Laldenga proposes to ensure the total surrender of arms. Laldenga is obviously clearing his position with the Mizos. He wants to be able to tell them that he was the only one who could bring peace to this strife-torn area.

Interestingly, the talks are being held against the backdrop of a renewed verbal duel between the rebels and the present CM Brigadier T. Sailo. The CM has listed 15 ceasefire violations by the MNF guerrillas. In a tersely-worded statement released recently, he has charged the rebel body for strengthening a "parallel government" in Mizoram, infiltration into the union territory with arms and collection of taxes under duress from civilians. (This is denied by the rebels). The MNF has blamed Brigadier Sailo and "his handpicked IGP (Brigadier C. A. Quinn)," for feeding the centre with "fabricated" information on the rebel guerrilla outfit. Mizoram's long-haired MP and a leader of the pro-Laldenga steering committee, Dr Rothuana, met Lt Governor Admiral S.N. Kohli, on 19 June, to make "a correct appraisal" of the MNF activities. Said he to SUNDAY, "I have a nagging suspicion that the report of the Lieutenant Governor sent in May to the North Block on differences between Laldenga and his adjutant-general Lalrawna, had emanated from Brigadier Sailo and Quinn."

That the government is serious about bringing peace to Mizoram can be easily gauged from the appointment of Mr Parthasarathy as the official mediator. Meanwhile, the PM's secretariat is believed to have asked army intelligence sources to verify the information the home ministry receives from the Mizoram administration on MNF activities.

Santanu Ghosh

Why a foreign student of IIT committed suicide

Bombay: "I had *chai* (tea) with him last night," recalled one of his friends stunned by the news that S. Elankovan, a student of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) had committed suicide by hanging himself in the early hours of 1 June 1981. Elankovan (25) was a Malaysian and was the eldest of seven children. One of the reasons forwarded is that he had obviously anticipated failure in the Joint Entrance Examination (meant for those wanting to join the IITs), the results of which were to be announced on 1 June. He had sat for the examination because he wanted to start his engineering course all over again. As it transpired later S. Elankovan failed in the examination.

The IIT authorities said that Elankovan, a fourth year mechanical engineering student, was 'asked to leave' the institute in July 1979 because he was a "deficient" student. A grieving colleague angrily said, "Ringo's (as Elankovan was popularly known) life could have been saved if the authorities had treated the students' problems more considerately." What had happened?

The system of education and evaluation at the IIT is highly competitive—a competition that can often be killing. As Prof (Mrs) Swamidasan ruefully notes "... it is not enough for the students to put in their best effort. The student here has to fare better than his fellows, or, in other words, others have to do worse than you!" All grading at the IIT is relative i.e. grades are awarded in relation to the performance of the rest of the students in the class. Students are awarded one of five grades: A, B, C, D and E, corresponding to grade points 10, 8, 6, 4 and 2. C grade is the average mark for all the students in the class. Thus by the very definition of an average, a large number of students are below this level, and get a D or E grade.

Besides, students are expected every semester to conform to an academic minimum, a criteria which is extremely stringent. For, while passing a course with a D grade (four points) is considered "satisfactory" the academic minimum prescribes an overall average of five points. Thus, as the annual IIT magazine, *Pragati '81*, points out, that "students, and such cases have actually occurred, having satisfied all his instructors by passing their courses (and obtaining an average of four points) end up feeling unjustly penalised" when told they are below the academic minimum.

Thus, when the IIT assesses a person as having fallen below the minimum and therefore as 'deficient' all it



S. Elankovan: victim of the system

can mean is, that in comparison to the rest of the students, some are not as capable; a fact, that is self-evident and part of the logic of the grading system. A large number of students, naturally, are categorised as 'deficient'. In 1978, out of, 1,454 undergraduates at IIT, Bombay 384 were declared 'deficient'. This is where the question of the foreign students come in.

The institute has a special quota for direct admission of foreign students and a reservation of seats for Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe (SC/ST) students with lower qualifying marks. As Elankovan himself once said, "I got in through direct admission. Naturally I am not as good as a JEE (Joint Entrance Examination) student." Besides, an adjustment to the highly competitive and often alien world takes a long time, especially because of their different social, cultural, linguistic and educational backgrounds. And yet foreign and SC/ST students, are placed at par with JEE students and made to compete with them, with no special help or attention. "In IIT we carry a double burden: our own problems as foreign students coupled with a problem of all students, the harshness of the evaluation system," remarked a foreign student.

When Elankovan was asked to leave along with three other students in July 1979, because of their deficiency, they felt that "it is unfair on the part of the institute to kick us out." They repeatedly tried to explain their position to the IIT. Elankovan, himself made 35 applications to the authorities to reconsider his case but they were rejected. He said his family was expecting a lot from him and he was determined not to let them down. He was only requesting for a final chance to prove he could work sincerely.

These students decided to take

direct action and on 5 March 1980, began a hunger strike to draw attention. A student describes what happened then, "We called for a review of the evaluation system and a complete reconsideration of the policy of dealing with deficient students. We asked for simple reforms, allowing a student to take a lower than normal load each semester, which by taking the curriculum at a slower pace, would result in taking more than five years to complete the course. We proposed that deficient students be given special coaching and extra tutorial facilities to bring them at par with other students." The majority of the students boycotted classes for a day and gheraoed the director in support of their demands. But the IIT refused to consider the demands and closed the institute for 21 days.

Commenting on the students' problems and the agitation, *Technik* the students' magazine, castigated the authorities. "Blaming the victim of a system for its faults never helped anyone. Deficient students cannot be wished away. The problem will remain until it is tackled with a desire to really solve it—intelligently, permanently and non-bureaucratically."

Moderate reforms had been proposed by the student body, that would have considerably eased the plight of deficient students. A pligh, which a committee (set up in 1976 to look into problems of SC/ST students) was "deeply concerned with," and to remedy which, it "suggested several options to enable these students to catch up with the mainstream wherever possible." "Yet nothing was done," laments one of Elankovan's numerous friends.

Another aspect of frustration of dismissed students is evident from Elankovan's letter to the director: "After spending four years in the institute, they asked me to leave. Where am I to go?" The same committee recognised that "it might not have been fair that students who have spent 3-4 years in the institute would have to face situation of zero reward. A very careful programme, for rehabilitating students should be thought over."

In September last year Mr K. K. Chaudhary, an SC/ST student of IIT, Kanpur committed suicide, in desperation for he was dismissed by the IIT. In a poignant suicide note to *Blitz* he wrote, "I have written to you with a very high hope so that you can draw the attention of the government and the general public to the hollow policy of reservation and the plight of SC/ST students here... They are still playing with the lives of the SC/ST students. I hope some action is taken against them so that my SC/ST brothers are not forced to commit suicide like me in future."

Elankovan's death bears tragic witness to the fact that the authorities have not woken up. The bureaucrats who control the academic futures of young students must be made to sit up and take notice of real problem.

Loy Rego

'Pay wealth tax or lose the jewels'

Hyderabad: The beneficiaries of the Nizam's Jewellery Trust (21 out of the 35) have received notices from the Wealth Tax Officer, Hyderabad, asking them to pay wealth tax on the jewellery in their names held by the trust. The officer has asked the beneficiaries to pay up the tax within 35 days from the service of the notice otherwise the bank accounts of the "defaulters" would in all possibility be frozen and seized. The tax has been levied for the assessment year 1976-77 and ranges between Rs 50,000 and Rs 2.5 lakhs.

Many of those who have received notices have expressed their inability to pay the amount of wealth tax demanded. In fact, some of them have not paid wealth tax for several years now. One of the reasons forwarded is that they are "poor." Some of the beneficiaries, 14 of them are women, contend that the wealth tax demanded is unreasonable. They cite the example of one of the beneficiaries, who inherited shares in the Jewellery Trust on his mother's death, amounting to Rs 24 lakhs, and has an annual income of Rs 50,000. He has been asked to pay Rs two lakhs as wealth tax. The demand for wealth tax, say some of the beneficiaries, is illegal since the jewellery has been "frozen" by the government of India which has also imposed an "arbitrary" ban on its export.

Said one of the beneficiaries: "We

are neither allowed to sell this jewellery to foreign buyers who would offer good prices nor is the government of India giving us any wealth tax relief. We are, in fact, harassed by the tax authorities for the sin that we have been identified as the beneficiaries. However, we have neither seen the jewellery in our lifetime nor have we received a single paisa of interest or dividend since it (the jewellery) is a non-income yielding asset."

The value of the entire jewellery, according to well-informed sources, in the trust, is more than Rs 100 crores. The principal department valuer of the wealth tax department had on 31 March 1976, valued the entire jewellery collection of 83 items at Rs 22.45 crores. The value has over the years gone up to Rs 100 crores. More, the jewellery is believed to be under "virtual seizure" by the government of India because the committee appointed by the department of culture has not made its recommendations which would facilitate the sale of non-antique items at least within India.

It is believed that in the next few years, the wealth tax arrears of the beneficiaries would exceed the prevailing valuation of the jewellery and the tax department would then acquire the jewellery in lieu of the tax arrears.

If the government of India decided to acquire the Nizam's jewellery, can it afford to pay Rs 100 crores or more to the beneficiaries? The beneficiaries doubt this. Even after acquiring the jewellery, the government would have to spend about Rs two crores for constructing a building for housing the jewellery. The recurring cost on staff, security measures and maintenance of sophisticated gadgets would work out to Rs 50 lakhs a year. But the government is still undecided about building the house. Meanwhile, some of the beneficiaries feel, that many of the jewels would become antique, once they cross 100 years of age. These exquisite pieces of jewellery would thus become liable to be registered as antiques under the Antiquity and Art Treasure Act 1972, which prohibits the export of such items.

Many of the beneficiaries, who have received the notice, have decided to fight it out with the tax authorities. Some have even approached political leaders to stop such harassment by the tax authorities. However, they seem to be fighting a losing battle since it is doubtful whether the politicians will intervene to aid them.

Syed Majeedul Hasan

Mir Barkat Ali Khan with his first wife



The house where Jinnah lived

Bombay: Pakistan has been able to find a "suitable" accommodation for its consulate in Bombay, at last! But, Pakistan's gain is going to be Britain's loss!

The spacious Jinnah House, built in the early 1930s by Mohammed Ali Jinnah on Mount Pleasant Road at Malabar Hill in south Bombay, will house the Pakistan consulate by January 1982 when the present occupant, the British Deputy High Commissioner, will vacate it.

Pakistan was to have its consulate in Bombay during the Janata regime itself. It, however, could not find a suitable place in this ever-expanding metropolis. The result: a number of people from this part of the country, who wanted to visit their relatives across the border, had to go all the way to Delhi for their visas. The British Deputy High Commissioner, Mr C. L. Imray, who has already begun to hunt for accommodation, made no secret of his disappointment at having to vacate the building. It will be difficult for him to get such a spacious, well-maintained and well-located house again.

It is said that Jinnah, who built the house "brick by brick," wanted either a "small European family" or a "refined Indian Prince" to stay there. His first wish was more or less fulfilled. Jinnah had a special love for the building and the city itself.

The mansion, which had been the centre of several controversies, had itself become a source of controversy after partition when Jinnah wanted to retain it. An embarrassed Jawaharlal Nehru had to insist that the Indian government requisition it to avoid unpleasantness. It was later leased out to the British Deputy High Commissioner. It was in this building that Mahatma Gandhi conducted his secret talks with Jinnah on how to avoid partition.

Built at a cost over Rs two lakhs the single-storey mansion has five bedrooms with attached bathrooms, three dressing rooms, three lounges, dining rooms and an entrance hall. There are rooms for servants too. Jinnah House is surrounded by a beautiful garden. Old Bombayites, who used to pass through the lawns of the building to attend Gandhiji's prayer meetings at Birla House, recall that one could see the Arabian Sea from there. This was well before the present "concrete jungle" sprang up. The importance of the building can be summed up in Sri Prakasham's words: "I do not wonder that Mr Jinnah's heart even as Governor-General of Pakistan, was not in his government house in Karachi, but in his house in Malabar Hill at Bombay...I only hope it will not be taken down to give place to tall, ugly buildings..."

B. N. Kumar

Sighted: An Indian New Wave

That was the good news that Madhu Jain brought back from the Cannes Film Festival which she attended



A topless blonde, the photographers' interest



A pair of shapely legs: this year's informal festival

IT only needed the sun to peep out from behind the overcast skies for Cannes to show its true colours. A brunette—beautiful, bronzed, and topless—ran up and down the stretch of the over-populated beach opposite the *Palais de Festivals*. Hundreds of photographers chased her almost into the warm waters. Their cameras, alas, were not waterproof. The vision could have been that of a mermaid out of the Mediterranean. But she was only one of the thousands of nymphets in search of instant but brief fame who descend on Cannes during film festival time each May when this watering place of the rich and snobbish of yesteryear becomes a veritable "broad's way." Today it is the nouveaux riches that have taken over. There is a parking problem for yachts and the villa of the Hinduja which had its days of glory when the Shah ruled over Iran, now hauntingly overlooks the razzle dazzle of the Cote d'Azur. Nobility has clearly moved on.

Even exhibitionism has become competitive, in addition to being repetitive. An imaginative, aspiring starlet walked down the Croisette with nothing on but a diamond collar. Her dog, with a little more attire, wore a



a Kristel plays the lead in Jaeckin's *Lady Chatterly's Lover*



A still from the film *Beau-Pere*

similar collar—of real diamonds, of course. The starlets know the pulse of the film market which offered a fair measure of sex and violence this year. "We offer good sex films with very high commercial value," said the board outside one of the stalls. *Undulations, Shocking Asia, Emanuelle III, Sadomania*—the list is endless and the nymphets in all colours, brown or yellow-brown predominating this time, stare out from the fleshy posters on the first and second floors of the *Palais*.

This year's informal festival mascot turned out to be a pair of shapey legs and a bit more on the huge poster of the latest Bond film *For Your Eyes Only* at the entrance of the Carlton. It was neo-realism all right, goose pimples and all. Everyone from stars to passersby had himself photographed in the shade of those mammoth legs.

In fact, sex, when it was not violence (or kung fu or karate), was on most minds. A distributor stopped dead in his tracks while passing by the Indian stall in the film market (the first time India had a stall, they also had a video and eight films) when he saw a sultry, blouseless Smita Patil in a poster for the late Robin Dharmara's *Chakra*

and wanted to know whether it was an erotic film: erotic India would be a novelty, the land of the *Kamasutra* and all that. Disappointed when told what kind of film it really was, he walked on to *Shocking Asia*, leaving behind the stunned Indian officials.

The Indian officials were basking in the *Gandhi* film's publicity. Sir Richard Attenborough, who was present at Cannes to promote his film, was quite the condescending *pucca sahib* and very rude about the Indian press, especially *SUNDAY*, comparing it to the English tabloid *News of the World*. (*SUNDAY* had got a historian to point out 100 errors in the script and wrote about the racist attitudes of some of the British film crew.) You could almost hear the National Film Development Corporation people purr. According to them, Sir Richard (emphasis on 'Sir') could do no wrong. The NFDC chairman, Malati Vaidya Tambya even said in an interview that no Indian filmmaker had come forward with the idea of making a film on the father of the nation. The kind of film Sir Richard had made with such high standards was exactly what India needed to put itself on the international film conveyer belt, and to show the

world that it could make such spectacular blockbusters. And thus get more co-productions. Nobody mentioned the fact that Satyajit Ray had also wanted to make a film on Gandhi. And blockbuster *Gandhi* will be; from the stills and Sir Richard's little talk illustrated with slides to which Amita Malik and I went, begrudgingly invited. Strangely enough, Sir Richard kept insisting that the Indian government had nothing to do with the film, only the NFDC did.

The grande dame of the NFDC even asked us a little before the press show (we were not asked to stay for lunch as the others were) not to put any awkward questions, though she said nothing when Sir Richard ranted about the Indian press. One significant point emerged: although the Asian rights were supposed to be India's, according to Sir Richard's first Indian press conference, at Cannes the question still seemed undecided.

Apart from *Gandhi*, the other Indian films, though few and at whose screenings there were not the kind of mobs the American and Italian films attracted, came off rather well; they even managed to get laudatory reports from the international press.



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The Indian films were, for once, out of the cultural ghetto. The *Le Monde* critic wrote about the radicalisation of Indian cinema, the new wave and its 180 degree turn from being the Hollywood of the East feeding escapist manna to overseas and Indian audiences in the Middle East and North Africa. Both *Chakra* and *Albert Pinto* created a lasting impression in the minds of the critics and the audiences. *Chakra* was not a mere slice of reel life: it showed the Indian slum life, warts and all. Naseeruddin Shah who played Albert Pinto was described as India's non-singing Travolta. Mirza, the eternally angry young man was angry even at Cannes. He stormed out of Cimino's film *The Skin* yelling "fascist" during a scene which showed Arabs shopping for young boys in post-war Italy. Critics seemed to be awestruck by Mani Kaul's film *Sareh se Uthta Aadmi*.

One of the critics even described its screening as an event no less significant than the screening of Ray's *Pather Panchali* a quarter century ago. (The French forgot about Ray shortly thereafter and only this year are back on Ray. His *Jalsaghar* has been screened in a Paris hall for the last four months. Even the taxi drivers had seen it and were in raptures over it.) A few people stopped by at the Indian stall just to "bless" it because India had produced a man who had produced such a poetic film. Some of the French, interestingly enough, could not get over the fact that India had poets. "Was the poetry really Indian?" they asked. If nothing else, at least a few now know that India has poets as well as poverty.

Aakrosh, shown in the market section (Kaul's film was screened in the prestigious *Un Certain Regard* and the other two in the director's fortnight; none of them were in the competitive section) was appreciated and bought. The other films were also bought for German and East European television. Decidedly, it was a good year for Indian cinema. For two reasons. First, the quality of the films was really good. Second, the films seemed even better by contrast as most of the films at Cannes, except for the outstanding handful, were mediocre. Most of the American and west European films were technically good but nothing more than that. The time was certainly ripe for the Indians to move in with the *Big Sell* with less anaemic salesmen and more confidence in their products. One of the Indian officials told SUNDAY that there was no Indian film good enough for the competitive section which was of course a gross underestimation. There was no Indian star present. Moreover, better organised press conferences would help although it would be mostly an uphill task.

All the energy, dynamism and creativity seemed to come from some of the East European and Third World countries. There was, of course, Andrej Wajda's *Palme D'or* (*Man of Iron*) and Istvan Szabo's *Mephisto*

(based on Klaus Mann's book). Brandauer in *Mephisto* gave a super performance in his portrayal of an ambitious actor in Nazi Germany.

England after a long absence was impressive with Ken Loach's *Looks and Smiles*, Hugh Hudson's magnificent and moving *Chariots of Fire* and the magical *Excalibur* by John Boorman of *Zardoz* fame.

Michael Cimino's much talked about \$35-million film, *Heaven's Gate*, was a colossal failure and bitterly panned by the American press. Cimino had hoped that the shorter version (Isabelle Huppert was the French connection) would be rescued from an expensive inferno by a second chance at Cannes. After all, the French "discovered" Henry Miller too. But, the film failed to collect any awards even though the press conference was held in the big hall. It was not held in the press conference room for "reasons of security." Cimino's



Just Jaekin's daughter signing autographs

Deer Hunter bagged five Oscars, and a lot of jealousy.

Back to the Indian scene. The only fly in the ointment was a horrible and dishonest film called *Chronique Indienne* by two Frenchmen. This 75-minute part documentary, part fiction film was shown in the Perspectives of French Cinema section (a jam-packed hall) and only added to the endless list of preconceived ideas about India being a country where carts go around each morning picking up the dead of the night before, of the burning *ghats*, of untouchable and nasty, nasty people.

It seems that Bernard Mazaurec and Antoine Sabarros did not come across a single decent Indian in a country of almost 700 million. The two presented the Indian government with a false scenario and pretended that they were making a tourism film because they thought that their real subject would be rejected. The film centres around Yashpal, a young tourist guide, who finds himself destitute and penniless

overnight after his father's death. The death must have been there to give the filmmakers an opportunity to show the burning *ghats* which most occidentals find as fascinating as Indians do blue films. Nobody helps Yashpal. His friends turn away and he surely and slowly sinks to the lower depths of "suffering humanity" which, according to the two authors, could only be in India where "unemployment means death." A young Sinhalese actor plays the lead as no Indian would relish this role. They "discovered" him in a restaurant in Sri Lanka.

In their publicity material and interviews the two cineastes say that since the Indian government sent an officer along to make sure that they stuck to the script, they filmed clandestinely and changed their time schedules and locations to avoid him. In fact, much of the film seems to have been filmed in the Victorine studios in France. The documentary bits—Benaras and the burning corpses—might have been authentic. But it is doubtful if a son, even an Indian one would stand by alone at the cremation grounds and do nothing while a dog walked off with part of his father's body! The characters seem to emerge from a Felliniesque nightmare and are most unconvincing, especially the horrible landlady who is not an Indian and looks like a heavily made up madame from Pigalle hired, with impossible jewellery, for the role. The film is in English as the authors are ambitious and covet the Anglo-Saxon market. The result is quite amusing: the characters including the UP villagers speak English with a French accent.

The festival began with a whimper but took a few days to crank itself to some state of enthusiasm. The French presidential elections which brought the Left to power after 23 years must have made some festival officials uncomfortable, especially the Giscardians. There was another reason: Los Angeles held a film market two months ago and this had apparently dampened commercial spirits. Los Angeles had declared war on Cannes.

There was no dearth of excitement, however. Stars like Marcello Mastroianni (he plays in Liliana Cavani's morbid film about post-War Italy *The Skin*) and Jack Nicholson (he stars in Bob Rafleson's sensual but mediocre film *The Postman Always Rings Twice*) appeared on the scene. The much awaited Isabelle Adjani finally turned up on the last day to get the best actress award.

There was, of course, the usual excitement in the air—literally. An aeroplane hummed over the coastal city, advertising Cannon films' next project, the \$20 million *Gungadin* (Kipling etc) to be directed by Michael Winner (he directed *Death Wish*) in India next year. But truth, as they say, is stranger than fiction. On the opening day, as Francesco Rosi's magnificent *Three Brothers*, whose subject is terrorism, was being screened, the news came that the Pope was shot by a Turk. That's show biz for you. ■

The Government

SEBs create an aluminium mountain

Aluminium ingot stocks are piling up day by day with producers and cable and conductor manufacturers and currently stand at about 43,000 tonnes, valued at over Rs 91 crores. And there seems to be no chance of a quick liquidation of these stocks. The responsibility for this rests squarely with the state electricity boards (SEB), who have refused to lift conductors from the cable manufacturers. The Orissa SEB has notified that it does not require any supplies till the beginning of the next fiscal year. Others have said they will send their inspectors if and when they need further supplies. Some of the SEBs owe as much as Rs 100 crores to the cable manufacturers. And both the energy ministry and the planning commission seem not to care. All that was done at a recent high-level meeting in New Delhi, called to review the situation, was to ask the SEBs to let the commission know about the amounts due to cable manufacturers. What is the department of mines, which is supposed to look after the interests of aluminium producers, doing? It has at long last forwarded a proposal to the commerce ministry to lift the ban on the export of conductors imposed sometime ago so that the aluminium stockpile can be reduced. But will the commerce ministry oblige?

Planning commission cannot find time to meet

A full meeting of the planning commission to conduct a mid-year review of the economy in the first week of June 1981 did not come off. The meeting was postponed to the last week of that month but even then it did not take place. The first postponement was sought because of the impending by-elections to the Lok Sabha and the five state Assemblies. The second postponement became necessary as the minister for planning, who is also in charge of labour, Mr Narain Dutt Tiwari, had to leave for Geneva for a meeting of the International Labour Organisation. Dr M. S. Swaminathan, and Mr Mohd Fazal, two members of the commission also could not attend as they were on leave. Did not the commission know this before it scheduled the meetings? Is it at all serious about grappling with the country's economic problems and finding solutions to them? The commission is now expected to meet this month. Hopefully, it will finally manage to do so.

A planning commission meeting



Head-hunting for STC will continue

The State Trading Corporation will continue to be headless for quite some time to come. We had reported in SUNDAY (28 June) that a politician might head the corporation. The man in question was Sant Bux Singh, a brother of the UP chief minister, Mr V. P. Singh. But enquiries reveal that Mr Singh is himself not keen to become the chairman. He says that he has not even been sounded. The name now circulating in the corridors of Udyog Bhavan is of one Mr Pandit, managing director (marketing) in Philips India, Calcutta. Whether he will eventually be appointed is anybody's guess. There are also reports that a bureaucrat may get the post.

Ministry buckles under Soviet pressure

The energy ministry has just succumbed to hard lobbying by representatives of Soviet financial interests and sacrificed the interests of BHEL. This is the story: When President Brezhnev came to New Delhi last December he announced a 520-million rouble credit for India. A part of this credit is to be used for setting up the first phase of the proposed 1,000-MW super thermal power station at Waidhan. For this first phase India wants to instal two 500-MW sets. India has so far gone in for 200-MW sets but has now decided to jump straight to the 500-MW stage. At the four super thermal power stations being set up at Farakka, Korba, Ramagundam and Singrauli, the first phases will comprise 200-MW sets and 500-MW sets will be installed in the subsequent phases. But for Waidhan, which belongs to the next generation of super thermal power stations, the government has decided to skip the 200-MW stage altogether. Since the Russians have agreed to finance the first phase of Waidhan, India asked them to supply two 500-MW sets against the rouble credit. But they want to supply five 200-MW sets. As the public sector Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd is making these 200-MW sets, why buy them from the Russians? It seems the Russians have the turbines for the 500-MW sets India wants, but their boilers are not technologically suited to Indian conditions. Nevertheless, India was firm that it would accept only 500-MW sets. Then the lobbyists got active and the energy ministry suddenly decided to accept, in principle, 200-MW sets from Russia. Who cares for BHEL?

Cement prices still not raised

It is reported that the cement industry has finally paid its "political dues" to the government. So will it now, in return, increase the retention prices for cement? The prices were due for revision on 3 May 1981 but the increases were not readily conceded by the government as the industry was "undecided" about paying the "dues." The industry even thought of taking the matter to court but changed its mind. The industry ministry has to act fast in the matter, lest cement production should fall further. Already, the industry is faced with an acute shortage of coal and furnace oil. If to this is added the crippling burden of an uneconomical price then scarcity in this vital item, so necessary for development work, will increase further.

THE WORLD

Sands' diary

The indomitable IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands who died in prison on 5 May this year had recorded the first 17 days of his fatal 66-day fast on toilet paper. The following are selected extracts from his prison diary which has been published as a booklet by the IRA:

1 March. I ate the statutory bit of fruit last night. As fate had it, it was an orange and the final irony, it was bitter. The food is being left at the door. My share (of food), as expected, is quite larger than usual.

5 March. I am saying prayers—crawler! And a last-minute one, some would say. But I believe in God and I'll be presumptuous and say He and I are getting on well this weather (sic). I can ignore the presence of food staring me straight in the face all the time. But I have the desire for brown bread, butter, Dutch cheese and honey...Ha! It is not damaging me because I think, well, human food can never keep a man alive forever, and I console myself with the fact that I'll get the great feed up above (after death) if I'm worthy. But I'm struck by the awful thought that they don't eat food up there...The March winds are getting angry tonight, which reminds me that I'm (going to be) 27 on Monday...Such a lonely cell, such a lonely struggle. But, my friend, this road is well trod.

9 March. It is my birthday and the boys are having a bit of a sing-song for me.

17 March. The orderlies were giving out food to all who were returning from Mass (this morning). They tried to give me a plate of food. It was put in front of my face, but I continued on my way as if nobody was there...I was thinking today about the hunger strike...Firstly the body doesn't accept the lack of food and it suffers from the temptation of food and from other aspects which gnaw at it perpetually. The body fights back sure enough, but at the end of the day everything returns to the primary consideration, that is the mind...They won't break me because the desire for freedom and the freedom of the Irish people is in my heart.

Selling the Pope

After having sold a number of celebrities like Bjorn Borg and Jackie Stewart the world over, US publicity man Mark McCormack has signed a contract to sell the Pope in Britain. His International Management Group has been given the exclusive rights for official papal souvenirs and memorabilia which will be released during the Pope's visit to Britain from 28 May to 2 June next year. According to the contract with the Catholic Church in Britain, McCormack's company will take a 20 per cent cut from the sales proceeds of papal publicity material.

Churchmen in England are



John Paul II : commodity?

happy over the choice of the "leading expert and hard seller." Said Archbishop Murphy of Cardiff: "We are commercially minded; we have to be." Meanwhile, McCormack has already started making plans for an aggressive publicity campaign which will include everything from prayer sheets to T-shirts. But his designer, Tom Caplan, is having problems visualising the official logo to be used on all publicity material. "It's got to be strong," says Caplan, "but it's got to go on anything from aeroplanes to pottery mugs and large bosoms. You can't have anything papal dangling around boobs."

Likud's free style



Begin: no holds barred

Israeli PM Menachem Begin's recent Parliamentary election campaign proved that he is no stickler for rules. His Likud party workers were on the streets screaming "Begin, king of Israel," rolling barrels of burning garbage into the crowds, threatening reporters and smashing opposition party offices. Seventy-two-year-old farmer Esther Hochman was one victim of his violent electioneering. The decrepit woman went on television in support of Shimon Peres and his Labour coalition; she criticised Mr Begin's financial policies and the very next evening she was visited by two unidentified toughs who smashed her front window with a brick and warned her "never to appear for the Labour party again." But Esther Hochman was made of sterner stuff; she was back on television two days later (with broken pieces of glass from her window) to tell the Likud that she had no intention of being pushed around.

Briefly

Billy in a fix

Former President Jimmy Carter's brother, Billy, is in real trouble this time. The US internal revenue service has put a lien on the sales proceeds of his property in Plains and seized his assets in Buena Vista (Georgia) to recover a \$105,000 income-tax debt from him. The seizure order will only be revoked if the auction of his property in Plains fetches enough money to pay his tax arrears. Meanwhile Billy Carter has decided to shift residence to Haleyville (Alabama) where he has found a public relations job with a private company.



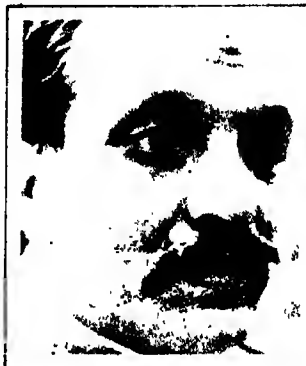
Billy Carter: pinned at last

New police weapon

A new riot-control weapon has been developed by the West German police: a chemical agent fired at rioters can immobilise them for

almost 30 minutes without making them unconscious. This weapon is expected to be more effective than the popular rubber bullets.

Zia shudders



Zia-ul Haq: scared stiff

Following Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad, overall security and air defences have been tightened around Pakistan's nuclear power plant at Kahuta near Islamabad. General Zia-ul Haq's fears of a possible Israeli attack have been further strengthened by an ominous letter from Yehuda Blum, Israeli ambassador at the UN, to secretary general Waldheim. The letter alleged that "there is abundant evidence of Pakistani aims to produce nuclear weapons."

INTRODUCING

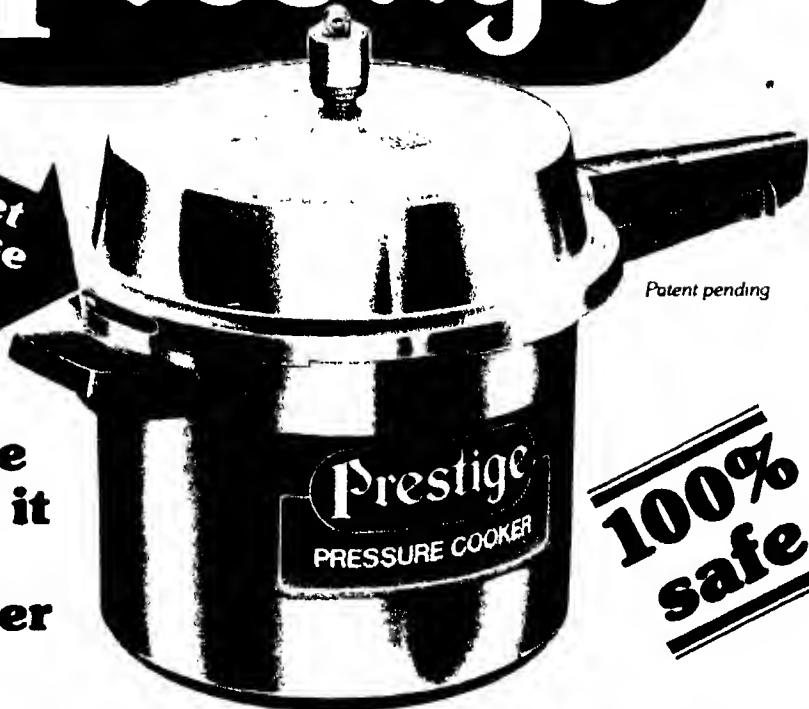
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**A unique
Gasket Release
System makes it
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pressure cooker
you can buy**



**100%
safe**

When food clogs the weight valve, excess pressure builds up inside your pressure cooker. The safety of your cooker then depends upon the safety plug only. But what if your plug is spurious? You never know because you can't tell a spurious from a genuine safety plug.

That is why we developed The New Prestige with total safety built into its basic design. Its unique Gasket Release System ensures the absolute safety of your pressure cooker under any conditions by making the safety plug unnecessary.



How the unique Gasket Release System makes The New Prestige 100% safe

When more pressure than necessary builds up, the unique Gasket Release System built into the lid enables the rubber gasket inside to stretch out and release the excess steam downwards, safely and gently. There is no eruption. No mess.



The system is so reliable that it never fails to work. Even with a spurious or old rubber gasket, with a spurious safety plug, with the most careless handling, it works! Always To give you a pressure cooker you can rely upon for utmost safety.

The New Prestige is more convenient. Once the gasket lets off the steam, push it back in and your cooker is ready for use again... in seconds. As the safety plug is never needed, you don't ever need to replace or worry about it.



The New Prestige is much more durable. As pressure never reaches dangerous levels, there is less wear and tear on the cooker. The New Prestige lasts longer than other cookers.



The New Prestige comes with many more advantages:

- A more durable extra thick base.
- Sturdier handles with long-lasting stainless steel screws.
- A new auxiliary handle with a better grip that stays cool.
- New trivet designed for strength and greater rigidity.
- Beautiful new mirror finish.
- An exciting new recipe book.
- Six convenient sizes.

Plus all the advantages that made Prestige the most wanted pressure cooker for over 30 years in India.

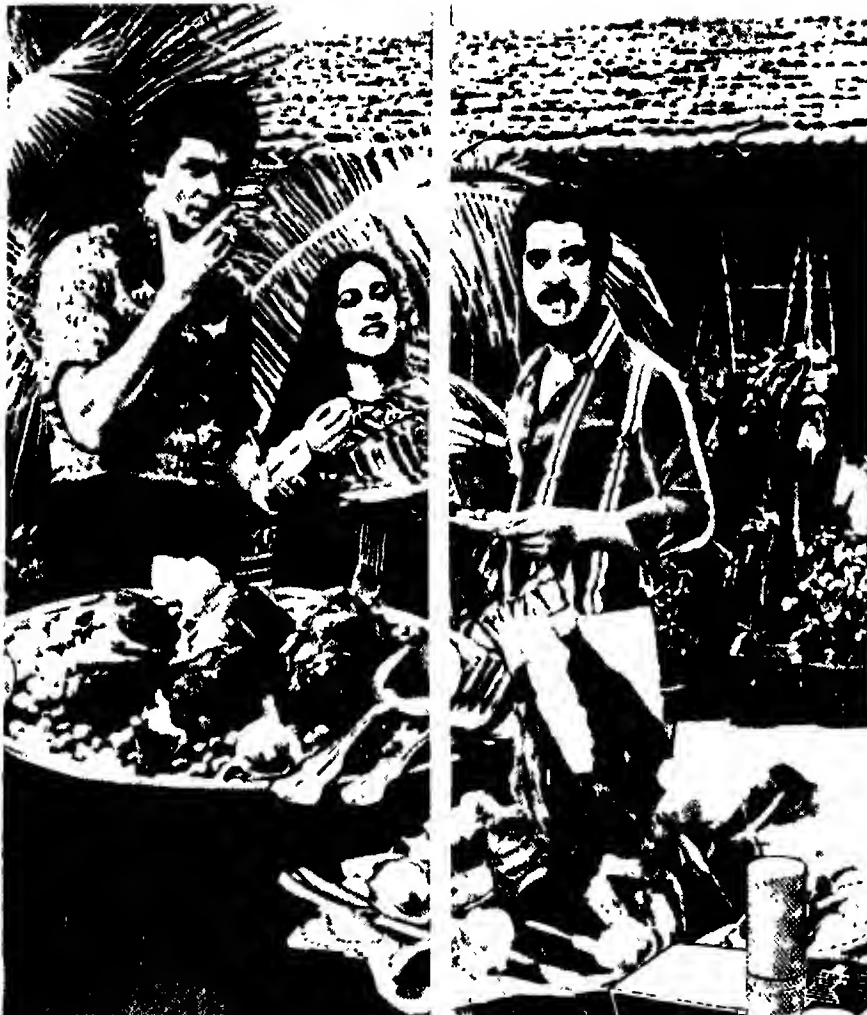
- Maximum cooking space with larger containers and an outer fitting lid so you can cook a whole meal in minutes.
- Double-locking lid for additional safety – prevents anyone from opening the cooker while there is pressure inside.
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CPK/CAS-1/81

KHAAS BAAT

Look what is happening to **Zeenat Aman**. She is beginning to lose weight! And high time, too: she had recently put on so much weight that she looked like a taller version of her mother on the sets of *Pyaas*. Then, as comments about her figure grew louder, Zeenat decided to do something about it. So, she shut herself up: stopped visiting friends, stopped attending parties and went on a starvation diet. And before long, she had really lost some weight. Perhaps it was not enough. Zeenat has now gone to London on her annual vacation and might hit upon a novel way of slimming even more. I believe we will not have to wait very long for the return of a sexy, slim Zeenat Aman of those good old days.

There is no use cribbing about the shortage of female talents in the Hindi film industry. Actresses just fade away without even a whimper after their first loud bang. Take, for example, the new actresses: **Tina Munim**, **Poonam Dhillon** and **Vijayeta**. Tina has had a recent string of flops and, perhaps, this started telling on her health—she is virtually a skeleton. Poonam, after the failure of *Raj Kapoor's Biwi O Biwi*, is not interested in any more roles herself. Neither is **Vijayeta**—for that matter—the *Love Story* girl has not signed a single role after her performance in her maiden venture.

Shekhar: in Shabana's orbit



TAPAS ROY



DURGAPRASAD

Vijayeta: no more films



DURGAPRASAD

Naseeruddin: doped?

Shabana: who does she fancy?



RAJESH KUMAR



AMR PALPAL

Tina Munim: a string of flops and falling health

Who do you think is the mystery woman of the film industry? **Shabana Azmi**, of course! People inside and outside the industry are desperately trying to find out if she has one, two or three male admirers and who is the recipient of the star's attention. Well, we all know about **Shekhar**, her ex-beau, who still admires her. And then there is co-star **Marc Zuber**, with the white streak in his frizzy hair. But who is the third person? None other than **Vinod Pande**, the producer of the film in which **Shabana** and **Marc** starred together. But we have yet to find out who gets the most attention from **Shabana**.

The film industry is a vile place indeed. Look what is being done to the pristine character of **Naseeruddin Shah**. The latest from the grapevine is that **Naseer** is a drug-addict. In fact the rumour goes that he cannot give his best without taking drugs. This cannot be true, I told the young lady who gave me this shocking piece of information. **Naseer** does not look doped or drugged in those fantastic natural roles. But the young lady insisted. As for me, I still don't believe it.

The Hague in Holland, seems to have caught the fancy of director **Yash Chopra**. With an eye for beauty and flowers for his song and dance sequences, the director has now turned adventurous and instead of Kashmir has chosen the foreign city for the shooting of his film. It shouldn't be long before other directors follow suit provided, of course, their budgets permit such a trip.

Poonam: a shaky career.



PRASHANT KUMAR

KLAAS BAAT

Pratap Pothen has a problem: an increasing pot belly. True, he had a number of successes to his name, inspite of the pot belly, but these days he is finding it increasingly difficult to carry his belly around. And sure enough, he has found a solution: jogging. The grapevine has it that Madhavi too is jogging regularly these days to keep her waistline in shape. Wait for a while. Soon we might see the hero and the heroine jogging in each other's company.

Nitya, the young star, created quite a sensation with her semi-nude appearance in *Lorry*. The film is going to be made in Tamil with the title, *Ranee*. Playing opposite Nitya will be none other than Pratap Pothen who, incidentally, gave an impressive performance in the original version. Well, now that Nitya has been chosen for the Tamil remake, she will have the chance of exposing herself and creating a sensation



Rajinder Singh directing Jeetendra on the sets of *Awaaz*

Balu Mahendra's period of inactivity is over. Balu is now directing and photographing two Tamil films. One is being produced by Harry Pothen and stars Pratap Pothen (Harry's younger brother) and a highly-rated newcomer, Jyothi, the other film stars the prized pair: Kamalahasan and Sridevi.

Sridevi, the popular heroine of the Tamil and Telugu screen, has now caught the attention of enterprising producers who are planning to do a couple of Hindi films starring the actress. Acting opposite Sridevi will be Kamalahasan. Of course, this is not the first time Sridevi will be working in a Hindi film.

"I can look after myself very well: I know how to keep the wolves at a distance." That is the confident starlet Vijaylakshmi Singh for you. Vijaylakshmi—she describes herself as a no-nonsense woman—made her debut in *Sriman*, a Kannada film, in which she starred opposite Anant Nag. And now she wants to enter the Hindi film industry. That should not be difficult for her brother, Rajinder Singh, a top Kannada director, is already directing a Hindi film: *Awaaz*. So with a little help from her brother and all the talents that have made her famous, we might soon have Vijaylakshmi making it big on the Hindi screen.

Pratap and Nitya in the Tamil film *Ranee*



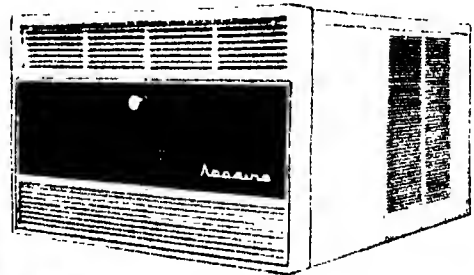
Jayamala: feeling lonely with a figure like that?



Jayamala is feeling lonely these days. Despite her successful career—among her recent films is *Anth*a which is doing super business at the box-office—and a long list of fans which includes F. M. Khan, the controversial MP from Karnataka, the wife of CM Gundu Rao and many more, Jayamala is complaining of loneliness. In fact, the actress is yet to strike up a friendship with a hero. Of course, we see Jayamala in Feroze Khan's company whenever he is in Bangalore. But evidently that is not enough. We only hope the days of chivalry are not over and very soon some charming hero will step forward to help out our lady-in-distress.

PIOUSJI

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Beginning 19 July

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May) This is going to be a favourable week for you. If you are in business, excellent opportunity lies ahead of you, so take your chance and forge ahead. Those in service are likely to get promotions. Do not imagine that illness in the family bodes ill for you. This is a good week for romance and some unexpected help may come from an elder member of the family. **Good dates:** 19, 20 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 7 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and North.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June) A very busy but pleasant week lies ahead of you. You will be rewarded handsomely for the hard work that you have put in earlier. So make the best of it. One word of caution: do not get carried away, exercise tact and patience, particularly with your superiors. The biggest boon will be a tip-off from a secret source. **Good dates:** 20, 22 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Southeast.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July) You can look forward to building on a successful social life that will give you all-round confidence and help you work better. But the gains will be slow in coming, so do not lose patience. Rest assured that the slow gains will soon snowball in business or service, as the case may be. Only, be careful about your family's health. **Good dates:** 19, 22 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 4. **Favourable direction:** South.



CANCER (15 July—14 August) This, unfortunately, is not an auspicious week for you. Be on your guard: a friend is out to deceive you. Avoid taking big decisions. In case you have to decide on something, consult your elders first. Tact and patience will be your guardian angels for the week. If you can avoid taking big decisions, you can start with a clean slate. **Good dates:** 22, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



LEO (15 August—14 September) Luck is on your side this week. You will either come to know of an inheritance, or win a lottery, or make an unexpectedly good business deal or be surprised with an out-of-turn promotion. Your good luck will hold not only with money but in romance too. So do not be afraid of starting on a long journey, either for money or with somebody. **Good dates:** 19, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and Northeast.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October) This week help will come from unexpected quarters: a secret association will bring good luck. A good word put in by someone will influence your superiors' attitudes. Either in business or in service; the week will spell progress. Just one word of caution: keep your temper under control. Do not hesitate to travel. **Good dates:** 23, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November) Except for your health which will need a great deal of attention, this is a good week for you. A lucky week for compulsive gamblers and speculators. A week to job-hop if you can. There is no need to worry about pending law-suits and debts. A letter from a distant place will bring you good news. **Good dates:** 19, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) An excellent week for you. A new friendship with the opposite sex may lead to an everlasting relationship. So, don't hesitate to take the initiative. Those already in love will be very lucky this week. Financially too, this is a good week. A promotion is likely, so be on your best behaviour. **Good dates:** 20, 21 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** East.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) Rely on your intuition in matters, financial or professional. You will gain either through a promotion or through inheritance. Your superiors will have reason to be pleased with you. Try to impress them with your good work. Your family members will help you solve some of your domestic problems. **Good dates:** 20, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 5. **Favourable directions:** West and North-west.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) This is going to be a good week provided you guard against physical strain. A secret venture will make progress. You are likely to make new friends who will help you for a long time to come. But watch out, you might have problems in your dealings with your elders. So use tact and patience with them. **Good dates:** 19, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) Wake up now is the time to get moving. The stagnation in matters both personal and financial will come to an end. So seize the opportunity to either enter into a business deal. Give your work all possible attention as that will pay rich dividends. You will see a distinct all-round change for the better in your fortunes. **Good dates:** 21, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** Northeast.

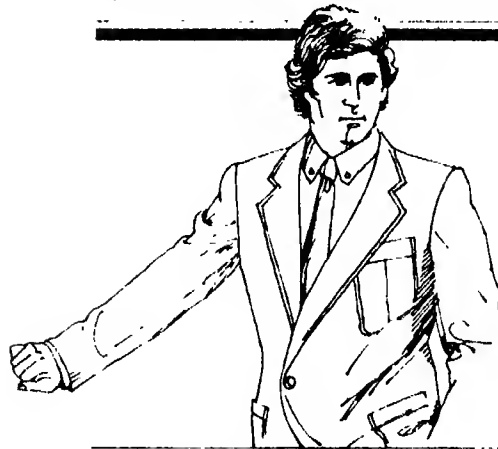


PISCES (15 March—14 April) A somewhat rough week lies ahead of you. Be on your guard, a friend is out to deceive you. If you are in business, keep away from risky ventures. Those in service will face very serious competition and some harsh treatment from employers. But your dark days will soon be over, so bide your time. **Good dates:** 20, 22 and 24. **Lucky Numbers:** 1, 5 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South-east.

Those born between-15 July and 14 August: Cancerites are ruled more by the heart than the head and are quite temperamental. They have a flair for learning, the fine arts and the performing arts and in these matters they can apply themselves quite rigorously. But if they are not in the mood or the work on hand does not suit their fancy, they can appear to be quite lazy in their attitude to their work. They are more likely to take quickly to something but their interest

in things often flags as easily. They are not known for their patience or tact. They can make great sacrifices for their friends but once the attitude changes they can be the most implacable of enemies. Women born during this time are very easily satisfied and love to live in a large family, but their quick tempers often become the cause of great unhappiness in the family. Men have a brave and outgoing attitude to life.

MEN'S FASHION IN '81



**The blazer is back
The button-down is here**



But at the end of the cuff, it's, as usual, an HMT!

Men's fashion is something as mercurial as the stock market

The cut fluctuates wildly, the fabrics change overnight, while the high priests of male plumage continue to be replaced as fast as the fashion

But, mercifully, there is one spot of permanence in all this hectic tumult. Most male wrists have continued to sport a single watch—HMT

Maybe there is reason for this persistent popularity. Over the

years we too have kept pace with international styling. We brought in the square dials and when the world was 'Wow'ing the Roman numerals, we gave you that too

However, there is always the old fashioned side to an HMT men's handwound—the inner mechanism. It continues to be as sturdy and reliable as ever. And we promise you that's one area we will never change. Fashion or no fashion

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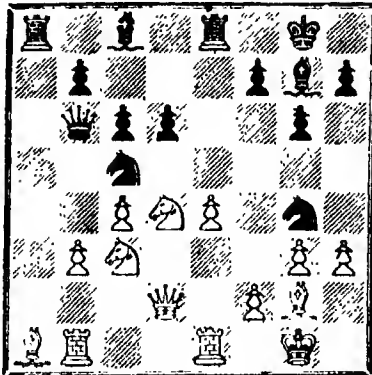
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If you've the inclination, we've the time!

chess



Bronstein (Black) to move



Zita (White)
Position after White's 17th move

I have never known any opening to be refuted merely set aside. Variations do not wither and die, they simply go into hibernation, until some bold young grandmaster in shining armour comes along to give them the kiss of life. Such

could be said of the King's Indian Defence, which although still popular at club level is nowadays widely mistrusted at the highest levels. To a large extent its reputation is undeserved, for although Black never has an easy path to equality he always retains composure and where there is counterplay there is hope.

Adherents or would-be adherents to this defence will be pleased to hear that Batstord have issued two books on the King's Indian by Elm Geller. **King's Indian Defence 4e4** covering systems where White plays with a full pawn centre (ie including P-K4) at £7.95. **King's Indian Defence g3 Systems** covering other systems, mainly those involving a king's fianchetto by White at £6.95.

Geller has an understanding of this defence probably second to none and the depth of his insight comes through clearly both in his comments and in his choice of illustrative variations. So as background reference works these books are quite excellent. However I do also have a grumble. Looking through the books it was very difficult to find game references in either later than 1977 (in fact in the second book (P-KN3 systems) I was even straining my eyes to find 1976 references. All of which suggests that the manuscripts were in fact written at about these times. Or to use plain simple English, the books are out of date. I understand that there is inevitably a gap between compilation of material and publication, but 3-4 years really is a bit excessive.

My personal opinion though is that in studying openings the understanding of background ideas is often more important than topically. Take for example the following game played by one of the founding fathers of the King's Indian, David Bronstein. It is a classic and will still be so 50 years from now.

White Zita Black Bronstein Prague - Moscow 1945 King's Indian Defence

1. P-OB4, P-K4, 2. N-OB3, N-KB3, 3. N-B3, P-O3, 4. P-O4 ON-O2, 5. P-KN3, P-KN3, 6. B-N2, B-N2, 7. O-O, O-O, 8. P-N3, P-B3, 9. B-N2. Thirty five years later we can say that the bishop is misplaced here. The game shows why.

9. R-K1, 10. P-K4, PXP, 11. NXP, Q-N3, 12. Q-Q2. And here as Geller points out stronger is 12. Q-B2 as 12. QxN fails to 13. N-R4. Again in those early days White did not recognise that his QN3 is a potential weakness. 12. N-B4; 13. KR-K1, P-OB4, 14. QR-N1, P-R5, 15. B-R1 PXP, 16. PXP, N-N5. Unmasking the King's Indian bishop. White now treats on a landmark. 17. P-KR3.

DIAGRAM

17. RxB, 18. RxB, NxB. Devastating!! 19. QxN, N-OB, 20. Q-K2, NxB, 21. RxB, BxN, and wins another knight or 19. KxN, NxB with a huge family loss. 19. R-K3, NxB, 20. K-R2, N-B7. Adding insult to injury. 21. QxN, BxN would be another disaster. 21. R-B3, N(B4)xKP, 22. Q-B4, N-N5, 23. K-R1, P-KB4. Defending everything. White cannot now prevent his casualty list from growing. 24. NxB, RxB, 25. QxQP, RxB, 26. Q-N8, R-O1, 27. R-R8, B-K4, 28. Q-R7, Q-N5, 29. Q-N1, Q-B1, 30. B-R3, Q-R3; and White resigned. After 31. Q-B1, N-K6 he loses more material.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



The Portuguese Nyassa Company was granted a charter in 1894 to develop the territory north of the River Limpopo between Lake Nyasa and the Indian Ocean. At first the company used the stamps of Mozambique overprinted with the word NYASSA, but in 1901 Sir Robert Edgcumbe designed a series of large pictorials featuring camels and a giraffe. Handsomely printed by Waterlow and Sons, these proved so popular that other designs were added, among them this 5 centavo portraying Vasco da Gama, the first European to complete a voyage to India. Nyassa was incorporated in the colony of Mozambique in 1929 but its attractive stamps have remained firm favourites with young collectors.

C. W. HILL

bridge

It would certainly be reasonable to assume that in a world championship match the calibre of bridge would be representative of the best. So it is for the most part, but there are exceptions.

Take the following hand. You may think that you and your great-aunt would have little difficulty in bidding the North-South cards to a contract of Six Diamonds. Yet in a match between Britain and the United States the contract at both tables was 6NT!

Dealer, West. E-W vulnerable

♠ K 10 4		♠ J 5
♥ 6		♥ 10 7 4
♦ A K Q J 8 5 2	N E	♦ 9 6 4 3
♣ 8 5	W S	♣ J 10 6 3
		♠ A Q 6 2
		♥ C J 8 5
		♦ 10
		♣ A K Q 7

This was the bidding by the British pair:
SOUTH WEST NORTH EAST
No No 1♦ (1) No

2♥ (1), No 4♦ (2) No
4NT No 6NT (3) No
No No

(1) It is usually better to force in a suit where one has tops. South may possibly have had in mind the possibility of averting a heart lead.

(2) This is the usual way to indicate a solid suit opposite a force. A relatively modern idea is to rebid 3NT with a solid suit and to jump in the suit with length but one loser.

(3) He had no good reason not to give the normal Blackwood response of Five Diamonds.

West (Lew Mathe) in his old-fashioned way, led the Ace of hearts. There followed a small pantomime during which he examined the cards played to the first trick. Then he cashed the King of hearts, which made Uncle Sam 50 points richer.

At the other table North opened 3NT, denoting a long and solid minor. South jumped to 6NT—and East led the Jack of spades! This was another misjudgment, because there was a better chance that North-South had contracted for 6NT missing ♥ A K than missing ♠ A K J. When you hope to find partner's A K, lead your weakest suit.

If South was going to try for a slam, he should have bid 6 over the 3NT opening.

TERENCE REESE

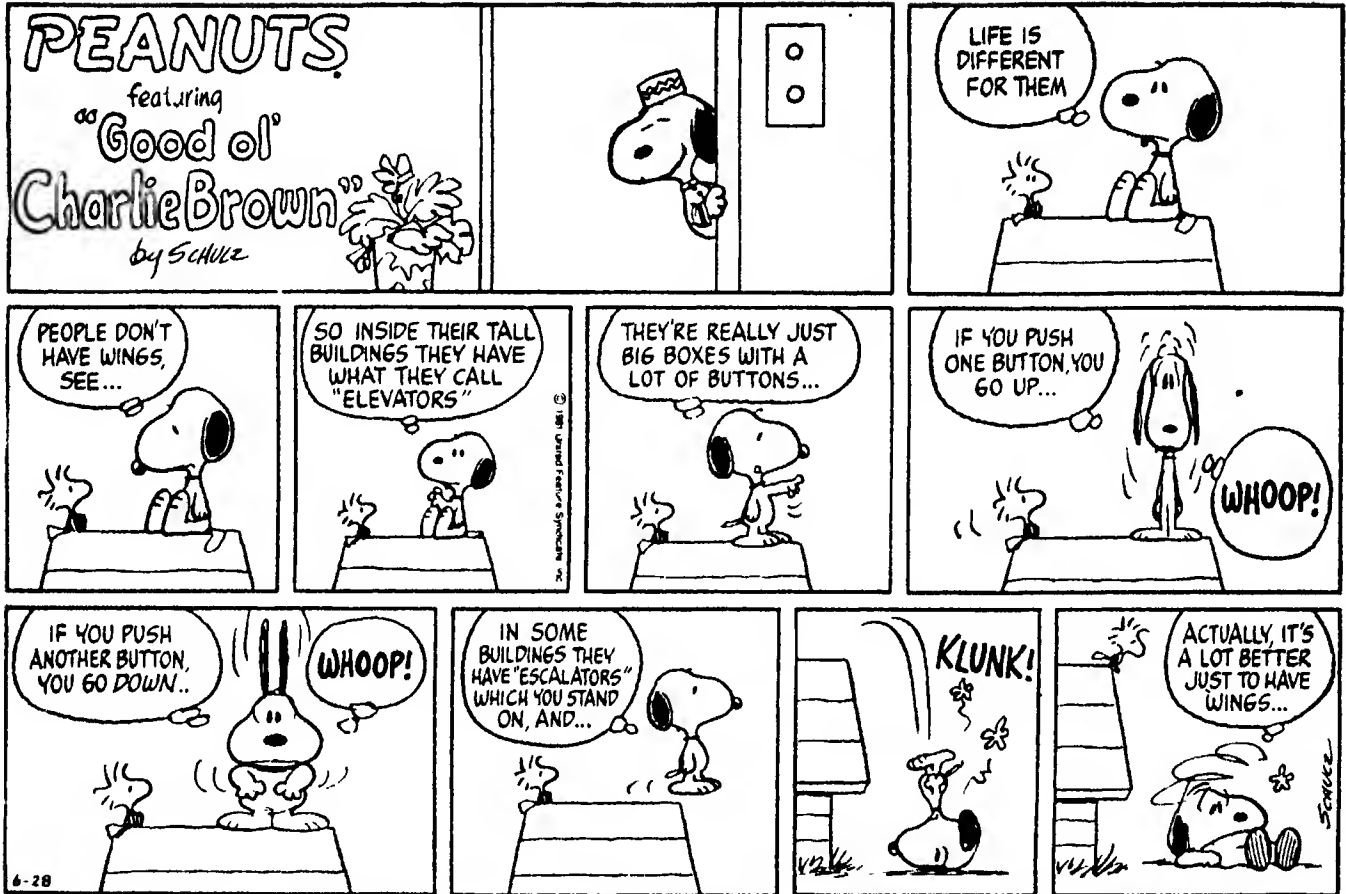
quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What is a glory?
2. Who would use an Ice Al'as?
3. Easter eggs are usually eaten during Easter, but what would Easter-egging be?

Answers its name from the children's activity of searching for hidden eggs during Easter.

ANSWERS
1. A set of concentric coloured rings of light around the shadow cast by an observer or his head onto a cloud or fog bank.
2. A sailor. It is a publication containing a series of maps showing the geographical distribution of ice, usually by seasons or months.
3. It is an undirected procedure for checking electronic equipment and de-



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GRANNY TO GRANDSON**

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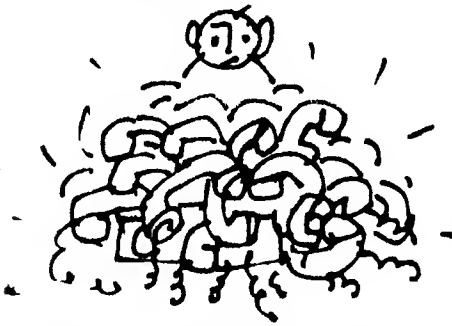
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ARRAH: As many as 115 subscribers in the town, including Mr Tapeswar Singh, Congress (I) MP, doctors, professors, lawyers and businessmen, surrendered their telephones at the office of the SDO (telephones) yesterday (23 June). Earlier the subscribers took out a mock funeral procession of telephone instruments through main roads. The processionists raised slogans against the P and T department, wrong billing and dead telephones. The Arrah telephone subscribers association and the Shahbad chamber of commerce and industries had jointly decided sometime ago on the surrender of telephones against faulty service—*Times of India* (Rupa Batra, Dhanbad)

GUDIBANDA: A legally married woman was exchanged here recently for a pair of bullocks, a cart and an old bicycle by her husband. Lakshmakka (28) deserted her husband, Narayanappa of Soppinapet and their 6-year-old son about a month ago. On Monday last (15 June) the relatives, who were searching for the absconding woman, spotted her at Vatadahosalli with her paramour, Venkatappa. The two were brought here. On being questioned, Lakshmakka insisted that she had gone to Venkatappa on her own and alleged that she did not derive satisfaction from her husband. She also confessed that she was after Venkatappa for the past six months. Asked by the village elders to compensate for the harm done to Narayanappa, Venkatappa readily agreed to offer his pair of bullocks, a small cart and his used bicycle to the deserted husband—*Sunday Standard* (Gopal C. Mishra, Ahmedabad)

PUNE: Hundreds of pedestrians of Nanapeth thoroughfare were astounded to see a 22-year-old man eat cowdung the other day. He was obviously relishing the "food." On enquiring the spectators found out that the young man was not insane. He was taken to a hotel and offered tea. The man equally relished the tea and when it was over he returned to eating his refreshment (cowdung)—*Free Press Bulletin* (Mahesh Krishnan, Bombay)

PUNE: The joint director of Maharashtra Social Welfare, Mr. A. V. Bodhankar, was attacked by a deputy director in his office here yesterday (28 June) Police reported that the deputy director, threw a stone at Mr Bodhankar and later allegedly attacked him with a knife as he was irked by the promotion of Mr Bodhankar to the joint director's post recently. Mr Bodhankar's staff tried to overpower the assailant who, however, managed to get out of the office. Some passers-by saw him being chased by the staff and stoned him. He was later taken into police custody—*Hindustan Times* (Rashbehari Das, Calcutta)

CHANDIGARH: There are many ways of disciplining the staff in a government office. One of these is to lock them in for a few hours in the day so that they stay indoors and are not disturbed by visitors. The head of a department of the Chandigarh administration has adopted this method. He places a lock on the door of the office after the lunch interval everyday. A notice on the office door tells the visitors: "You are a VIP for us. Please allow us to attend to your enquiries at windows 1 and 3. You are welcome to see the DFSO between 11am and 1pm."—*Tribune* (Rajeshwar Tayal, Chandigarh)

CHATRAPUR: The Orissa government is contemplating action against the jail staff of the Chatrapur sub-jail after a report revealed that an undertrial prisoner Pratap Swain was leading a "princely" life in custody. A raid conducted by the superintendent of police and the additional district magistrate of Ganjam revealed expensive liquor, tape-recorders and cassettes in the undertrial's cell. Police investigators also showed that Swain "leaves the jail periodically and extorts money from passing trucks and buses on the national highway and from businessmen." Swain is facing trial on charges of murder, dacoity, criminal conspiracy, intimidation and extortion among others—*Hindu* (C. V. Rajagopal, Hyderabad)

CHANDIGARH: The Nonsense Club of Chandigarh has instituted a price of Rs. 21 and a four and a half metre long pugree for the chief minister who "will surpass others in releasing statements of *chamchaguri*" during the Sanjay Gandhi week. The general secretary of the club said today (24 June) that there was a competition among chief ministers "to gain blessings" of the Prime Minister. The club, he said, had invited nominations for choosing the winner. The club had unanimously decided to call this week "official *chamchaguri* week," he added—*Indian Express* (Daljit Singh, Chandigarh)

I am bitterly against people touching my feet and the talk of worshipping me. I am not the focal point of the country. The focal points are the ideals and programmes before us—Mrs Gandhi on C. P. N. Singh's suggestion that she be worshipped

We are bloodhounds: we will not stop till we suck the blood out of this (Gundu Rao's) government—D B. Chandre Gowda, Karnataka Congress(U) president

Those who are trying to rush into Congress(I) feeling that it has changed after the death of Sanjay Gandhi, will be disillusioned—C. M. Stephen, union communications minister

A comprehensive view of history will convince everyone that friendship between us (China and India) is a must and will continue for ever—Huang Hua, Chinese foreign minister

We would have to keep in mind before making any agreement that China continues to occupy Indian territory—Mrs Gandhi

If the sword raised by Moscow has not yet fallen on Poland, this is not at all out of its pity for the Polish people, but out of the need to consider the price it has to pay in a military invasion and the damages it has to sustain to its global strategic interests—New China News Agency

We are capable of producing nuclear arms and we will not be the last ones to have them if an Arab country introduces nuclear arms in the Middle East—Moshe Dayan, Israeli defence minister

The Russians have to either be more ruthless, which they are trying to be or compromise with the Afghans—and the Afghans generally do not compromise on matters of principle—General Zia-ul-Haq

You mind your business and we'll mind ours. You look after Ulster, we'll look after Sri Lanka—Jayewardene, Sri Lanka President to British MPs who had sent a telegram to him protesting against "atrocities" against Tamils by Sinhalese policemen

To change society, you have to reject the illusion of revolution—Pierre Mauroy, French premier quoted in *Time*

Travelling in the Third World, I wonder if in eight years I have met ten people who really believe that the communist structure was the best one for their development. That is a fantastic change from the years after the war—Claude Cheysson, French foreign minister in *Time*

CHARGE AGAINST UP MINISTER

THE UP home minister, Mr Rajendra Tripathi, may soon find himself divested of his charge. Reason: The Congress(I) candidate in Garhwal, Mr Chandra Mohan Singh Negi, has accused him of being sympathetic to Mr Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna. Mr Negi has alleged that all the documentary evidence against the UP government which was produced by Mr Bahuguna before the election commission, was leaked by Mr Tripathi. The two have been close to each other in the past. If Mr Negi's allegations are accepted, then yet another unique aspect will be added to the already historic by-election at Garhwal.

DON'T ARGUE WITH ARUN NEHRU

WHILE the Youth Congress(I) now has a new "special invitee", Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to its national council, there is a notable omission in the list of 24 special invitees. Mr Gufran-e-Azam, MP from Betul, who is a former general secretary of Indian Youth Congress(I) and also a former Madhya Pradesh YC(I) chief, has been kept out. Could it be that Mr Azam is a persona non grata because he had openly argued with the all-powerful Arun Nehru in the central hall of Parliament a few months back?

ORISSA CM'S FAVOURITE

TOP echelons of the Orissa police, starting with the IGP Mr Swain, are unhappy at the way in which Mr Anadi Sahu returned to his old post of SP, Cuttack on the eve of the recent Lok Sabha by-elections. Mr Sahu was the SP of Cuttack in 1979 when Mrs Gandhi's convoy was attacked with stones and lathis on the outskirts of the city. The criminal case relating to the incident was closed by Mr Sahu on "administrative grounds" at the behest of the then Orissa CM, Mr Nilamani Routray. Posting Mr Sahu to Cuttack again was resented by a section of the Congress(I) as well, because they accused him of having been "soft" towards those who attacked Mrs Gandhi's convoy. Surprisingly, Mr Janaki Ballabh Patnaik, the present CM, was also in the convoy, but he seems to have developed a sudden liking for Mr Sahu.

WAS MANEKA SIDETRACKED?



Ghulam Nabi Azad planting a mango sapling at Shantivana on the death anniversary of Sanjay Gandhi

THE planting of a mango sapling became a highly sensitive political issue in New Delhi on the night of

22 June. The sapling was to be planted at the Sanjay Samadhi at Shantivana on 23 June, Sanjay Gandhi's first death anniversary, by his widow, Maneka. But around midnight the parliamentary affairs, works and housing minister, Mr Bhishma Narain Singh, rushed to the residence of Youth Congress(I) president, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, and instructed him to go to Shantivana at 5.30 am, half an hour before the others reached the place, and plant the sapling. The next morning, no one was willing to say who planted the sapling. Mr Azad said that it was Mr Singh, and Mr Singh pointed at Mr Azad. Why was this eleventh-hour change? Was it done on orders from the PM's house? For one thing, Mr Rajiv Gandhi refused to sit with Maneka on the dais at the public meeting which was organised that morning. Apparently the differences in Mrs Gandhi's household are yet to be resolved.

SANJAY'S WEIGHT IN BLOOD

THE Haryana government can be trusted to do the most unusual things. Mr Bhajan Lal's administration decided to observe the death anniversary of Mr Sanjay Gandhi by collecting blood equal to the weight of the late yuvaneta. But none seemed to know his weight. The public relations department of Haryana was asked to unearth this vital piece of information. The family could not be approached, it was felt. The Delhi Flying Club,

where Mr Gandhi had taken his pilot's licence, must have recorded his weight, but it was not approached because it was felt that the information might not be divulged. Ultimately, the Red Cross Society came to the Haryana PR men's rescue. Mr Gandhi had donated blood in 1978 and as per rules his weight was recorded: 65 kg. Mr Sanjay Gandhi has, perhaps, become the first man in history to be "weighed in blood!"

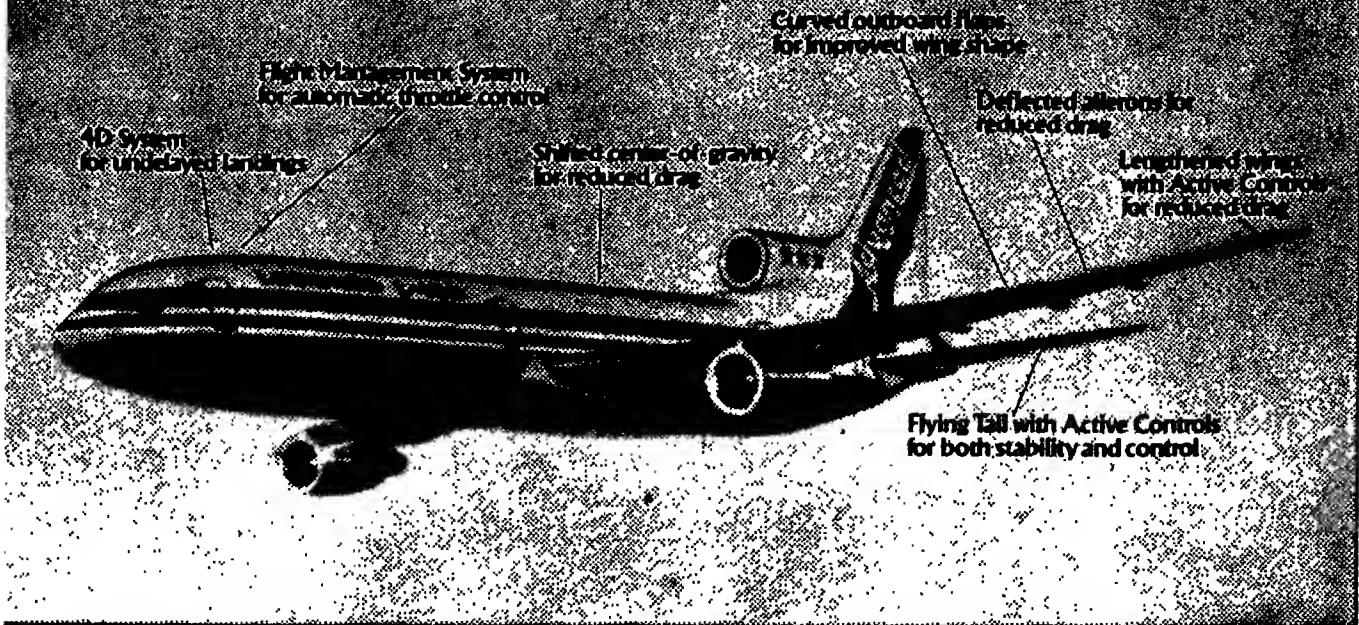
HARD LOBBYING FOR TN POLICE CHIEF'S POST

FINDING a successor to Mr T. T. P. Abdullah, who was the director general of police (DGP) in Tamil Nadu till he became our ambassador to Saudi Arabia, is proving to be very difficult. Mr G. R. Mohandas, deputy IGP (Intelligence) is currently running the state's police administration for all practical purposes and has the full confidence of Mr M. G. Ramachandran, the chief minister. Mr Mohandas, a former IB man, was sent to Tamil Nadu when the Karunanidhi administration was dismissed in 1976. The other strong contender for the police chief's post is Mr Ravindran, additional IGP. He was part of the Emergency caucus in the Intelligence Bureau. When the Janata came to power he discreetly re-

moved himself to the position of chief security adviser of BHEL. But Mr George Fernandes, the then industry minister, would not have him there. So he was shifted to the central vigilance commission. Mr Ravindran was sent to Tamil Nadu after Mrs Gandhi returned to power and moves were initiated to dislodge the MGR government. But, strangely, within a few months of his arrival, he managed to win the confidence of most of the Anna DMK leaders. Reliable sources say that the centre favours Mr Ravindran and at one point the orders appointing him the new DGP had actually been issued but strong protests from Mr Mohandas led to their withdrawal.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

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The L-1011's outboard flaps will be curved 3°, making the wing shape approximate that of the most advanced, supercritical wings. That will save more fuel. Deflected ailerons already help reduce drag and save even more fuel.

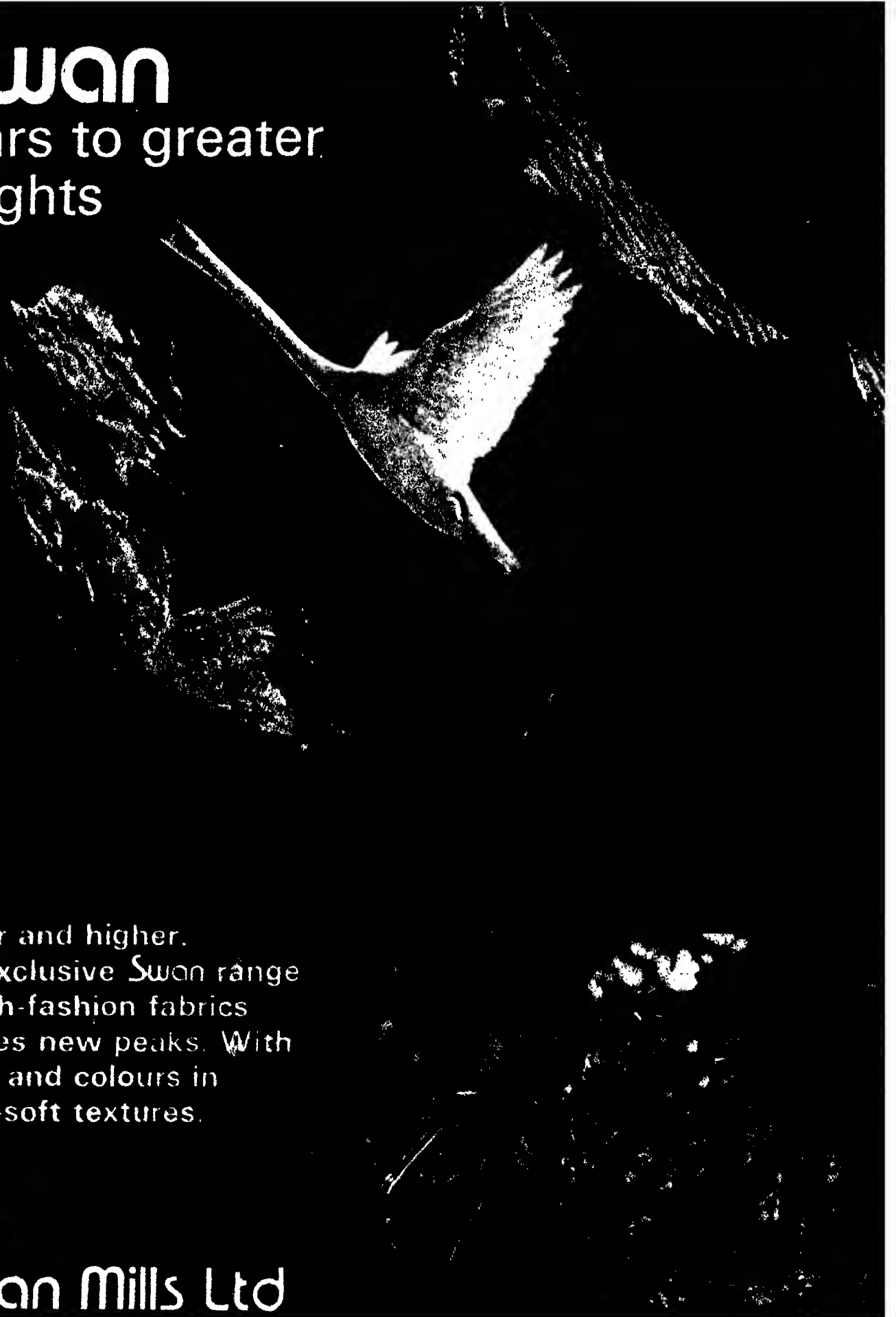
Another fuel-saving advance is underway. The Flying Tail – only one on a big jetliner – will be tied into the exclusive Active Controls System. This will provide stability when the L-1011's center-of-gravity is moved aft through fuel management alterations. The result: reduced drag, increased fuel savings.

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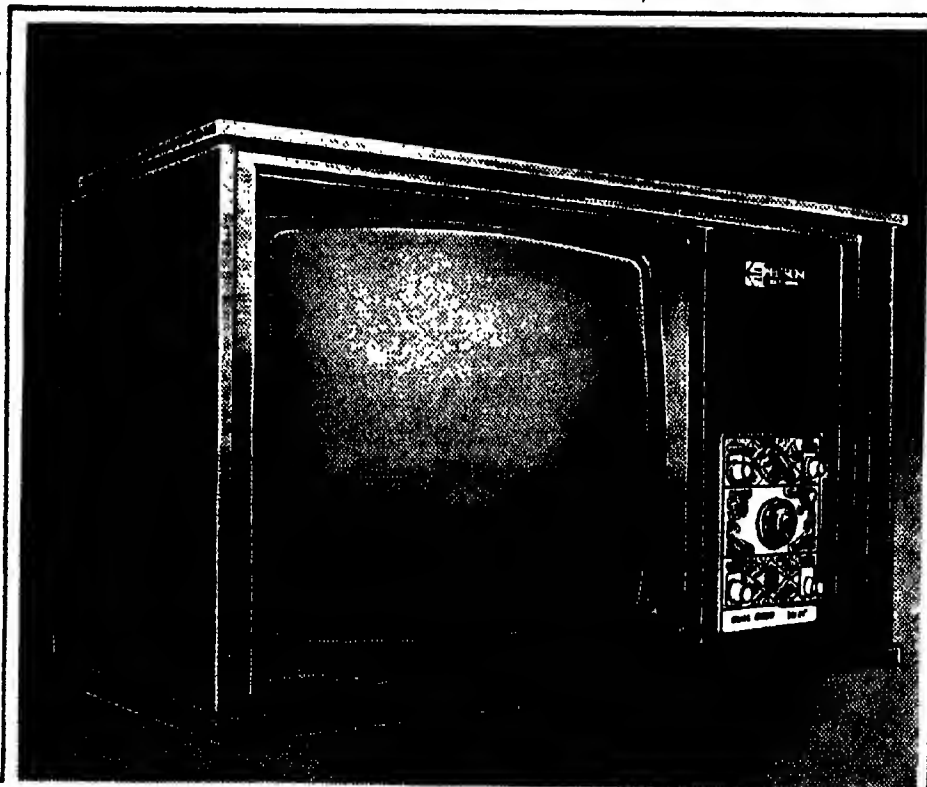
**DID
RANGA
KILL?**

**How 60,000 Calcutta schoolchildren
were given illegal cholera vaccinations**

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The kidnap and murder of the two Chopra children in August 1978 shook the whole country and soon after the police arrested two known criminals, Billa and Ranga. Now they are at death's doorsteps counting out their last days in Tihar jail's death-cells. But Ranga clings to a ray of hope, his mercy petition to the President seeking a life sentence. His plea is that while he and Billa kidnapped the children, he himself did not participate in their murder. Anil Saari spoke to his lawyers and family. **Page 8**

The country's only harijan chief minister, Jagannath Pahadia might lose his job soon. Why? His government has become synonymous with corruption and callous inefficiency. **Page 22**

John McEnroe, who once worked as a ball boy for Bjorn Borg, has ended the Swede's marathon reign at Wimbledon. A report of the battle royal and a portrait of the foul-mouthed brat-king. **Page 18**



A new cholera vaccine was tried by the Cholera Research Centre on two lakh Calcutta slum dwellers without telling them that it was an experiment. And those behind the experiment nearly succeeded in hushing up the matter. But four protesting doctors who were forced to leave the centre have now begun to talk. Vimal Balasubrahmanyam investigates. **Page 14**

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Glaxo
a concern for health



EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE

BY KULDIP NAYAR

Don't take India for granted, Soviets told

The Indo-Soviet treaty will be ten years old this August. Moscow is keen on celebrating the occasion in a big way. Since the visit of Mr Huang Hua, China's foreign minister, to India, the Soviet Union has become unnecessarily worried.

But this is not the first time Moscow has felt that way; it has always been suspicious about any contact between New Delhi and Peking. India, in Soviet eyes, is not following a steadfast policy towards China. Many in Moscow fear that anything can happen any day; India can one day even leave the Soviet Union high and dry.

To allay those fears and to show to the world that India values relations with the Soviet Union more than with any other country, Russia is arranging a huge function in Moscow on 9 August, the date on which the Indo-Soviet treaty was signed in 1971. But the Soviets are not happy over New Delhi's response.

The Soviet Union wanted Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to attend the function. But she has declined the invitation. Even after repeated requests, she has said "no." The earliest she could visit Russia was September, she has reportedly communicated to Moscow. And this does not serve the purpose of the Soviets.

Moscow has not been able to get even Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, India's foreign minister, for the occasion. He received their invitation but Mrs Gandhi did not clear it. The Soviets tried their best to see that he combined his July visit to Moscow with the participation in the celebrations but he excused himself on the ground that he had "a previous engagement" on 9 August. (Mr Rao is scheduled to visit Moscow shortly to acquaint the Soviet leaders with the talks he had with Mr Huang Hua in Delhi.)

Mrs Gandhi's attitude is being

interpreted variously. Conceding that friendship with the Soviet Union is a pillar of India's foreign policy, some believe that Mrs Gandhi's "no" has conveyed to Moscow that New Delhi should not be taken for granted. In the process, she has also made it clear to the world, particularly to the west, that New Delhi can be as distant from Moscow as it wishes.

The US state department is currently telling the US Congress and its European allies that the "Indo-Soviet axis" has made it necessary for America to supply arms to Pakistan so as to build a viable ally in an otherwise hostile area. Mr Francis Fukuyama, a state department official who has argued for military aid to Pakistan in a report, has also said: "The basis for New Delhi's ties to Moscow has to do with their mutual antipathy to China, and this situation will exist regardless of whether or not the United States arms Pakistan."

Perhaps Mrs Gandhi does not want this propaganda to gain credence by being present at the anniversary celebrations of the Indo-Soviet treaty in Moscow. Nor

does she like Moscow to imagine that after the US arms supply to Pakistan, India has no option but to depend on the Soviet Union.

There is yet another explanation for Mrs Gandhi's "no" to the Soviet invitation. The opposition of Indian communists to her and her government has annoyed her. Despite her best efforts, she has not been able to wean away more than a few CPI followers—the Dange group. She found to her dismay that Moscow continues to support, both the CPI(M) and the CPI.

She had thought that her direction to the Congress(I) men to leave all communist-sponsored peace committees, solidarity fronts and friendship organisations and set up their own independent bodies would deter Moscow from patronising the communist organisations in India. She had even blessed the formation of a Congress(I) organisation, Friends of Soviet Union, and had inaugurated it formally two months ago. Her purpose was to tell Moscow that the communists, whom it supported, had no base in India and that for any relationship with the country, the Soviet Union must approach Mrs Gandhi directly.

It seems the Soviet Union did not take any serious notice of this message; for example, it did not jettison the communist-sponsored organisations. In fact, a Soviet delegation, which came to attend the inauguration of the Friends of Soviet Union, also participated in the anniversary celebrations of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Society. The delegation had explained to the Congress(I) that it would look odd if they did not attend the function of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Society which fell only a few days after the inauguration of the Friends of Soviet Union. Apparently, that did not satisfy Mrs Gandhi. And she has conveyed her anger, loud and clear.

Narasimha Rao and Huang Hua in Delhi: Moscow is suspicious





The anti-hero

The cover story, *What is Haji Mastan doing now?* (21 June), made me realise that only hard work and dedication are the key to success. Haji Mastan may have been a smuggler but his concern for the poor slum dwellers cannot be overlooked. I am sure that the story of his life will inspire the generations to come.
Dilip Samuel, Rourkela

Haji Mastan's interview ("*The ruling party's ideology is always the best*") was interesting. It is heartening to know that he has turned to social work. Whoever helps fight poverty deserves to be garlanded.
V. R. Chandran, Madras

I thank SUNDAY for revealing a different facer of Haji Mastan.
D. J. Patro, Bhubaneswar

The living legend, Haji Mastan, deserved the cover story. His conviction to help the poor puts our patriots and politicians to shame.
Rizwana Akhtar, Cuttack

The boss of the underworld is undoubtedly a brave man.
Siddharta Sasnal, Calcutta

By doing a cover story on Haji Mastan SUNDAY has proved that it is like a skyscraper among huts. May we add that Sondeep Shankar's photographs were simply superb.
Aslam Nawab and Subodh Singh, Giridih (Bihar)

It is only the sufferer who knows what suffering is; Haji Mastan's days of hunger as a coolie have imbued him with the spirit to serve the poor. May Allah bless him in this noble task.
Bijay Kumar Panda, Cuttack

May Allah shower more wealth on Haji Mastan so that he can continue to help the down-trodden people of our country.
Sujit Kumar Mishra, Cuttack

At least Haji Mastan remembers his past; and that is more than what can be said of others who easily forget their childhood spent in utter poverty. In my opinion, his wealth, no matter how amassed, is Allah's *meherbani* (beneficence).
S. Narasimha Rao, Khurda Road (Orissa)

Haji Mastan is truly a saviour of the poor. Unlike our politicians, he has only a one-point programme: upliftment of the weaker sections.
Kali Prasad Sarangi, Puri

My heartfelt thanks to Rajkamal A. Silvano for his interesting interview with Haji Mastan.
Basuraj Goswami, Agartala

Haji Mastan is a true Robin Hood: he robs the country by smuggling and then helps the poor.
Razia Nasreen, Calcutta

There is some element of sincerity in Haji Mastan's efforts; I hope other smugglers will follow in his footsteps.
Chitta Ranjan Majumder, Azimganj (West Bengal)

Haji Mastan is far from the sly smuggler that he is made out to be; his replies to Rajkamal A. Silvano's questions were very bold indeed.
C. G. Jaya, Coimbatore

Rajkamal A. Silvano's questions were as evasive as Haji Mastan's replies.
Snehlata Ray, Puri

SUNDAY is widely acclaimed for its bold and investigative reporting on national and international issues. But the 21 June issue was a big disappointment. I cannot understand why so much importance was given to Haji Mastan who, judging from the heading of his interview, is an out-and-out opportunist. His social work is merely an eyewash.
Gangadhar Navak, Rourkela

I was shocked to find Haji Mastan on the cover. He might be trying to wash away his sins, but what a comedown for SUNDAY.
R. V. Venkatraman, Trivandrum

SUNDAY has made a hero out of Haji Mastan.
Shristik Nath, Calcutta

Now all the *mastans* will be trying to make it to the SUNDAY cover.
Mohoulal Ghosal, Calcutta

To believe that Haji Mastan is not a smuggler is like denying the existence of the sun.
Sandeep L. Sharma, Bombay

Haji Mastan's photographs took up almost four full pages. Why this utter waste of space?
Sudhir Kumar Pattnayak, Sundargarh (Orissa)

I fail to understand why SUNDAY wasted six full pages on a smuggler when there are so many national and international issues which warrant coverage.
Sandeep Tyagi, Varanasi

The (rail)way to death

The worst train disaster in history (21 June) was a moving account of the disaster at Bagmati. The photographs were excellent.
S. Ramalingam, Trichy

Thanks for highlighting the gruesome disaster. Something must be done to prevent overcrowding of passenger trains.
Sanjay Kumar Dwivedi, Gaya

My heartfelt condolences to the families of the victims of the accident.
B. Sridhar, Asansol

Had the government paid heed to George Fernandes' *Why are there railway accidents?* (SUNDAY, 8 March), the disaster at Bagmati may have been averted.
Lekhray Das, Barasat (West Bengal)

The accident has once again proved the inefficiency of Indian railwaymen. I personally feel that the bogies of 416 down were loosely coupled.
Uttam Kumar Dubey, Ranchi

It was a shameful thing for villagers to snatch clothes and valuables from the injured passengers.
Rajiv Kumar Singh, Giridih (Bihar)

The government's 'operation salvage' is commendable; but more praiseworthy would be attempts to ensure that such tragedies are not repeated in future.
Dharmapada Biswal, Radagan (Orissa)

Ex-gratia payments to the bereaved families are no consolation whatsoever.
Babul Kumar Sinha, Dhanbad

I am familiar with the area where the accident occurred and have travelled often by the 416 down Samastipur-Banmankhi passenger train. The reason for overcrowding in 416 down is that this is the last passenger train connecting the two junctions, Mansi and Saharsa. And as far as I remember, it stops for a few minutes at Dhamara Ghat just short of the Bagmati bridge. If on 6 June the train had made its scheduled halt at Dhamara Ghat, it is unlikely that while approaching the bridge "its speed was considerable."
K. C. Chakrabarty, Satsang (Bihar)

I would like to submit a more plausible explanation for the Bagmati disaster. It is well known that in view of the high incidence of chain-pulling by both miscreants and college students, railway authorities in Bihar delink the bogies from the main vacuum-brake system of the train leaving only the engine with the brakes. This is done mainly in the less important trains and is both illegal and dangerous. As in the case of applying brakes on the front wheel of a speeding bicycle, the bogies of a train are also likely to lose balance if the brakes are applied only on the engine. And this is probably what happened in the case of 416 down.

S. B. Dasgupta, Nagpur

A 'bhagwan' remembered

A coup against Acharya Rajneesh? (21 June) was good news indeed; now that the 'bhagwan' has vanished his ashram should disappear as well, leaving the people of Pune in peace.
Ashis Das, Calcutta

Thanks to Olga Tellis for her fascinating investigation. The photograph of the Nataraj meditation at the Rajneesh Ashram reminded me of the common scene at discos.
Sudha Bhatia, Calcutta

Quotable quotes by Bhagwan Rajneesh prove that he is a true liberal in outlook. I cannot help agreeing with his views on the family, love and politics. The trouble with Rajneesh is that, like most other liberals, he does not practise all that he preaches. He advocates staying away from politics but vehemently criticises politicians individually; is this not another form of politics? He claims to be against religion but has built up a culture which is by itself another religion, with himself as the 'bhagwan.'
Thomas Abraham, Cochin

Organised spiritual projects have always been subjected to harsh criticism. Reports like Olga Tellis' do not convey the true message of Acharya Rajneesh. To enlighten its readers SUNDAY should publish extracts of Rajneesh's celebrated works like *The sound of running water*.
J. Devaraj, Coimbatore

Reading Olga Tellis' report I realised that we Indians do not believe in experiencing the freedom of being human; that is why we are rejoicing over Rajneesh's departure from the country. But, wherever he may be, I hope that his spirit will continue to guide people all over the world.
Nicky Cardozo, Dhundhalwadi

Complaint on Complaint

Khushwant Singh must be congratulated for his translation of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's *Shikwa* (SUNDAY Special, 14 June). Iqbal's Urdu is highly Persianised and complex and Mr Singh's effort speaks volumes of his command over these languages, not to mention English which has always been his forte.
Khurshheed Ahmad, Patna

Whatever his reasons for translating *Shikwa*, Mr Singh has exposed the holowness of Iqbal as a poet-philosopher. *Shikwa* is nothing but a tirade against infidels. The author has tried to justify the common Muslim practice of violating Islamic tenets and then shedding the blood of kafirs (non-believers) to atone for their sins and to find a place for themselves in *jannat* (heaven). Iqbal seeks rewards for the forcible conversion of non-believers to Islam; that is why his *Shikwa* cannot be considered worth anything more than rubbish.
Ismail Khan, Jodhpur

Shikwa cannot be regarded as "the first manifesto of the two-nation theory." It was written after Iqbal returned from a tour of Europe and was actually a reflection on the condition of Muslims in the west. As for Mr Singh's translation, it is

The article on Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh and his *sanyasins* was on the whole well written and informative. But it is a pity that Olga Tellis chose to introduce a sinister overtone by interpreting Bhagwan's absence as a sign that he had become a 'dispensable commodity' and had been kicked out of the ashram by the very women who are his most devoted disciples. Such sensational intrigue and subterfuge might make a very good plot for a spy story, but it has nothing to do with us. The truth is very simple and has already been stated: Bhagwan has left India for health reasons, and we are not saying where he has gone. That may be irritating to the sleuths of the journalistic world, but it is perfectly straightforward. In the meantime, life continues as usual for us here at the ashram. Of course, we love Bhagwan very much and we enjoyed celebrating his presence here among us, but that does not mean we cannot also celebrate while he is physically not here. A beautiful heart-to-heart connection between him and his disciples continues.

As far as the dispute with the Jhadavrao family is concerned, Olga Tellis' report on the dispute was very one-sided; she has shown the members of this family (who are landlords of the castle at Jhadavwadi and very powerful locally) as victims of our unprovoked hostility. In fact, the reverse is true. The Jhadavraos made many promises which they failed to keep, particularly in regard to the supply of water, and we were obliged to seek legal redress. As for Mr Amarsinh Jhadavrao's sexual assault on one of our female *sanyasins*, the truth is that he was caught redhanded in the act and the matter is now before the courts.
Ma Anand Bhagawati, assistant to Swami Krishna Prem, press office, Rajneesh Foundation, Pune

too prosaic and should be revised.
Ain Tabish, Patna

The beauty of Mr Singh's translation is marred by his contention that Iqbal reveals a not-too-veiled contempt for non-believers. Such a remark against the great poet is sheer calumny. *Shikwa* merely echoes the frustration of Muslims all over the world in the early part of this century and *Jawab-e-Shikwa* explains the Islamic path to salvation. There are no political overtones in either of these two great works of Urdu literature.
M. A. Ahad, Bhubaneswar

According to Kalidas, the unique quality in good poetry is *karuna* (compassion). So how can Iqbal, who preached hatred and fanaticism, be called a great poet?
N. V. S. Sastri, Bangalore

It appears that Iqbal's *Shikwa* was not in vain; God has heard the Muslims' lament and made them the richest in the world today. It is a pity that Iqbal did not complain about the lack of unity among his brethren; otherwise God would have bestowed the final gift on Muslims and prevented them from fighting against each other.

S. M. Mathur, Sagar

Academic bottleneck

Iwould like to draw the West Bengal government's attention to the plight of students who, even after passing the madhyamik examination in the first division, fail to gain admission to the plus two course in Science. Most schools and colleges have fixed very high qualifying marks for admission. Calcutta's St Xavier's Collegiate School requires a minimum of 260 out of 300 marks (86.6 per cent) for a student to be admitted without a test; and to appear for the admission test the minimum marks required is 245 (81.6 per cent). This may be an extreme case but the overall situation is more or less the same. The students get no preference in re-admission to their own schools (from where they have appeared for madhyamik).
Sanjay Das Gupta, Calcutta

Positively secular

With reference to 'India is anti-Muslim'—Saudi ambassador (News, 14 June) I cannot agree with Shiekh Al-Sugair's view that Indian Muslims are prevented from practising their religion. There seem to be ulterior motives behind this allegation. May I ask the Saudi Arabian government, the *pasban-e-Haram* (protectors of Holy Mecca), how far it has been helping the Muslims of the world to perform their once-in-a-lifetime religious obligation, *haj* or *umra*? If the Saudi ambassador in New Delhi wanted to be recalled to his country he could have found some other excuse; casting aspersions on our secularism is unfair.
Khalid Hussain, New Delhi

Shiekh Al-Sugair should know that the secular tradition in our country has produced Muslim Presidents, members of planning commissions, cabinet ministers, chief ministers and chief of air force, to name only a few. And before accusing the Indian government of preventing Muslims from practising their religion, Sheikh Al-Sugair should have considered the recent conversion of harijans in Tamil Nadu to Islam—an incident which reflects the degree of religious freedom in India.
S. K. Narula, Korba (Madhya Pradesh)

Kiss him not

Whatever the outcome of Case kiss ka (14 June), both actress and moralist have behaved foolishly. Padmini Kohlapure went in for some cheap publicity when she kissed Prince Charles and now it is Anand's turn to cash in on her 'misdemeanour.'
S. Viswan, Bangalore

Ms Kohlapure is, after all, only a minor; I am sure she kissed Prince Charles in pure innocence.
Ujjwal Sarkar, Gorakhpur

Last letter

Indian scientists have proved that, contrary to Newton's law, all AP-PLEs don't fall to the ground.
Dinesh Chandra Sharma, Hyderabad



DID RANGA KILL?

In August 1978, two Delhi teenegers, Geeta and Sanjay Chopra, were kidnapped in broad daylight from one of the capital's main thoroughfares, and later killed. The crime sent a shock wave not only through Delhi but also through urban India: issues as serious as the Janata government's ability to protect the lives of citizens were raised. There was a netionwide hunt for the murderers, and eventually the police arrested a pair of known criminals: taxi-driver Billa and his partner Ranga. They were convicted and sentenced to death: they are now counting out their last days in the death-cells of Tihar jail. This tense wait for the hangman has effected, inevitably, drestic changes in them. But while Billa is resigned to his fate, Ranga clings to one last hope: he has sent a mercy petition to the President on the grounds that he, unlike Billa, did not actively partlcipate in the crime of murder, although he was certainly party to the kidnapping. ANIL SAARI met Ranga's family and lawyers to piece together the story. SONDEEP SHANKAR took the photographs.

Ranga being taken to court: fettered and handcuffed

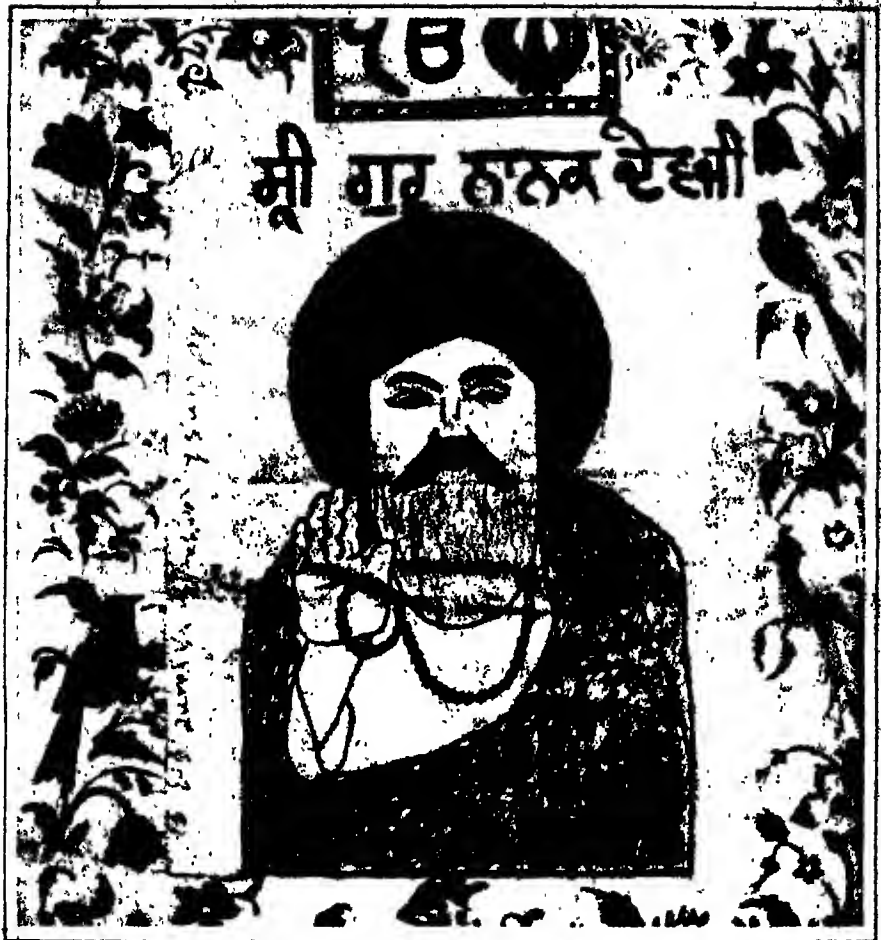
HARPALPUR village, near the town of Rajpura in Punjab. Circa 1960. A four-year-old boy is held before Mrs Gandhi by Bibi Utkal Salam who had established the local khadi ashram. Mrs Gandhi puts a hand on the boy's head and blesses him, expressing the hope that when he grows up he will become a *mahaan vyakti* (great man).

Today, 21 years later, that boy lives in one of the 16 death-cells of the Tihar jail on the western periphery of Delhi, hoping that his mercy petition to the President will transmute his death sentence to one of life imprisonment. The boy is Ranga, born Kuljit Singh at Rajpura, Patiala district, and the crime is the murder, with Billa, of the Chopra children—Geeta and Sanjay—in the very heart of New Delhi in 1978. It was a crime that sent shivers down the back of urban India and brought into question the Janata government's ability to maintain law and order.

Yet it is a crime that Ranga's mother, brother and sister, and also his lawyers (D. K. Garg at the Supreme Court and R. C. Kaushik from Gannaur, district Sonapat) believe was committed by Billa alone and not by Billa and Ranga together. And that is why the family and the lawyers still hope that the 25-year-old Ranga will escape the death penalty that the Supreme Court has confirmed for both Ranga and Billa. His mother told SUNDAY in mid-June at Panipat, where the family now lives, that she began to believe her son was not a murderer only when he repeatedly swore on the Guru Granth Sahib (the family is Sikh) that he was not a killer.

Ranga's mother was shocked into disbelief and anger when she learnt that her son had been involved in the ghastly double-murder: "*Apne bachhe se dhakka to har ma ko lagta hai par dhakka unko bhi laga jinke do bachhe hon aur dono mur jaayen* (A mother will be shocked to hear such news about her child but I was also shocked for those parents who had only two children and both were murdered)." For a long time after his arrest with Billa, she refused to meet him. The family refused to help him fight his case, both at the lower court and at the High Court. It was only later that Ranga was able to persuade his family that "his mind is not criminal." His mother explained: A criminal does not respect people. When his elder brother and sister-in-law went to meet him in jail, he touched their feet. I think a mother can make out the truth about her child."

The strongest argument the family has in its favour is the fact that even Billa has told Ranga's brother, S. P. Singh, who works as a senior mechanic at a steel tube factory near Panipat, "Try and save him, *yeh phas gaya mere saath* (he has been implicated because of me)." Ranga's lawyer at the Supreme Court, the 24-year-old Dinesh K. Garg, fighting the case free because he is convinced that Ranga, unlike



A water colour of Guru Nanak done by Ranga in his death-cell



Ranga leaving court

'Leave them, Billa, let them go'



The Chopra children: Geeta and Sanjay

ON Death: "Now I am not afraid of death. They can hang me today itself or tomorrow or after two months." (Yet, even as Ranga says this to his brother, forcing a wan smile, a cloud comes over his otherwise constantly cheerful face.) "Maybe this is the punishment for turning away from *ishwar* (god), for cutting my beard and my hair (Ranga was a Sikh). Of course I do not want to die, because I am not guilty. But if the government does not leave me, if they hang me, I am willing to give to a poor person any part of my body that can be useful medically. I want to donate my eyes and my kidney. It is my heart's desire that they be of some use to a poor person after my death, so that I can atone for the black spot that stains my name."

Future: "I have full faith that God will definitely forgive me. My faith in God has been revived in jail and I am fully convinced that he will help me. If he does not help, I will think that I have not received justice. It was because of Billa that all this happened to me."

The murder: "This incident (the murder of the two Chopra children) happened suddenly. Neither did I have any intention of being involved in such a crime nor was there any planning or scheming behind it. I told that *nalayaak* (good for nothing) a thousand times not to kill the children. Billa even agreed for a moment but then his mind changed and he killed the two children."

"I did not commit this crime, though I was near by. Within two or three minutes the two children were finished off (*dono ko saaf kar*

diya). Billa was obsessed that the two children were *saap ke bachhe* (serpents). No sooner had he said this than he flourished the *talwar* (sword) in his hand. He said to me, 'You can't even get these babies to be quiet!'

"Till the last minute I did not think that it would end up with murder. We picked up the children for money but they were the children of a serviceman, so we learnt that we would not get any money. Then Billa's mind turned in another direction and after that...I did not even see it happening. I was five or six steps away and kept shouting, 'Leave them, Billa, let them go' but instead of letting them go..."

Billa: "I had only spent 25 or 26 days with Billa. In that time I did not know he was the same Billa for whom Bombay police had publicly announced a reward of Rs 5000 because the picture the police had published of Billa gave the impression that he was a very big man, physically. I used to think that he was a Bengali. He was introduced to me by (a person called) Sham Singh who said he was a Bengali. I used to think that he was very rich. I am only repentant about one thing, that I fell into Billa's wrong company."

Daily routine: "I read the Guru Granth Sahib and do the *bhajan vandani* (singing devotional songs). I also write (my autobiography) sometimes and so do I pass my time. I remember all the people I have known and all my relatives and I think about them. But I also think about the jail warders and the jail officials and wait to see their faces again because they are the ones who are in front of me these days."

Billa, is not a hardened criminal, argues that four factors ought to be taken into account on Ranga's mercy petition to the President. They are: whether the person is a hardened criminal, whether government employees are victims of the crime, whether the crime is premeditated and whether it is for pecuniary gain. Garg says Ranga is clear on three points: The Chopra children were picked up by Billa and Ranga in a stolen car at Gol Dakhana only because they wanted to kidnap the children and raise a ransom. And when Billa and Ranga realised that Geeta and Sanjay were the children of a naval officer and not of a rich businessman, they saw their dreams of hitting the jackpot vanish.

Garg compares Ranga's mercy petition with the case of Sunil Batra, whose special leave petition was accepted on 14 January 1981 and his death sentence converted to life imprisonment. Batra, 31, was involved in the killing of two guards in the bloody and pre-planned 1973 bank van robbery case at Delhi. That Batra was very young when he committed the crime and that he did not have a criminal past helped him get the reprieve from the Supreme Court. But, argues Garg, Batra's crime involved pre-meditation and the killing of official employees on duty, apart from its pecuniary motivation. But Ranga is guilty on only one of the four counts that Garg considers crucial for the "ultimate sentence." Like Batra, Ranga committed the crime at a very young age, he was then only 23.

Ranga's lawyers and family also emphasise that his case history, prior to the Chopra murders, was not that of a hardened criminal. However, here the similarities between Ranga and Barra end. Barra belongs to a rich, trucking family with a big house in Delhi's elite Sundar Nagar. Ranga is the child of a railway mechanic and a retired nurse who still works as a midwife. He ran away from home at 16, trained as a mechanic, became a taxi-driver in Bombay, then was a driver with Yusuf Patel (arrested during the Emergency on smuggling charges) and ran an illegal liquor-joint in Bombay for a couple of years before he made the illfated journey to Delhi with Billa in 1978.

Thus it is that Kuljit Singh, alias Ranga, the young man from a poor family, who did not want to live his life as a mechanic dirtying his face under other people's automobiles, today counts his days and hours in a death-cell in Tihar jail. The 16 death-cells are situated on the south-eastern side of the jail. These are in two rows of eight cells each, with an empty space between the rows. In front of each cell is a verandah covered by a heavy steel net on top and enclosed on three sides by thick steel-sheet gates. Out of grilled doors of the cells, the prisoners can only look out to the closed steel-gates on three sides. He cannot communicate at all with any other prisoner and convicts who worked together are al-

ways kept in cells at some distance from each other. Ranga and Billa, for instance, have never been kept in adjoining cells. Moreover, in the death-cells prisoners are shifted to a new cell every day. This precaution has been necessitated by such occurrences as Billa cutting one of the steel bars in the cell gate about two years back.

In front of and between the two death rows is a regular guard of both jail warders and the Delhi police, so that the two can keep an eye on each other also. The Delhi police force is changed at frequent intervals and is under instructions not to communicate too much with the prisoners. At some distance from the death-cells is the enclosed area within which executions take place. It is a building that is opened only for executions or periodic clean-ups.

In the three years that Billa and Ranga have been imprisoned, Billa's nerves seem to be giving way slightly, perhaps because he knows that the police have too many murder charges and cases against him. He will never escape the death sentence. Nor for that matter does he have any visitors (except Ranga's brother occasionally) on the solitary day in the week that death-cell prisoners are allowed to have visitors. In recent months Billa has often gone on hunger-strikes and quarrelled with warders.

This is in sharp contrast to the past. During their first months in solitary confinement in death row, Billa and Ranga never showed any signs of nervousness. A Delhi police constable on duty there for a brief period told SUNDAY that Ranga was always cheerful, always smiling, whereas Billa, then, gave the impression of being "serious minded, never indulging in small talk." The two have always been very polite with their captors, calling them *ustad*. In his very first winter in Delhi jail, Billa would wear only a shirt and pyjamas when he went to the trial-courts. Over the years, however, both Billa and Ranga have lost a lot of weight.

Though Ranga retains much of his cheerfulness to this day, he has turned extremely religious. As soon as he is shifted into a new cell in the morning he sets up a little place for *puja* (worship) and above it he writes, in coloured chalk, "*Dhan dhan baba nanak*." Below this he draws a semi-circle encompassing a picture of Guru Nanak. On the left end of the semi-circle he often writes Ranga and on the right end Khush, harking back to the film character Ranga Khush in *Bindiya aur banoor* from which he took his nickname during his six years' stay in Bombay. Though he had cut his Sikh beard and long hair when he ran away to Bombay at the age of 16, in jail Ranga has become a Sikh again, sports a beard and wears a *patka*. He has stopped eating meat and eggs.

From the very beginning Ranga has elicited rather positive evaluations from the policemen who came in contact with him at Delhi, both during the



'I want to present my case to the people's durbar'

On 2 March 1981, Kuljit Singh, alias Ranga, addressed a petition to Justice P. N. Bhagwati of the Supreme Court, praying that he be allowed to write his autobiography. Ranga said in the four-page, handwritten petition in Hindi that he wanted to write the truth about the Chopra murder case because it had not been told yet in the media reports on the case. He alleged that the media stories on the case had created an intense hatred against him in the minds of the people and this, he implies, was one reason why he had been given a death sentence by the courts.

The original petition includes a few misspelt English phrases. Here is a free translation of the petition:

"I, a person serving a prison sentence, am waiting for death in Tihar Jail. Nearly three years ago, on the charges of murdering the Chopra children and raping the girl, Miss Geeta, I received a sentence of death by hanging from the sessions court, Delhi. The High Court confirmed my death sentence against which I filed an appeal in the Supreme Court. Unfortunately, my appeal was not admitted. Disallowing the appeal, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court said that on reading the record it appears that Miss Geeta had not been raped. For the last three years I have been waiting for my life and death, wearing iron fetters within the four walls of the jail behind bars. I have not yet been able to understand why I have been put in fetters.

"I am trying to write some facts about the case which have not been spoken of yet. I know that the people of India have turned me out of their hearts and have taken away my right to live. Now the noose is waiting for me and I do not know when the noose might tighten round my neck. Before dying, I want to put before the people and before the people's court the real truth of this case as objectively as possible, without any fear. I know that all the three courts, including India's highest court, have given decisions against me but, it is also true, and nobody can deny it, that the publicity in newspapers has turned the entire people of India

against me. Before this case, my conduct had been moral and praiseworthy and I drove my own taxi. Unfortunately, my taxi was destroyed in an accident. For nearly 10-11 years I learnt car-repairing at workshops in Delhi and other cities and there can be no two opinions that I am a very-good car mechanic.

"I am not sorry that the people of India have taken away my right to live, because everybody has begun to hate me. It is obvious from what the newspapers and the other news media have said against me that the people of India will not tolerate me alive. But, the truth is quite different from all these things and now, when I am waiting for death, I would like to present the truth to the people's *durbar*, so that the hatred that the people have for me should not remain in their minds after I am gone.

"There is another reason for giving me such harsh punishment. The police have talked about three or four other cases against me and have described me as an experienced and hardened criminal, whereas before this case I had not been convicted in any other case, nor had I ever been charged in any other case. Though they are now clamping other cases on me, all that is false. All this is being said in order to strengthen this particular case. I pray to you that I should be told what other cases have been filed against me so that I know on what grounds these cases have been filed, when they were registered and what I am accused of in these cases. It is because of these cases that I have been declared a 'hardened criminal' and that is why I have been given a death sentence. As far as I know, and this is also the truth, my name has figured in these cases after this (the Chopra murder) case, when, in truth, I am not involved in them at all. You may inquire from the Bombay police whether this is true or not.

"I have been living in jail for about three years. You may ask the jail superintendent *sahib* if I have not an absolutely clean record here. There are no complaints about me and as long as I am alive in jail I will behave as I have behaved in the past three years."

Just a small-time guy



Family photographs: Ranga's mother and aunt (top); brother S. P. Singh (bottom left) and Ranga (bottom right)

Is the story of Ranga no more than the commonplace one of a young man, enamoured and over-impressed by the easy-money life style of a hardened criminal, finally coming to grief?

Ranga's brother, S. P. Singh, is convinced that Ranga was a "phukra" (a small-time guy) who was taken in by Billa's illusions of wealth, pleasure and grandeur. If you were to look at him, says S. P. Singh, you would realise that he is not the kind of person who can kill. S. P. Singh illustrates this with the incident in Bombay, shortly before Billa and Ranga came to Delhi in 1978, when Ranga on his own returned a young boy to his parents in the Juhu-Ville Parle scheme, after Billa had kidnapped him. Then there are the stories of hospitality that people from Panipat have told the family after their chance encounters with Ranga in Bombay and how he looked after them, simply because they came from his home town. In one case, he looked after a stranger from Panipat who was involved in an accident in the big city and had fractured a leg.

The family says that after they bought Ranga a taxi of his own, he left his job with the alleged smuggler Yusuf Patel. Ranga claims, "I

was a driver for Yusuf Patel for some time and nothing more," and one of his lawyers, R. C. Kaushik of Gunnaur who has known the family for nearly 18 years, argues: "Curiously enough during Ranga's association for long years with the top smugglers of the country, such as Yusuf Patel and Haji Mastan, he could not learn their tactics and did not participate in smuggling. But, his very short association (of about three weeks) with Billa made him one of the most wanted murderers in the criminal history of the country. This may be a quirk of fate or it may be due to the fear-complex which Ranga alleged in his statement before Chief Justice Chandrachud and also in his statement/confession in the lower trial court."

How, asks Kaushik, could Ranga have turned into a hardened criminal in 25 days, because a hardened criminal is supposed to be a man who gives the impression from many past cases that he will not change or reform? If Ranga's mercy petition to the President is disallowed, his lawyers intend to ask for a review of the petition from the Supreme court and, failing that plan to file a second mercy petition on additional grounds. Though Billa is resigned to his fate, Ranga has not yet given up hope.

trial and in jail. Ranga's brother mentions the instance of DSP Piara Singh, Delhi crime branch, who walked up to Ranga's mother outside the court and said that she was making a mistake in not hiring a lawyer and defending her son in court. (Ranga had pointed her out to Piara Singh). His mother's reaction at that time was that if he had committed such a heinous crime, the family would not support him morally or otherwise: "Let him pay for bringing such a bad name to us." It was only when Ranga wrote to his mother from jail ("you may not defend me in the trial but believe me that I did not do that work") that his mother first went to meet him.

Ranga's aged mother retains her firm, strict, puritanical temperament. She is proud of the honours that have come her way, such as running the Bal Vadi centre for children at the Kasturba Gandhi Khadi Ashram run by Bibi Utkal Salam at Rajpura, which Mrs Gandhi visited in 1960. It was his mother's strictness that, in the first place, prompted Ranga to run away from home to Bombay. He did not want to study but his mother insisted that he must. One day, instead of returning home from school at Panipat, he left his books behind at school and with two other youngsters caught a train to Bombay via Delhi. At Delhi the others lost their nerve and went back home. Ranga, however, caught a train to Bombay, went to the house of his mother's brother and joined the family business—taxi-driving.

He was to return to Panipat after some months, follow his father and elder brother and train as a mechanic and then return to Bombay to drive a taxi, because he did not like the dirt and grease of a mechanic's life. His parents bought him a second-hand taxi but it was totally destroyed in an accident and he turned to running a Bombay speakeasy, so he told his family, to earn enough money to buy himself another taxi. This speakeasy was named the Ranga Khush Club. It was here that he met Billa and mistook him for a Bengali a month before the two of them came to Delhi. Ranga told his family that he was swept away by the fact that Billa had a lot of money to spend and that he would always come in a different car (stolen, as it turned out.)

However, police sources say that their friendship may have been born out of the fact that Billa would often abduct women at night, rape them and then let them go. Ranga might have joined Billa out of sexual temptation. There is also the question whether Billa and Ranga picked up the two Chopra children at Delhi in order to rape the girl, Geeta, and that the murders were committed because Sanjay and Geeta offered resistance. Ranga has confessed to his brother that when Billa murdered the children, he was in a "demonic" mood. One of the policemen SUNDAY interviewed at Delhi, who has served jail duty, commented, "In jail Billa would make it appear that Ranga was the more

dangerous criminal and Ranga would make Billa appear more nefarious, even though they seemed to be good friends and in the courts they would speak briefly to each other in Marathi. Actually, if a person came across them on the street it would be difficult to recognise them as criminals. Ranga may not have a criminal record to match Billa's but if a person stays with a criminal, there must be something fishy in him, too."

Some Delhi constables also have doubts about the doctor's report that Geeta Chopra was not raped before being killed. Another doubt, raised by Ranga's lawyers and his brother in interviews with SUNDAY, is that the police investigating team discovered a girl's *chunni* at the place where the bodies of the Chopra children were discovered. Lawyer D. K. Garg told SUNDAY, "The police site-plan shows the presence of a *chunni* at the spot but it was not produced in court. Does this imply that there was somebody else, another woman, present? If so, who was she and what was her role in the incident? Geeta Chopra's father has categorically stated that his daughter did not wear a *chunni* that



Ranga's mother and brother at their Panipat residence

day, she only wore a kurta, pants, brassiere and chappals." Ranga himself disowns any knowledge about this *chunni* and is reported to have said, "Chunni ke baarey mein mujhe kuchh nahin pata ki vahan thi ya nahin (I do not know whether there was a *chunni* or not)."

The full story about the Chopra murders may possibly emerge from the autobiography that Ranga is writing in his death-cell. He has already filled in three exercise books and plans to write another two or three to complete his brief, bizarre life story. The autobiography may also explain the exact nature of his involvement with Yusuf Patel, alleged to be an ex-smuggler, who was the mystery lawyer from Bombay who wanted to defend Billa and Ranga at the sessions

court trial, and how a 23-year-old young man could be so easily mesmerised and influenced by a criminal as hardened as Billa, in less than 30 days' time.

Outside the jail, Ranga's parents, his brother and his sister have gradually become involved once again with a boy who has lived away from them since 1971, writing to them very infrequently, never sending money home and, as his father still strongly feels, doing nothing more than giving the family a bad name. Ranga is too infamous now and in their hometown of Panipat they are now often referred to as Ranga's parents, Ranga's brother and Ranga's sister. It is a millstone around the neck of a family which has never had a "badmash" (criminal) in its midst before.

◀ Billa: fettered and handcuffed

How 60,000 Calcutta school children were given illegal cholera vaccinations

The slum-dwellers became unsuspecting guinea-pigs in the mid-Seventies but it is only now that the outrage is becoming a public issue. Vimal Balasubrahmanyan investigates.

• *Lakshmi Sengupta, a teacher in Kishore Vidyapith, in the Beliaghata suburb of Calcutta, recalls the day in February 1975 when the vaccinators arrived. "Every year the Calcutta Corporation people used to come and give cholera vaccination. We thought it was the usual routine. They never said they were not from the Corporation. They did not say they were trying out a new vaccine. We had no inkling until three years later the Sarma Sarkar commission called our headmistress to give evidence. We were stunned."*

• *Nakul Chandra Deb Nath of the same school says: "The vaccinators*

gave each child a white tablet to take 'if there's any problem.' Since they spoke of a possible problem I asked how they could be contacted. 'Oh, that won't be necessary,' they said."

In 1975-76 an unsuspecting 60,000 school children from the slums of Calcutta's Beliaghata area were given a new untried cholera vaccine by the Calcutta Cholera Research Centre (CRC, now called the National Institute of Cholera and Enteric Diseases), a wing of the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR). The children were among the two lakh

people in the cholera-endemic area who took the vaccine not knowing that they were participating in an experiment. A year earlier (in 1974) the CRC carried out a trial of a long-acting sulfa drug called Fanasil on at least 109 residents of Beliaghata to study its efficacy in preventing cholera in carriers. The drug was supplied by the World Health Organisation in India which imported it illegally, without the permission of the drug controller of India. None of the 109 persons was told that it was an experiment.

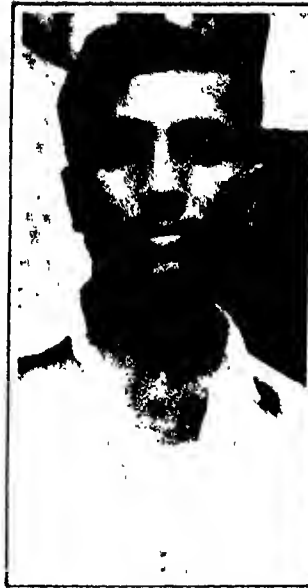
All this is in flagrant disregard of the Helsinki declaration which was

Schoolchildren of Beliaghata: are they expendable?





Kishore Vidyapith in Beliaghata, Calcutta



Schoolteacher Deb Nath



Dr Sukhamoy Bhattacharya, secretary, Scientists' Association, CRC; one of those who has quit

drawn up after the horrors perpetrated by Nazi doctors on "human guinea-pigs" came to light. India is a party to the declaration and the IMA's booklet on medical ethics lists some of its norms. First, every clinical research project should be preceded by a careful assessment of inherent risks, in comparison to foreseeable benefits. Second, the nature, purpose and risk of clinical research must be explained to the subject by the doctor. And third, clinical research on a human being cannot be undertaken without his free consent after he has been informed. If he is legally incompetent, the consent of the legal guardian should be procured.

The first opposition to the programme came from doctors themselves. A group of CRC scientists voiced their opposition and concern to the CRC director, Dr S. C. Pal, at a scientific meeting in early 1974 when the Fanasil trial was first discussed. Thereafter no more scientific meetings were called. The trial was planned in great secrecy. One of the dissenting scientists whose name appears as an author in the scientific paper published after the trial says that all he did was to examine stool samples for cholera virus. This is something that scientists at CRC do throughout the year. Information about where the stools came from and what it was all about was withheld.

The same thing happened in the vaccine trial. The dissenting scientists formed an association in 1975 that appealed fruitlessly to the CRC management, the ICMR, the then union health minister, Raj Narain, and also the West Bengal health minister, Nani Bhattacharya. In 1978 the Sarma Sarkar commission (set up to investigate Emergency excesses in West Bengal) was approached and the matter was considered sufficiently important to be taken up as the first case.

Once the hearings got going, the CRC moved the court before too many

skeletons could be discovered in its cupboards and got the probe stopped on a technical plea. The assistant director, Dr A. K. Ghosh, was dismissed in 1979. Working conditions were made so intolerable for four others that they quit last year. Having quit they are at last able to raise the issue in public.

The CRC director, Dr S. C. Pal, and the dissenting scientists both cite scientific publications and documents to prove their conflicting claims: Fanasil is not dangerous/is harmful; the new cholera vaccine is harmless/could be harmful. But that is hardly the point.

Mr S. Mukherjee, West Bengal government health inspector, who was a

supervisor in the vaccine trial project, told the Sarma Sarkar commission that there were instructions from CRC that the people should not be told that it was a new vaccine. The name of the CRC was erased from the vehicles which visited the area and the vaccinators were told to say specifically that they were from the government of India. He also said that one person known to him had died. Dr G. C. Das, health officer, Calcutta Corporation, said that he withdrew his staff from the specific area where the trials were being carried out after he had received a note from the state health department that a new type of cholera vaccine would be tried by the ICMR and the CRC.

Cholera research centre: an unholy alliance with WHO



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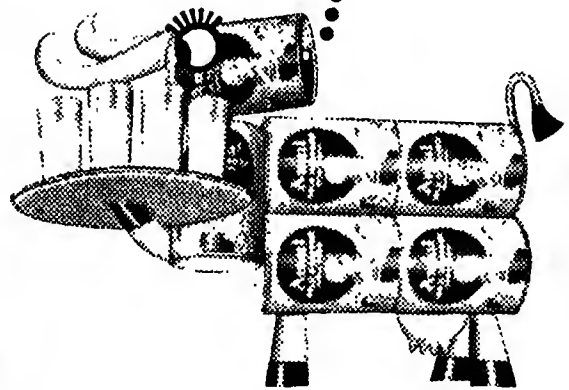
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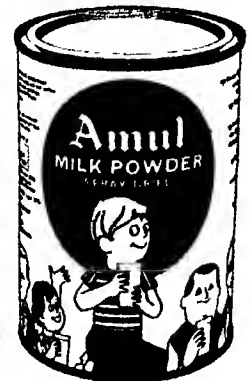
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G. C. Saha, a teacher of Beliaghata Santi Sangha Vidyayatan, told the commission: "If we had been aware that the vaccine was new and that it was a trial experiment, we would not have allowed our students to be vaccinated." Dr S. S. Ghoteskar, drug controller of the union government, told the commission that no licence had been issued to the CRC or the ICMR for the import of Fanasil for the 1974 trial. No institute, not even the WHO, could import it without a licence from the drug controller.

When I raised this point with Dr Pal, he said that WHO supplied the drug and it was not his concern to verify whether the drug controller's permission had been sought. "The ICMR drew up the project and I carried it out." This suggests that if a drug is placed in the hands of the ICMR or the CRC, they have full authority to go ahead with human trials. This fact alone raises horrendous possibilities. When asked why people were not told what they were being administered, Dr Pal countered: "Does the doctor tell you what is in the mixture?" Well, he certainly ought to, *even without being asked* if he is giving something new for the purpose of an experiment.

There is no published scientific evidence that the combination aluminium phosphate+cholera vaccine (used in the 1975 trial) is effective and harmless. Dr A. B. Chowdhury, director, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, told the Sarma Sarkar commission that the combination could induce polio-myelitis. When Dr Balasubramanian, director of the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, told the commission that the vaccine had been tried on mice, he was referring to the routine test done for every batch of vaccine manufactured at Kasauli. It was no proof of scientific backing.

The scientific advisory committee (SAC) of the CRC recommended the trial of aluminium hydroxide plus cholera vaccine, a combination that is in use in some countries and its efficacy and harmlessness is accepted. The CRC changed the constituent from aluminium hydroxide to aluminium phosphate and when the SAC applauded the work of the CRC in 1975 and 1976 it did not notice that its own recommendation had been flouted. Interestingly, the sub-committee appointed by the SAC in 1976, after studying the report of the trial, suggested that "standards for the vaccine and procedures for its testing should be established." After more than two lakh people had been vaccinated and after the SAC had recommended a switch-over to the new vaccine all over India, it comes as a bombshell to know that standards and procedures are yet to be drawn up. And six years after the 'success' of the trial was proclaimed, the new vaccine is not in use anywhere in the country.

Whether or not the vaccine caused deaths or adverse effects, the main point is that the procedure adopted for its trial was unethical and callous. It is pathetic that the evidence of at least

Abuses galore

In the light of the unethical Fanasil and vaccine trials, the increasing evidence of drug dumping in the Third World and the use of its people for experiments acquires a new urgency. The following instances have made headlines in the last couple of years.

- Agent Orange, a herbicide used by the US in Vietnam has left behind a brutal legacy. To this day the US authorities claim that this chemical, which contains dioxin, does not cause birth deformities in the offsprings of male war veterans, citing tests carried out on mice. Vietnamese doctors have been piecing together tragic evidence of children born with such severe deformities that they are hard to recognise as human.

- Between 1949 and 1969, the US army carried out 239 open-air bacteria tests under 'Operation Seaspray' on a number of American cities using the American people as "unwitting guinea-pigs" in experiments with bacteriological weapons. In one such test in 1950, the San Francisco area was blanketed with poisonous bacteria called serratia, which cause a type of pneumonia that can be fatal. All 800,000 residents were exposed. In just one hospital 12 people were treated for serratia pneumonia. Edward Nevins, a pipe fitter, died. His children and grandchildren are suing the US army for \$11 million.

- In Bangladesh the US company Pfizer promotes a combined drug of streptomycin and penicillin as "an effective and inexpensive remedy for any disease". Not only has the combination been banned in the USA for ten years, its indiscriminate use builds up a strain of tuberculosis resistant to streptomycin which is a front line defence against TB.

- In Sri Lanka a BBC team discovered anabolic steroids, in liquid form suitable for children, sold over the counter in a pharmacy. The sales literature from the US company Winthrop claims that it had demonstrated "beneficial effects" in convalescing children between 18 months and seven years "who were recovering from various ailments." Anabolic steroids are rigorously restricted in the USA. They are known to produce male sex characteristics in girls and to stunt bone development in boys.

- Amidopyrine, a seemingly benign analgesic, causes the bone-marrow to stop producing white blood cells and opens the way to infection. A British teacher, Carol Gates, working in Mozambique, bought analgesic tablets under the brand name Cibalgin (manufactured by Ciba-Geigy) from a pharmacy in Beira. After taking them for four days she had painful white spots on her gums, mouth ulcers, vomiting and a high temperature. The condition is called agranulocytosis, a known result of amidopyrine. The drug had been withdrawn in Sweden, Britain and America and in 1977 drug regulatory bodies in several countries including Switzerland recommended its withdrawal. Yet in 1979, Ciba-Geigy, which is Swiss, was distributing free samples of Cibalgin in Maputo, the Mozambique capital.

- In Bangladesh a British doctor overheard a salesman from a US multinational company suggesting to a local practitioner to prescribe the diuretic drug frusemide to reduce swellings in a child caused by the deficiency disease kwashiorkor. When the doctor intervened to protest that the drug would be more likely to kill than cure, the good merchant replied that the child would die anyway.

four teachers from two schools as recorded by the Sarma Sarkar commission in 1978 appeared in the press at the time but failed to cause a ripple. If this had happened in one of the posh English medium schools of the city not only would the parents have kicked up one hell of a row, but critical editorial comment would have also followed.

The CRC trials have taken seven years to come to the level of a public debate. In May this year, the Bengal branch of the Indian Medical Association issued a statement calling for a probe into the matter. The trials raise the fear that the disease-prone poor of the Third World will increasingly be used for such experiments unless those who carry them out are indicted.

This is how the poor slum-dwellers were taken for a ride. Kamalabala Das (40), mother of six, wife of a fitter,

lives in a Beliaghata basti (slum). It is one of the several in this cholera-endemic area where people are accustomed to visits by personnel from the CRC who come for stool collection to carry out analysis. "Sometimes people also come for urine collection. Sometimes they go from door to door to ask if anyone has fever," she said. Obviously these are researchers from centres other than the CRC. The point is that the people of this area are conditioned to expect such visits, 90 per cent of which are probably harmless, routine, perhaps even beneficial. But if one day a team arrives, in the same blue vans they know so well, to administer a new and untried drug or vaccine, it would not occur to any of these people to question who, why or what. And it is this trusting attitude that could so easily be exploited. ■

WIMBLEDON: A BRAT'S OPERA

Ashis Ray reports from London



John McEnroe: b Wiesbaden, son of lawyer serving US forces, grew up in Douglaston, New York; 22: single, perfectionist, ruthless player. **Bjorn Borg (inset):** b Stockholm, 25; married Mariana Simionescu 1980. Lives in Monte Carlo and owns an island off Swedish coast.



As the match ended, McEnroe, ecstasy sweeping through him, began sinking to the ground in a gesture of thanks to the gods of fortune who had finally smiled on him. But even before his knees had touched the ground, he straightened his legs again, got up and gave the clenched hand salute of victory. The sinking-to-the-knees pose would have been too reminiscent of the man McEnroe desperately wanted to beat at Wimbledon, a reigning king called Bjorn Borg who, it seemed, would never be beaten. But the "Superbrat" from New York, John Patrick McEnroe had finally snatched Wimbledon away.

And so, on a slightly murky afternoon on 4 July, on the centre court, Bjorn Borg's astonishing stranglehold over Wimbledon came to an end—precisely where it all began. The new champion was the man likeliest to dethrone him, McEnroe, and he had done it in a matter of three and a half hours and four hard-fought sets.

From the first round of the championships in 1976, the incredible Swede had notched up a tally of 41 uninterrupted wins at Wimbledon, which makes him the most successful player ever to grace the hallowed turf of the All England club as well as one of the greatest exponents of all time. But this time, despite the air of invincibility, the pressure had clearly built up on him. The burden of maintaining his unbelievable record had become too much for even his exceptional mental resilience, and the situation was further aggravated by injuries. He remained, of course, the official favourite, the number one seed. But, somehow, the arrow pointed towards the talented and rebellious McEnroe.

However, in a repeat of last year's final, it was Borg who got an early break and took the first set. But in such a clash of champions, the resolution of the opening set is rarely an inkling of the shape of things to come. And so it transpired. McEnroe, by virtue of a very consistent first serve in the tie-breakers, took the next two sets at 7-6. Admittedly, in the third set, Borg led 4-1 with a break behind him, but the challenger restored parity with a barrage of brilliant shots. Finally, the title-holder cracked in the tenth game of the fourth set, losing his serve, and it was the end of an era.

Anyone knowing Borg, including

McEnroe, would have been unwilling to bet that the maestro had run out of energy or ebullience when trailing two sets to one, for only two days earlier he had silenced a devastating Jimmy Connors after surrendering the first two sets. There was no limit to this 25-year-old's capabilities. But he had served atrociously, especially in the tie-breakers, where he got only one first serve in each and, in persisting with this trend in the decisive set, simply could not and did not grab the initiative. He was going for the corners, but invariably pitching the ball on the wrong court or into the tram-lines. His return of service, his passing shots, and even his volleying, which is considered to be a weakness, were all above-average. But then, there was no respite from McEnroe in this category either, and with that the American scored his sixth and most momentous triumph over his arch-rival in 13 meetings.

The new monarch overcame a tempestuous fortnight, fraught with abuse of authority, and a brush with the press, and possibly one with his girlfriend, Stacy Margolin, to take the prize he coveted most. "I wanted to prove I can win Wimbledon", he said with characteristic cockiness (his admirers call it charm!), "I have done it." Then, with a little more sobriety, "Borg is one of the greatest players that ever lived. I wanted to beat him at Wimbledon, which is what I have achieved. You've got to give everything in a match to beat him."

McEnroe's was an easy passage to the final for he did not meet a single seeded player *en route*. Indeed, his clash with the Australian Rod Frawley, though a tough encounter, was all the same a straight-set affair. There are these many imponderables at Wimbledon, and there are many who insist that it's good to get a run for your money before proceeding to the final as this makes you razor-sharp for the ultimate round. If one accepts this view, then Borg, after the classic with Connors in the last four, should have been invulnerable, while McEnroe, because of lack of extension in the "run up", not so sharp. But it turned out to be quite the opposite. Perhaps, it was not humanly possible for Borg to cling to his extraordinary peak. On the other hand, one must give credit to McEnroe for the quality he served up on the crucial day. Also, there was not one show of tantrum from him in the final. Inexplicably, he never misbehaves when playing Borg. Some call it the aura of the latter. Whatever it is, even McEnroe is persuaded to keep his cool:

Yes, the defeat of Borg certainly represents the termination of sequence. And he has been dethroned by a person who, if not particularly popular with the crowds, is definitely a performer par excellence, and therefore, deserving of the mantle of successor. But one suspects, what we have witnessed is merely the second round of a battle that began last summer. It's one all now between the two gladiators, with the decider, most probably, on the cards next year

The championship roll: 1971-81

1971	Stan Smith John Newcombe	John Newcombe
1972	Stan Smith Ilie Nastase	Stan Smith
1973	Alex Metreveli Jan Kodas	Jan Kodas
1974	Ken Rosewall Jimmy Connors	Jimmy Connors
1975	Jimmy Connors Arthur Ashe	Arthur Ashe
1976	Ilie Nastase Bjorn Borg	Bjorn Borg
1977	Bjorn Borg Jimmy Connors	Bjorn Borg
1978	Bjorn Borg Jimmy Connors	Bjorn Borg
1979	Bjorn Borg Roscoe Tanner	Bjorn Borg
1980	Bjorn Borg John McEnroe	Bjorn Borg
1981	Bjorn Borg John McEnroe	John McEnroe

The Wimbledon championship began in the year 1877



The superbrat

The record books do not show it. But this year's Wimbledon finalists—Bjorn Rune Borg and John Patrick McEnroe Jr.—made their US debut on the same day, and on the same court. It was on one of those lush courts between the stadium and the clubhouse at Forest Hills. The year: 1972. The occasion: the US Open. Very few people were watching and none of them was expecting a great match. They were there to clap for "Emmo", Roy Emerson against whom Borg was to play. McEnroe, then barely 13, was there too, but retrieving tennis balls for Borg. While returning the balls McEnroe kept saying: "Yes sir, Mr Borg," "No sir, Mr Borg."

Neither Emerson nor Borg remembers this. But McEnroe does. "Yeah," says McEnroe, "I shagged for him." Good that he did. Because that gave him the break. Pleased with his job as a ball-boy in the tournament, the organisers of the US Open asked McEnroe to come back the next year. He did; so did Borg. And what Borg could not achieve in eight tries, the man who was fetching balls for him did in the third: the championship. Ballboy turned ball-buster. Winning three of his first six encounters with Borg, McEnroe is the only player younger than Borg to defeat him. Yet McEnroe has always been respectful to Borg. "Bjorn's No. 1. No question about that."

That was in 1979. But McEnroe's Wimbledon success this year, coupled with his win over Borg in last year's US Open finals, may well put him in the No. 1 position. McEnroe made his first trip to England in 1977 and began a

McEnroe is a man who turned down a million dollars—on principle.

love-hate relationship with Wimbledon. At 18, he became the youngest male player to reach the semi-finals, losing to Jimmy Connors. Last year he reached the finals and lost only after stretching Borg to a five-set thriller. This year he avenged the defeat to deprive Borg of his chance to equal the feat of Britain's William Renshaw who won the title six times between 1881 and 1886. Not just this, McEnroe with Peter Fleming won the doubles title too. And this is where John McEnroe is one up. There are very few tennis players who go all the way both in singles and doubles, and McEnroe is one of them—a distinction he shares with his doubles partner Peter Fleming and Wojtek Fibak and Brian Gottfried. McEnroe and Fleming are the first American pair in 41 years to win the US and the Wimbledon doubles the same year (1979), equalling the 1938 feat of Don Budge and Gene Mako. As McEnroe says, "The money isn't there, but I enjoy it. And doubles is good for my singles."

Few people doubt that McEnroe is a superb player. His powerful serves that leap out of play, his splendid top-spin backhand, his fast reflexes and his crafty little "dinks" have all contributed to make him one of the best tennis players in the world. But his famous tantrums on and off the court—disputing the referee's decisions, shouting back at the crowds, smashing the ball at linesmen and

marching out of press conferences—have earned him the nickname "Superbrat" and led one sports columnist to call him "The Glaring Young Man on the Flying Tantrum." But he has never let his capers on the court affect his game. To this his friend, American player Peter Rennert testifies: "Most guys, maybe 99 per cent of us, would have lost our concentration and blown up after an argument. Not John. He lets off steam and then snap! He is totally composed for the next shot."

And there are many who would rush to defend him and justify his tantrums, sometimes almost naively, by saying that his eye is almost perfect and therefore if he argues he is right; that umpires and linesmen, usually old people, are wrong. Some even say that if he quit his tantrums, it might adversely affect his tennis and as McEnroe's father says, "There are certain things that are part of people's personalities."

John McEnroe's tantrums are not new, nor have they begun since he joined professional tennis. He had been temperamental even when, as a boy, he was training under former Australian Davis Cup coach, Harry Hopman at Port Washington Tennis Academy. He was known to be a terrible racket-thrower and something of a prankster. He was once suspended for three months as a junior member of the Catskill mountains where he was caught running down the hotel corridor with a burning bath towel. That is not to say that McEnroe does not have a gentler side. A teammate of his at Manhattan's Trinity School recalls: "He would hate to humiliate a kid six-love. Again, on one occasion when he was about 16, he flew off to play in a weekend tournament in Virginia. He beat Charles Pasarell and Bob Lutz and then lost to Nastase in the final. He was back in school on Monday morning but he didn't mention how well he had done until we had seen it in the papers." Dick Gould, Stanford University's tennis coach (after school, McEnroe had joined Stanford on a tennis scholarship) also recalls a warmer side to McEnroe, "John was a wonderful teammate. He was the first man to congratulate or commiserate with a teammate after a match." This generosity applies even now to his relationship with his doubles partner, Peter Fleming. "I have been playing crap for a year, dragging us down," says Fleming, "but 'Junior' insists it's his fault as well; we're a team." And, only last year, McEnroe refused to participate in a one million dollar exhibition match against Borg in South Africa, on principle, after Arthur Ashe, a black spokesman of American sports urged him not to. "If he can turn down a million dollars on principle," said Ashe, "he has a great future in store."

The superbrat speaks

On the British press:

It's people like you that make me sick. You write such bullshit, it's amazing. (Who my girlfriend is) is none of your business... I shouldn't tell you anything because you are such trash.

They (the press) reported a number of things that weren't true. I couldn't believe some of the outright lies I read in the papers there. That also showed what kind of people they (the British) are.

I can't get any worse press than I am getting here (Britain)

On over-working himself:

I'll either get my ass kicked or get on by accident.

On improving his on-the-court image:

I'm going to get better.

On winning Wimbledon:

That was a victory for America, John McEnroe and Independence Day (4 July).

You have to give everything to beat him (Borg). You can't cope with other problems. I didn't even say come on to myself. I wanted to conserve all my energy.

Borg's 41 wins in a row at Wimbledon is great. I am pleased to be the one who stopped it.

I think I can do anything with the ball when I need to.

On the spectators:

Wimbledon and England are two entirely different places. I've never had any trouble in England, but Wimbledon is a place where people go to be seen more than to watch the game.

Family of India

Sixteen languages, nearly 2,000 dialects, a dozen basic physical types, seven religious communities, about 3,000 castes, 50,000 sub-castes and more than 400 tribes. This is India—a nation of myriad cultures, a sub-continent of diversity, but nevertheless a single huge family. And it is almost impossible to capture such diversity on photographs, let alone bring them together for an exhibition. But the near impossible was achieved: the "Family of India" was on proud display at the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta recently.

Photographer Ajoy Dey got the idea of organising such an exhibition nearly 17 years ago when he saw the classic "Family of Man" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. After many disappointments, he got together 4,500 photographs from 250 photographers. The 450 selected "depict entire India in its reality...Our achievements and failures, our day to day life, its pathos and agonies, its pleasures and pastimes and every form of human emotions in our national and social life." Who helped Dey? Agfa-Gevaert. Who did not? Lalit Kala Akademi. Much as we would have liked to present a large selection of photographs space permits us to produce only a few.



West Bengal

—Arun Ganguly



Andhra Pradesh

—O. C. Edwards



Maharashtra

—J. Agarwal



West Bengal

—Ajoy Dey



PAHADIA THE FALL

Will the 85 MLAs from Rajasthan who declared their support for Mr Jagannath Pahadia on 8 July, be able to save the only harijan chief minister in the country? Unlikely: the fact that he had to have this public display of support exposed, paradoxically, Pahadia's nervousness. And he had reasons to be nervous. He had been repeatedly humbled by Delhi: Mrs Gandhi has refused to meet him and the high command is scouting for a replacement. Milap Chand Dandia reports.

Karnataka chief minister Gundu Rao in his too-candid interview to SUNDAY (14 June) considered him to be the most insecure chief minister in the country. Enough signals arose from Delhi in the first week of July to bear that out. Mrs Gandhi refused to see him to calm his fears, the party high command was openly scouting for a replacement, the media was playing around with the names of successors. The days of the only harijan chief minister in the country seemed to be over. Nobody in Rajasthan doubts this. The only question was, when exactly would he go?

The uncertainties about the future of Mr Pahadia have cast their inevitable shadows both on the politics and

the government of the state. The government hardly functions. State officials are demoralised, Congress(I) workers and MLAs are in a disarray (many are openly defiant of the leadership), developmental work has come to a halt and, above all, the chief minister is supremely ineffective, in addition to being breathtakingly callous. Said Mr Buta Singh, the union minister of state for shipping and transport, whom the Congress(I) high command had recently despatched to Jaipur as its observer: "There is no party organisation worth the name in Rajasthan. Even drinking water is not available in the PCC(I) office. The legislative party organisation is confined to the chief whip." Mr Singh went to the extent of recommending

that a deputation of senior officials be sent from Delhi "to check the situation from deteriorating further."

The chief minister has few illusions about where his power emanates from. He said in April: "I went to Rajasthan at the behest of the high command. I fully depend on the central leadership and would abide by its verdict." But then he went on to assert brazenly: "My government is running quite efficiently and is in fact better than any government in the past in the state." His claims have not been believed even by his party, let alone the people. Even Mr Pahadia's supporters in Rajasthan do not really challenge the contention that Mr Pahadia has been a monumental failure as chief minister, but they have been hoping that Mrs Gandhi will not change him if only because Mr Pahadia happens to be the only harijan chief minister in the country. And Mrs Gandhi needs to show her gratitude to harijans.

Mr Pahadia's position has not really been secure ever since his mentor, the late Mr Sanjay Gandhi, died in June last year. But the latest and most serious round of trouble for him began during the budget session of the state Assembly earlier this year. Dissidence in the ruling party came to the fore as ruling party MLAs participated in stormy scenes in the house taking the government to task on one issue after another. The chief minister and his chief whip were reduced to a position where they were hard put to find someone from the ruling party who



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Mrs Shanti Pahadia

would propose a vote of thanks for the governor's address. When, finally, Mrs Laxmi Kumari Chandawat agreed to do so, she indulged in an attack of the government so virulent that no opposition leader could have excelled her!

When the time came for the chief minister to reply to the debate, the entire opposition and the press corps boycotted the proceedings. In an house entirely dominated by members of his own party, Mr Pahadia rose to speak. He was continually interrupted by Congress(1) legislators, and members after member rose to level the most serious charges, ranging from non-performance to corruption, against him. No cabinet colleague of Mr Pahadia defended him and when the chief whip tried to upbraid the defiant members, he was shouted down.

The chief minister had called a meeting of the CLP(1) the day he presented the budget. Once again the members attacked the chief minister. At the meeting, Mr Buta Singh, the observer from Delhi was present at Mr Pahadia's request. But Mr Singh's presence only encouraged the members to be more vociferous in their tirades against the CM. Mr Buta Singh returned to Delhi carrying reports of what had been seen.

The high command reacted by sending its first important warning signal: it chose to back Mr Ahmed Bux Sindi, a dissident leader, in preference to Mr Pahadia's candidate, Mr Taraquiddeen Ahmed, for the deputy speaker's position. Mr Sindi was duly elected; Delhi directed Mr Pahadia to withdraw his support from Mr Ahmed. The PCC(1) president, Mr Ram Narain Chaudhary, a nominee of Mr Pahadia,

too came under a cloud as Mr Buta Singh reported that the PCC(1) was as ineffective as the government. Dissidents continued to travel to Delhi and were able to get appointments—to meet Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi to voice their grievances. Mr Pahadia, in turn, in order to placate party MLAs, offered cushy positions ranging from ministership to chairmanship of government undertakings to nearly 85 of the 136 Congress(1) MLAs. This move, instead of checking dissidence, has only aggravated it.

In early July, differences in the state cabinet came into the open. Both the chief minister as well as the transport minister, Hanuman Prasad Prabhakar, vented their anger to the press against the food and civil supplies minister, Chandan Mal Vaid and health minister Heeralal Devpura, who have been opposing the chief minister. Both Mr Vaid and Mr Devpura immediately rushed to Delhi to apprise the high command of these developments. Their names are now being mentioned along with that of Mr Narendra Singh Bhati, a deputy minister in Mr Pahadia's cabinet and a close friend of Rajiv Gandhi, as possible successors to Mr Pahadia. The names of two MPs, Girdharilal Vyas and Nawal Kishore Sharma are also being whispered in this connection.

Ever since Mr Pahadia became the CM, the sluggish nature of his government has been apparent: he took two weeks to form a skeleton cabinet of three ministers and five deputy ministers. Besides, he kept 25 departments to himself and did not allot any work to three deputy ministers. This had its obvious effects: when

after nine months he expanded his cabinet, more than 8,000 files had accumulated in his office. This resulted not only in a colossal loss of revenue to the state exchequer, but also a setback in government spending. There was a shortfall of more than Rs 40 crores in the estimated state revenue for the year 1980-81, while according to the CM's own note (dated 29 January 1981) only a sum of Rs 92.78 crores had been spent by the government against the annual plan provision of Rs 352.81 crores.

This did not escape Mrs Gandhi's notice, and when she conveyed her displeasure to the CM he sought to cover up his inefficiency by transferring a number of senior officers and dumping unattended files on the new incumbents with a cyclostyled note reading: "The file may be seen by the new secretary of the department." The same method of disposing of files was adopted after the expansion of the cabinet in March, the only difference being that instead of sending the files to the bureaucrats, they were sent to the newly appointed ministers. Though a large number of files were disposed of in this manner, a substantial number still gather dust in the CM's office.

His handling of the worsening drought situation in the state is a further example of the CM's callous attitude. While 21,000 villages in 26 districts are in the grip of famine, the CM has had the time to visit only two districts—Barmer and Jaisalmer—and that too when the Prime Minister asked him to do so. Just how apathetic Mr Pahadia is to the suffering of the people was indicated in his address to the district collectors in March this year. He warned the collectors not to arouse too many hopes among the drought-stricken people regarding famine relief operations, lest the people stop migrating to neighbouring states. This has obviously been very embarrassing for some ruling party MLAs.

Mr Pahadia's government is not only inefficient, it is also corrupt. The ball, perhaps, was set rolling by the CM himself. When Mr Pahadia took over the chief ministership of the state, the official residence earmarked for him was not ready. So, instead, Mr Pahadia moved into state-owned Star Hotel along with his family and stayed there for two months. The entire southern wing of the hotel was put at the disposal of the chief minister, who used the opportunity to lavishly entertain his friends and relatives. Just before shifting out of the hotel, Mr Pahadia was presented with a bill of about Rs 65,000. The chief minister, however, refused to pay the bill. Instead, at his behest, the rooms occupied in excess of his entitlement were shown in the hotel register as having remained unoccupied and no bill was prepared for food consumed during that period. To compensate for this, Mr Pahadia agreed to replenish some of the hotel's stock of wheat, sugar and tea.

But where corruption is at its peak

is in the field of transfers. Even Congress(I) workers have alleged that the education department has transferred officials to posts of their choice on receiving "fees" ranging from Rs 1,000 to Rs 3,000. Since Mr Pahadia became the chief minister 40,000 transfer orders have been issued by this department, adding an additional burden of Rs three crores to the state exchequer by way of travelling allowance for the staff on transfer. According to sources within the government, the state Congress(I), for choice postings, is charging about Rs 20,000 in the case of an assistant engineer in the PWD, Rs 30,000 for an executive engineer and Rs 50,000 for a superintending engineer.

The list of charges against Mr Pahadia's government does not end here. His method of collecting funds for his by-election from the Wier constituency and for the Kisan Rally, has raised a number of eyebrows in Jaipur. A story doing the rounds is that on the eve of the Kisan Rally, at a meeting between the CM and textile mill owners, a bargain was struck by which Mr Pahadia agreed to supply uninterrupted power to the textile mills in return for Rs 11 lakhs for the Rally. (It is a fact that while textile mills receive uninterrupted power supply, public sector units like Hindustan Zinc and Hindustan Copper are starved of power.) This issue, as a matter of fact, had become a topic of debate in the Vidhan Sabha. Some vocal Congress(I) elements even allege that the local Congress(I) had collected Rs 80 lakhs for the Rally, while only 80,000 people from Rajasthan participated in the Rally. Neither the CM nor the PCC(I) president, Ram Narain Chaudhury, has submitted an account of the money collected or spent.

The question now is: what is Mr Pahadia doing with the money he is said to be collecting? If one is to believe the CM, it is not for himself. Perhaps an answer to this was provided by Mr Pahadia while addressing a reception organised in his honour by the Rajasthan Chamber of Commerce and Industry. As he said at the reception, "No work in the world can be accomplished without money, more so in politics. I have not needed money to run my political activities. But my leader needs money and my party also needs it."

Many in Jaipur believe that the person who actually runs the government is not the CM, but his wife, Mrs Shanti Pahadia, aided by Charan Singh Kherwal, special secretary to the chief minister and Mr G. Ramchander, the famine commissioner. They are popularly known as the "gang of three." It is common knowledge in Jaipur, that few decisions are made without the approval of this "gang." The three meet regularly at the CM's residence and problems of the state are discussed. Some officials, in order to ingratiate themselves with Mrs Pahadia (and thereby with the CM), forward their files to Mr Kherwal for

his comments before sending them to the departments concerned.

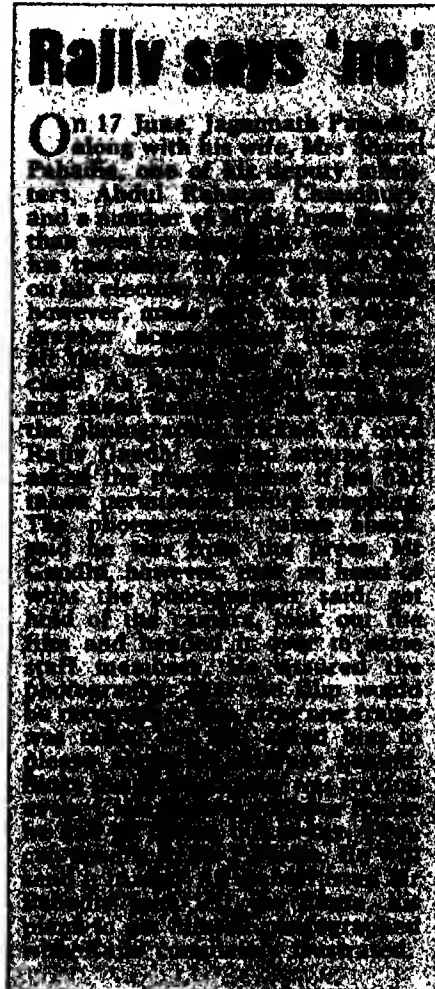
Mrs Shanti Pahadia first shot into the news when her husband was put in charge of distributing party tickets for the 1980 Assembly elections. It was then that a number of people complained that Mrs Pahadia was selling party tickets. Shortly after Mr Pahadia became the chief minister, he appointed his wife director of the Rajasthan State Cooperative Consumers' Federation—a powerful organisation as it has the sole distribution rights of cement, controlled cloth and sugar. Her appointment as the director of the Federation helped her in another way to become the vice-

the ministers to her residence, admonished them severely and demanded an explanation as to why none of them had said anything to counter the charges being made against her husband. The ministers present did not utter a word and silently received the admonishing.

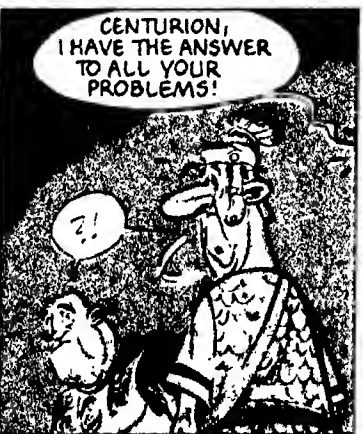
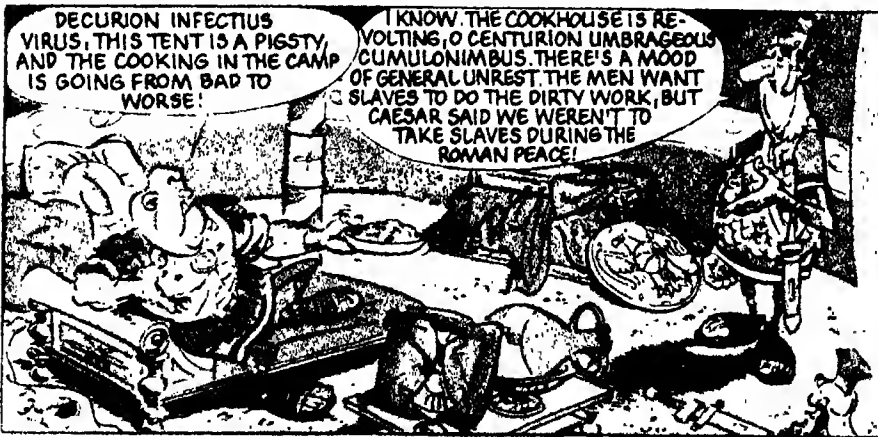
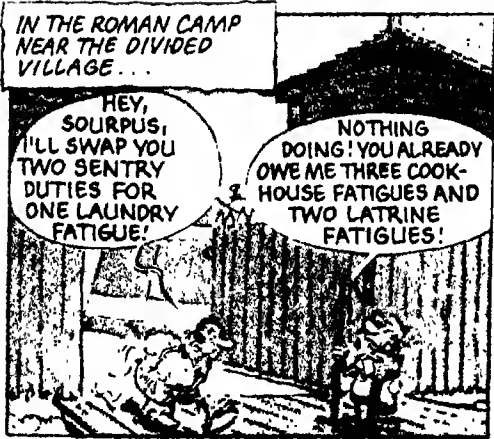
But Mrs Shanti Pahadia is not the only one to influence Mr Pahadia. The other person is a *tantrik*, whom the chief minister consults before taking any important decision—and sometimes not so important. Shortly after he became the CM, the *tantrik* told Mr Pahadia that the numbers three, six and nine are auspicious for him—none of which figured in his residential address, which is 8, Civil Lines. So, the *tantrik* advised him to shift to 9, Civil Lines. But as 9, Civil Lines happens to be the address of the Raj Bhawan, the CM obviously could not shift his residence. So the *tantrik* thought of the next best solution: a wall be constructed inside the compound separating the main house from the outhouse, and number 9 be allotted to the CM's house; and number 8 to the outhouse. On another occasion the *tantrik* advised him that while meeting people officially, his feet should not touch the ground. Accordingly, a dais, nine inches above the ground was constructed in Mr Pahadia's drawing room on which his feet rest while conducting official business.

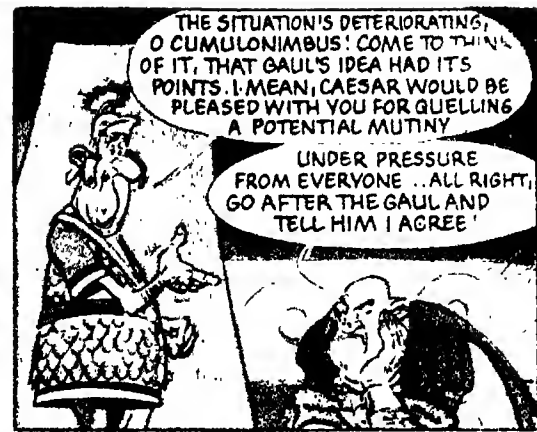
While staying in Delhi, as a minister of state, before he became the chief minister, Mr Pahadia did not face the problem of changing his house as his address was 9, Krishna Menon Marg, an auspicious number according to his *tantrik*. But even after shifting to Jaipur, Mr Pahadia did not vacate his house. Instead, he asked the chief secretary of Rajasthan to take over the house on behalf of the state government and turn it into the chief minister's official residence in Delhi. The ministry of housing, however, did not accept this proposal as the Rajasthan government already has the Jodhpur House for the use of the chief minister and the governor during their visits to the capital. Accordingly, it served several notices to Mr Pahadia to vacate the house of which Mr Pahadia has so far taken no notice. It is believed that one reason for the chief minister's reluctance to vacate the house is instructions from his *tantrik* not to vacate this "auspicious" house.

Now, however, Mr Pahadia has turned his attention to the Bayana Parliamentary constituency which he vacated to enter the Assembly. And if he has his way, the party ticket is likely to go either to his wife or his son, Om Prakash. And for this, the chief minister continues to nurture the constituency. In the last three months about 200 allopathic and ayurvedic dispensaries have been opened in Rajasthan. Of these 25 fall in the Bayana Parliamentary constituency. What remains to be seen is whether Mr Pahadia retains his seat as the chief minister of Rajasthan at the time of the by-election



president of the Central Apex Body, in which capacity she has already made a trip to the USSR. Nor is Mrs Pahadia's behaviour exemplary—most people, as a matter of fact, think that her behaviour is extremely high-handed. There are few occasions when Mrs Pahadia hesitates to order government servants and ministers to get her work done. Recently, when Mr Buta Singh, as the AICC(I) observer had come to look into the functioning of the state Congress(I), a large number of MLAs made serious charges against the chief minister. But none of the cabinet ministers present uttered a word in defence of Mr Pahadia. The next day, an angry Shanti Pahadia summoned







"It's the feeling, it's the caring; it's the giving, sweet feeling of joy..."

Bring home these moments

Cadbury's
Chocolates



Sometimes, Cadbury's can say it
better than words

A shot in the dark

Murphy twirled his moustache and chomped down on the hamburger "So that's it. You shoot the Petropoulos dame, I make you famous. What do you need a contract for?"

Otto Van Der Bilt took out his Dunhill and lit a cigarette "It's no deal. I don't care if you control the biggest press syndicate in the world. No contract, no photographs. I want everything in black and white ..."

"Yes, yes, of course" Murphy grabbed at the french fries.

"... And as for fame, I already have it. But this information I've got on the Petropoulos heiress will make the most sensational scoop of the century." Otto stood up "That's what I'm interested in I'm going to be the first to find out why she's been fighting shy all these years. The first to be able to photograph her."

Murphy nervously wiped his greasy fingers on his trousers. "Are you sure you can do it?"

"I'm always sure" said Otto, adjusting his silk cravat.

Otto flew half across the world in his Lear jet. To get to the tiny unknown island in the middle of the Aegean Sea, if the tip-off was correct, she would make the switch here, from yacht to helicopter. Otto hoped to get her with

He felt sure he could get her...after all, negative was a word that only featured in his darkroom

his trusty camera ... It shouldn't be a shot in the dark. And when he did, he would know her secret. Why she went to such ridiculous lengths not to be photographed.

For the Petropoulos heiress who commanded the financial empires of the world was eccentric. And she was a smasher, people said. Any camera that managed to get close to her, she smashed. So like a night bird, she

moved only in the dark. Flitting from one secret destination to another.

Otto adjusted his infra-red binoculars and settled down in the ruins for the wait. And when the yacht arrived, he was ready.

Two dark figures stepped out. Would one be hers?

Otto's hands trembled as he peered through the special telephoto lens. He whistled softly at what he saw ... then his camera went into action.

"But where is the dame" screamed Murphy, as he looked at the colour slides. "These are nothing but bags!"

Otto puffed out his chest in indignation. "You never did learn to speak respectfully. What do you mean by calling them bags? They're VIPs, you know ... the best I've ever seen or photographed. Can't you see that brilliant finish? Those dignified designs? Those sleek lines and contours? Here, have a look at these. These are the handcrafted leather ones. Ever seen anything like them before?"

His eyes filmed over. "Some with combination locks, some without. And look at this. That's when she tripped over her feet and this suitcase flew open. Guess she forgot to close it properly. See that beautiful silk brocade lining?"

"... But what about the dame" wailed Murphy. "What about the contract? Didn't you take at least one of hers?"

"Oh, she" said Otto, dancing the zeibekiko "She was nothing much to look at. Her nose is too big."

N.B. It has been necessary to conceal the identities of our customers, to protect their privacy. The VIP luggage range, however, maintains its actual identity in 57 countries around the world.

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An unsuspecting Otto waiting for the Petropoulos heiress. Little did he know of VIP!



THE WORLD

Voice of liberation

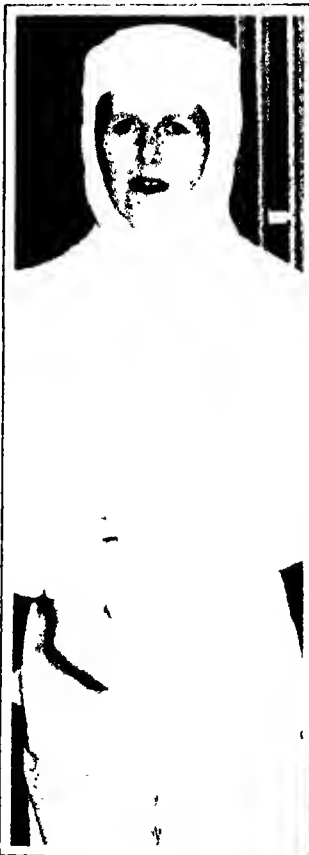
A number of French intellectuals and Soviet dissidents have got together to sponsor a secret radio service called 'The Voice of Afghan Liberation' which will broadcast programme in Pushtu, Persian and Russian from seven mobile transmitters in Afghanistan. Renzo Rossellini, generally regarded as the father of free radio in Europe, has been appointed technical manager of the scheme, according to him, the radio service will be run by Afghan resistance leaders. The scheme has been inspired by the BBC's role in World War II and will include frequent recorded broadcasts by leading Soviet dissidents like Alexander Solzhenitsyn who will make an attempt to persuade Russian soldiers in Afghanistan to desert their posts.

McEnroe's double

'The John McEnroe of diplomacy' is US secretary of state Alexander Haig. His relationship with the White House and President Reagan's aides has been strained ever since he proclaimed, "As of now (the moment Mr Reagan was shot a few months ago) I am in control here." And subsequently he added fuel to fire by publicly opposing the President's decision to appoint vice-President George Bush as the 'crisis co-ordinator'. The latest row involves two of Mr Haig's top state department staff who have been very vocal in their criticism of US ambassador to the United Nations, Mrs Jean Kirkpatrick. Obviously, Mr Haig is not happy with the way she handled the United Nations' resolution condemning Israel for attacking Iraq.

Thatcher skips dinner

Mrs Margaret Thatcher is rather fussy about who she dines with, the fact that she initially "welcomed" the invitation to a dinner hosted by the council of Arab ambassadors in London at Dorchester Hotel on 2 July, speaks volumes of her respect for oil producers; but when she was told by her foreign office hawks that the PLO representative in Britain, Nabil Ramlawi, would also be attending the dinner, Mrs Thatcher categorically declined the invitation. A spokesman at 10, Downing Street explained that the Prime Minister was "opposed to formal meetings with representatives of the PLO" but "maintains the government's distinction between such contacts and informal encounters." However, it was subsequently discovered that the foreign office had made a last-minute effort to save the situation by recruiting the services of Denis Walters, a member of the council of Arab-British understanding, who was instructed to persuade the Arab ambassadors to drop Mr Ramlawi's name from the guest list. But, according to Mr Walters, "various complications" prevented the hosts from acceding to this request.



Margaret Thatcher: insulated foreign policy

Briefly

Brits unimpressed



Nazia: clean is boring

Disco Deewane has had its share of success in Britain as well; wherever they go, Nazia Hassan and 15-year-old brother Zohab are mobbed by Indian and Pakistani autograph hunters. Unfortunately, the British press has not been enamoured by them. *The Sunday Times*, London, was particularly harsh on the singing duo: "Karachi's answer to the Osmonds, they are clean, moral, well behaved, confident, rich, beautiful and sickening. They regard their parents as friends and all that sort of thing."

Unusual penalty

A Paris court has passed a very unusual sentence against a French history professor who claimed that Hitler's genocide never took place. Apart from being sentenced to a three-month suspended prison term for libel and "incitement to murder," Prof Robert Faurisson has been ordered to pay £ 5,000 towards the cost of newspaper and television advertisements which will be released by the court to publicise its judgement on this case.

Hoarding oil

Foreshadowing yet another oil crisis the USA, according to energy secretary Ben Rumsfeld, is now filling its strategic petroleum reserve at a record average rate of 200,000 barrels per day.

For name's sake

Blair Smith (21), the lone white member of the Zimbabwean football team touring Mozambique recently, paid with his life for the name he bore, he was shot dead by a Frelimo soldier who just could not tolerate his surname because it was the same as that of the much-hated ex-Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith.

Foul is fair

UN officials carrying out a survey of health services in Uganda have disclosed that in Kampala it is safer to drink sewage water than fruit juice sold at roadside stalls: tests on fruit juice have shown 100 per cent typhoid pollution while those on sewage water indicate only 50 per cent pollution.

Poetic wrath

On the second day of the second England-Australia cricket test at Lord's a spectator made the mistake of picking up the ball before it had crossed the boundary. Australian wicketkeeper Rodney Marsh was visibly disturbed by this act of intrusion; during the subsequent drinks interval he went over to the boundary line and told the offender: "I'm this side of the line, you're that side, and never the twain shall meet; if they do, I'll break your teeth."



Marsh: a rare fit of wit

Race war in Britain

Southall, Liverpool, Manchester—it keeps spreading and worsens day by day. ASHIS RAY reports from London.

Liverpool, Saturday 4 July. Race riots erupted shortly before midnight at Britain's sixth largest town, and continued for about seven hours—till dawn the following morning. Tension had been high for some days between the police and the youth at Toxteth, a predominantly black West Indian neighbourhood in the city. On the previous day 50 youths, mainly coloured, had skirmishes with policemen trying to arrest a young motorcyclist. Five police officers were injured in that incident. Saturday night's clashes were mainly between the police and black and white youths. At the height of the riots, at least 60 youths were found hurling bricks, bottles and Molotov cocktails (petrol bombs) at the police. Others torched cars and houses and looted business establishments. As the riot aggravated, 200 policemen equipped with riot shields and visors closed ranks to face a thousand youths across a barricade of gutted cars.

Peace came with dawn but violence was resumed the following night when youths drove six hijacked milk vans into the police, jumping off just before the vans crashed into the police barricades. For the first time in the history of riot control in mainland Britain, in addition to baton charge, the police used disabling "CS" tear gas shells to disperse the rioters, some of whom were no more than 12 years old. Sunday's violence was even worse than the previous evening's. At one stage the rioters, who were armed with hammers and axes, speared a policeman in the head with a two-metre-long iron railing. But they also suspended their looting and violence for a while to allow the evacuation of an old people's home, which they had set ablaze. Shortly thereafter, they resumed their maniacal violence with cries of "Stone the bastards." Arson and looting kept even pace. The following morning, an MP, a witness to the night-long orgy commented: "Scenes like this never have been seen in a British city under the rule of law this century." Britain's Conservative Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher seemed to agree when she said: "I am very concerned about what has happened. Most of us didn't think that violence of this nature could hap-

pen in our country. We must try to find out what happened so as to ensure there is no repetition."

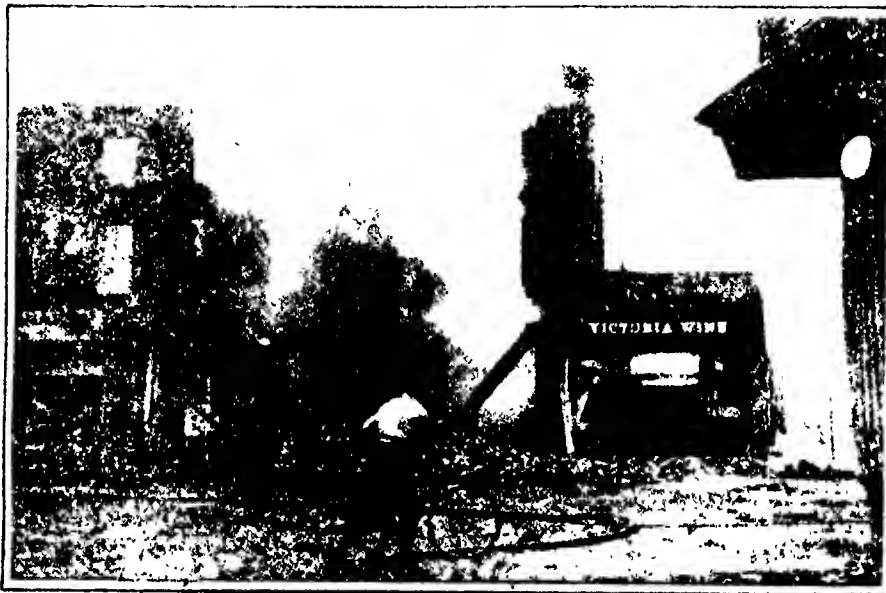
Yes, what indeed had happened at Liverpool to provoke such violence? That is still unclear. Initial reports, however, emphasised that the riots had stemmed from "a volatile mixture of unemployment, poverty, frustration and sheer hooliganism." As a city councillor, Mr Hillary Hodge, said: "When people are unemployed for long periods without hope this sort of thing will happen." Unemployment in Liverpool is twice the national average. More than one in six persons are without jobs—a figure higher than ever before, since the war. (A city joke says that the dole queue is one of two expanding industries in the city; the other is for watchmen to guard vacant factories.) Unemployment in Toxteth is even worse than in the city. According to a Liverpool University survey of the Liverpool 8 district (of which Toxteth is a part), joblessness among the whites is 43 per cent and among the blacks is higher still at 47 per cent. But, Home Secretary Whitelaw told an opposition MP in Parliament who had blamed social and economic causes for the recent riots: "There can be no

excuse (for riots of such) extraordinary ferocity."

The riots were indeed unprecedented. Even on the third (Monday) night there was violence in Liverpool though on a more subdued scale. Hundreds of policemen battled with the young rioters, principally white, some of them no more than 11-year-old. Even though petrol pumps had remained closed (thus preventing the rioters from obtaining the wherewithal for Molotov cocktails) the youths went around looting shops, torching warehouses and clashing with the police. On Tuesday night, rioting spread to Manchester, Britain's third city, 60 kms from Liverpool. Gangs of youth went through the Moss Side area of the city during the early hours of Wednesday, 8 July, setting shops ablaze and stoning fire engines. Hours before trouble erupted in Manchester about 400 black youths went through the main street of Wood Green, a London suburb, looting shops and attacking the police.

This month's round of race riots in Britain began with the violence on the night of Friday 3 July at Southall, a west London suburb. Southall, by and large, is a peaceful domain with an excellent record of inter-community relations. It is a predominantly Asian neighbourhood with the subcontinental strength even as far back as the early Sixties standing at more than 10,000. Since then, the exodus from East Africa has considerably augmented this figure giving way to a culture which is very Indian. From Hindi films at the theatres to South Asian food, from the ubiquitous mosques and gurdwaras to *chat* shops, the terrain bears an unmistakable resemblance to an upcountry Indian city. And, needless to mention, most business establishments, including stores big and small, are owned by the settlers. The whites of the locality apparently do not mind this and, if anything, are labour-oriented with a

Ravaged Toxteth



sentimental feeling even for Naxalite fugitives from India. (One such activist threw an egg at Mrs Gandhi when she attended a public reception here in 1978.)

The evening of 3 July was the date for a rock concert at the Hambrough tavern at Southall mainly of interest to "punk rockers" and "skinheads." From 6.30 onwards, skinheads began arriving at Southall in a variety of vehicles apparently to listen to the concert. At about eight, before the music had got underway, four of them and a girl, walking down the Broadway, the principal thoroughfare of the district, entered an Asian grocery shop, the Maharajah Stores, whose proprietor, Mr Darshan Kalhan, is an official of the Indian Overseas Congress (Indira wing). The youngsters went on to abuse his wife, Nirmal, in the presence of her son and daughter. Whereupon, the daughter phoned friends for help. That was the spark that lit the fire. The skinheads responded by breaking the shop window and, subsequently, the windows of adjacent shops, before departing.

The news of the outrage spread like wildfire and, soon, hundreds of Asian youths began to amass. One of the first retaliations was on a white "geezer" of about 20, who was stopped when riding past on a motorbike and hit on the head with a brick. Another white youth was pulled out of a public bus and beaten up. The Hambrough tavern is on a hill and, according to the police, no less than 500 Asians converged on the tavern. Inside the pub, around 400 skinheads listened to the skinhead pop group 'Four Skins'—a play, obviously, on words the allusion being to their uncircumcised "gentleness". The skinheads screamed "Oi, Oi" and shouted racial insults as the band played. Bricks rained down on the pub, thrown by Asian youths outside. Inside, skinheads started breaking chairs to use as weapons. The staff hid in a room while the police made efforts to keep the skinheads within the pub. The Asians outside then threw Molotov cocktails at the police and the pub, as a result of which, it was partially gutted. As the concert inside aborted, skinheads streamed out only to get involved in frontal clashes with the Asians. The police, trying to keep the warring groups apart, came under the crossfire and got the worst of it.

At ten, reinforced with additional men, the police began their arrests. They escorted skinheads from the pub to Delamere Street nearby, while trying to keep the infuriated Asians at bay at the mouth of the thoroughfare. But, inside Delamere Street, the skinheads ran amuck attacking and setting alight houses in which Asians lived. The riot ended at about 11.30 that night. Sixtyone police officers were injured, seven of whom had to be hospitalised, two with suspected fractured skulls. Medical attention had to be given to 28 civilians. There were 23 arrests.

"Skinheads" are basically vagrant semi-literate anti-socials, named thus



A Liverpool sergeant bleeds

because of the extremely short length of their hair, virtually exposing the skull. Their usual attire comprises loose coats, rolled-up jeans and camping boots. In recent times, bodies like the National Front, the British Movement and the White Crusade have worked on their unemployment and the general absence of opportunities to indoctrinate them in favour of neo-Nazi racist ideas.

With regard to the Southall riot, the police have been severely criticised for their slow response to signs of trouble. When trouble began, there were only about a score and a half policemen at the scene. It was only later that reinforcements came in. By the end of the evening, 600 men—including members of the elite Special Patrol Group (SPG) were there. The police explanation: there were three more large discos within a mile and a half and, acting on a tip (in the event, a false one), they had concentrated their forces at Greenford, a mile away.

What is worse, the Asian youths acted the way they did because they were convinced that the police were so much in favour of the skinheads that they were sheltering them. Said a member of the Southall Youth Association: "The skinheads were wearing National Front gear. They sheltered behind police barricades and threw stones at the crowd. Instead of arresting them, the police just pushed back the crowd. It is not surprising that people started to retaliate." Argued Ajit Rai, a former president of the Indian Workers' Union: "If the skinheads were coming in coaches, the police should have known."

Britishers who empathised with immigrant feelings tended to agree. Said Peter Jones of Ealing Community Relations Council: "They (the police) should be very concerned that they were attacked by young Asians who perceived them to be hostile and who perceived, rightly or wrongly, that they were protecting bodies like the National Front." Sydney Bidwell, Labour MP for Southwell, was even less equivocal: "It seems to have been an organised attempt to maraud."

The 3 July violence recalled another major riot that had occurred in Southall two years back in 1979. During the election campaign that

year, the neo-Nazi National Front had selected the town hall in this district as a venue for one of their meetings which led to a furious protest by local youths, mainly Indians and, regrettably, to the death of a New Zealand schoolteacher, Blair Peach, an Anti-Nazi League sympathiser. The police, then, had objected to the National Front holding the rally in an area where they could expect no support whatsoever from local residents. But, this was overruled by the authorities on grounds of interference with electioneering. In the event, when the anticipated hostility of Southall dwellers, aided by left wing outsiders, amplified to alarming proportions, the guardians of the law, supplemented by the SPG resorted to an indiscriminate baton charge in an attempt to check the violence. The outcome: several arrests and injuries including a fatal one. Allegedly, Beach was brutally hit on the head when chased into a side-alley, even after he had lost his balance and fallen down. Till date, of course, the charge has not been substantiated although it is believed that the suspension of a few SPG officers following a departmental inquiry, was a sequel to the way they had behaved during the 1979 riot.

In the recent riot, while the police have been widely criticised by immigrants and pro-immigrant Britishers for their delayed reaction as well as their blatant partisanship in favour of the skinheads, no one has yet accused them of exaggerated violence. In fact, since they were caught in the crossfire at Southall and were directly attacked both at Liverpool as well as Manchester there appears to be an exaggerated concern in the British government as well as the media for their safety, or lack of it, as was patent during the recent riots. The Prime Minister summed up the mood when he stressed the need to "consider everything to protect the police."

To be sure, the police have got the worst of the ongoing riots. In Toxteth alone, 255 of them were injured and the sort of mindless violence the police have encountered is unprecedented. As the deputy chief constable of Liverpool remarked: "This is a unique one, certainly in my experience." But, surely, the concern of the hour is to try and get to the root of the problem. It would be easy to arm policemen to the teeth and, meeting violence with violence, turn mainland Britain into another Northern Ireland. Cities with large immigrant concentration would then be the equivalents of Belfast and Londonderry. But it wouldn't help matters. Violence will not abate as, plainly, it hasn't in Northern Ireland. The saner way out would be to recognise that the riots are a direct consequence of the socio-economic policies followed by the present British government which are a burden on the least stable segment of society in that country. With that recognition will come an attempt to mend those policies and prevent violent social disintegration which, as things are going, seems more imminent than ever before. ■

How to buy a B.A. degree

Pay up and you will get it,
says TOOSHAR PANDIT.

INVESTIGATION

If you do not have a university degree, you needn't work for one. All you have to do is to look through the classified advertisement columns of newspapers for the advertisement which offers you the opportunity to "pass privately" BA, B Com., or most other examinations. Then ask for the prospectus. Once you have got that, choose your degree and pay up. You will get it—almost without any effort.

A typical insertion in the newspaper would read: "Pass privately BA, BCom., MA, MCom., MSc. (Maths) matric eligible, Matric, HSC., BEd. and MEd. Write to the address given below for prospectus." For the prospectus you have to pay anything between Rs three to Rs 15, depending on the rate fixed by the institute or tutorial college which has advertised. The prosperous among the institutes issue printed prospectus, while others send out cyclostyled copies. The prospectus itself offers several options. You can either get a degree straightaway or in instalments. You can take your pick. And the last thing that you have to worry about is eligibility: even a school-leaving certificate would entitle you to a post-graduate degree. Along with the prospectus you receive a form which has to be filled and sent with a sum of money which varies according to the degree required. Of course, even while paying you have a choice: lump sum or instalments. But paying in instalments would cost you a bit more.

The prices of degrees, too, vary from institute to institute. But, on an average, it costs about Rs 1,000 to get an HSC or intermediate degree, and Rs 1,500 for a graduate degree. A degree in Education costs more, possibly because of the demand for it. These rates, which include the university fees, are only applicable to those who have the necessary qualifications to apply: for instance, a graduate aspiring for a post-graduate degree. Those who do not have the necessary qualification can also get whatever degree they want, simply by paying a higher fee. A person with a school-leaving certificate can get a post-graduate degree by paying Rs 1,000 extra. And in case he wishes to pay in instalments, he has to pay two instalments of Rs 650 each. The general rule is: the less the qualification, the more you pay.

But you cannot choose the university from where you want your degree. And normally the university will not inform you in advance. But you can be sure that the degree will be from one of the following universities: Agra, Andhra, Annamalai, Bhagalpur, Bihar, Magadh, Mysore, Osmania, Ranchi, Saugar or Utkal, once again depending on your qualifications. These 11 universities (among the 85 recognised in the country) are those with which the

tutorial colleges or coaching institutes deal closely. Again, among these universities, Agra, Ranchi and Osmania are preferred to the "open" ones of Andhra, Bihar and Mysore, which under their adult education schemes, permit anybody to appear in any of the examinations they hold, provided the person has attained a certain age.

After a sufficient number of "degree seekers" have applied (about 40 to 45 in each of the several streams), an institute sends out its scouts all over the country to try and locate universities which would give the required degrees, at a reasonable cost. This involves some very hard bargaining since most of the institutes do not deal with the universities directly. Their reason: "Direct dealing with the universities will definitely spoil our chances and it may lead to unnecessary complications." As a result, everything is fixed by 'agents' who are paid according to demand and availability. And the agents charge steep fees. Thus an institute can at best hope to keep 50 per cent of what they get from each candidate. The rest goes to the agent as commission and to the university as fee. But this is applicable largely to institutes in north India, especially those which are located close to the universities they deal with. Other institutes settle for far less—sometimes as little as 20 per cent—and their agents get the lion's share.

The sales pitch

- Since we have presented students in the past and successful in our attempt, there won't be failure in our efforts.
- No previous qualification, whatsoever, is required for you to become a MA, MCom., MSc.
- Some universities are not very particular about the students' previous qualifications.
- Getting a class will not be a problem.
- With our invaluable help even a weak student can hope to get through easily and creditably.
- As a special case to some weak students we can assure a pass guarantee.
- Since we pay a heavy amount to clear many formalities, all the candidates will have to remit the fees regularly.
- Students must cooperate with the college in all respects as risk and responsibilities are greater for the college.

—Extracts from prospectuses of various tutorial colleges and coaching institutes.



For a degree: doing it the hard way



An institute located on a highway

After the institute has made the necessary arrangements with the universities, it informs the candidates of the possible dates of the examinations and the likely centres where they would be required to appear from. The institute also draws up plans for each candidate to travel to the examination centre and back (as often the centre is in a different state) provides escorts, and boarding and lodging for the candidate who, of course, pays extra for these facilities. The examination, for which the candidate sits is in reality a farce. The institute not only guarantees that he gets through but also ensures that he does well. This is clearly spelt out in the prospectus: "Pass is guaranteed. Getting a class will not be a problem."

Some institutes even offer to coach the candidates for the examinations, but they rarely do so because it is often not possible: a candidate is admitted into a university hardly two or three months before the examination date. And it is not possible to coach a candidate unless it is known which university the candidate is to appear from. Some institutes, however, are more honest. They clearly say that a certain amount is being taken as "guidance fee," in short, to "guide" the candidates to their degrees. "The guidance fee is not a coaching fee," the institutes claim. But there are a number of institutes which seriously teach the candidates and help them work their way to degrees; and they don't charge as much.

For hundreds of other tutorial colleges and coaching institutes spread all over the country getting their candidates degrees is big business. The investment is low and the returns reasonably attractive. Most of

TOOSHAR PANDIT

these institutes are small outfits run either by an individual, or a family or at the most by a few friends. Usually an institute consists of one or two rooms, a typist, an all-purpose attendant, and sometimes an office assistant as well. A few add a blackboard, some desks, a couple of shelves and some fat volumes which normally gather dust. Since such institutes function almost exclusively by mail, they have no use for classrooms or any other paraphernalia normally associated with regular educational institutions. As a result they can be set up almost anywhere: in dingy narrow alleys or in obscure corners of the city, as most of them are. This cuts costs. Personal contacts are not encouraged.

The marriage degree

They are called the marriage degrees or the instant degrees. They are worthless. They will neither fetch you a job nor an admission. Still they can be useful in some situations. For example, if your problem is that you cannot marry the girl you love since her father would not grant his permission because you are not a graduate. You need not despair. There are several institutions in the country who will give you degree certificates identical to the university certificates in looks, literally for the asking and across the table. One such institute in Delhi. Commercial University Limited. Another is: Taksh-Shila (sic) Kendriya Vishwavidyalaya. None of them are members of the Association of the Indian Universities, the organisation for recognised universities. Taksh-shila Vishwavidyalaya, however claims that it runs full-fledged courses and its certificate is not easily available. It also claims, its certificates can also get you jobs and even admissions for higher studies in some states of India, notably Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

T. S. V. Hari

Some institutes even refuse to enroll the persons living in the locality where they have their offices. Advertising costs form a major portion of their investment. Understandably so, since that is the bait that brings in the catch. Bigger organisations advertise more often. But whether they are big or small, they all talk the same language.

What sustains these degree shops is the clout the degrees have in our society. A person without a degree is certainly at a disadvantage compared to one who has. Little wonder, therefore, that a large number of those who had missed their university education and want to make good in life, seek the aid of these degree shops; a teacher, perhaps, who wants to be confirmed in

his job, or a clerk who is seeking a promotion, or a stenographer who is not getting anywhere. But it is only in such cases that the degrees are of help—in other cases they may fail to stand the test.

Besides, these institutes, in order to get the job done, would, if necessary, circumvent any rule, overcome any restriction. For example, to appear for an examination under Ranchi University one has to be a resident of the area over which the university exercises its jurisdiction. Yet, every year hundreds of outsiders sit for examinations from this university. Again, Hindi is among the compulsory papers for the BA examinations under Ranchi University. But many candidates, specially from south India who cannot utter a single word of Hindi, clear the examinations, through these institutes. The list of such transgressions is almost endless. More important is how these institutes manage to circumvent the rules. Apparently, some universities are only too willing to bend their laws for obliging such institutes and simply call them 'exemptions.'

Of course, none of those who run these institutes would admit that they trade in university certificates. Ask anyone and his reply would invariably be: "We do the leg work for our clients; we teach and guide them well. But we do not sell the degrees. The clients must do well in the examination to get it." But the question which arises is: how is it that so many of their clients who have never been anywhere near a university are fetching university degrees at will? Perhaps, a better guide is their prospectus which clearly imply that these institutes do indeed trade in degrees, whatever their pretensions may be.

An institute located in a dingy lane



TOOSHAR PANDIT

The degree shop

In the autumn of 1980, a few days before the BA and BCom. examinations of the Ranchi University were due, 44 students from south India left Madras by train for Ghatshila in Bihar to appear for the examinations. They were among some 400 students from south India to appear for these examinations through various institutes. About three weeks before they left, they had received a memo from the Bharath Educational Institute, with which they were enrolled, stating that if they desired the institute could arrange for their travel from Madras to the examination centre at Ghatshila and their accomodation there. The memo also mentioned that an escort would be sent with them and a cook to look after their culinary requirements.

At Ghatshila, the students were billeted in a *dhar-amshala*. After they had settled down, they were shown the examination centre—the Ghatshila College. Looking after the arrangements was the institute's director, Mr M. Sakthivel. His final advice to the students was: "Don't leave your answer books blank. Write at least eight pages. It does not matter what you write, but write; the rest will be taken care of." The students could hardly disbelieve him. For, just an hour or so before the examination came a set of questions, which, they were told, they could reasonably expect to be asked for the examinations. The students got down to copying answers to those questions. Then, after collecting their admit cards from Mr Sakthivel, when they left for the examination hall, they all looked smug and confident.

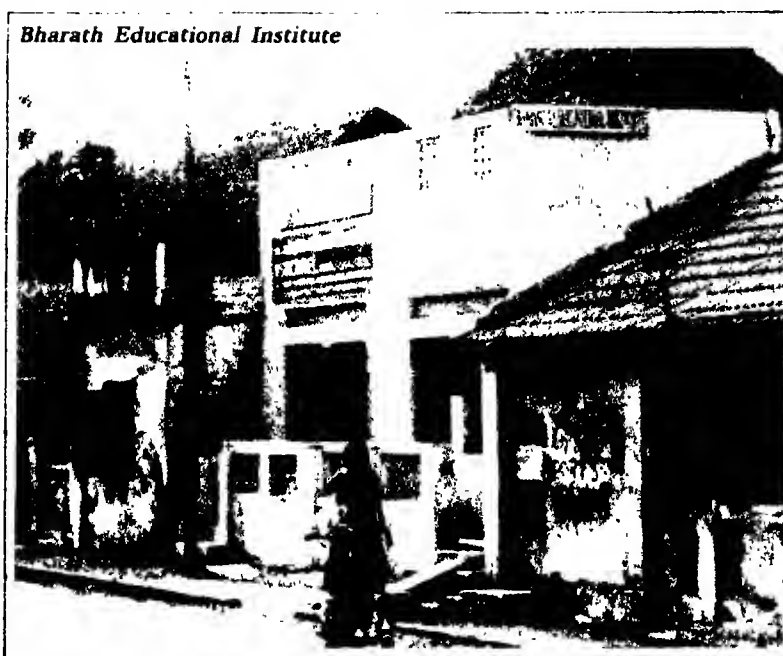
However, at the examination hall they ran into some difficulty as the seats were fewer than the number of the candidates. This was eventually sorted out by changing the seating arrangements. The new arrangements suited the students fine: two to a desk. But, just as one problem had been solved, another

cropped up. This time, over the answer scripts. To their bewilderment some students got the answer books which were meant for the school and the college examinations and certainly not for the degree examination. Again, some BCom. students got answer scripts meant for the BA candidates. This and an absolutely casual atmosphere in the examination hall led many students to doubt if everything was above board. So casual was the atmosphere that nobody even bothered to check the papers or register the attendance of the examinees. Had anybody checked

not worth the hassles and the risks," he said. Lanky Sakthivel, an accountant in his mid-thirties, strayed into the education business to prove wrong a friend who had told him that he would never succeed in this business. Early last year, Mr Sakthivel doubled up his tax consultant's office to launch the Bharath Educational Institute while maintaining the same staff of four—three women office assistants and a peon—to run both businesses. Together they take up two rooms on the ground floor of a two-storeyed stucco building next to a cattle shed on a quiet street in

the outskirts of Madras.

Within a year, the Institute, which now has branches in Alleppy (Kerala) and Nellore (Andhra), has succeeded in making some 150 of its clients appear for examinations at various universities. "But, it is a hard work. Travelling all over the place searching for the universities, looking for the agents..." explained Mr Sakthivel. And what does he get for all the trouble that he takes? "A mere pittance. Just about 15 per



Bharath Educational Institute

TOOSHAH PANDIT

he would have detected that many persons were sitting in the hall for others. Good for the students.

But the biggest blow came when the university cancelled the examinations, following clashes between two groups of students and fresh dates for the examinations were announced. But as it turned out, there was no need for the candidates from south India to worry. The examination authorities assured them that if they wished they could get their answer papers for the cancelled examinations validated. That would save them the trouble of sitting for the examination again. The students naturally felt relieved.

The episode, however, left a bitter taste in Mr Sakthivel's mouth. And this is precisely the reason why he is not sending candidates to Ranchi University this year. "It's

cent," he said. Apart from an enrolment fee of Rs 25, he charges Rs 975 for grooming a person for a Higher Secondary or an Intermediate certificate; Rs 1,350 for the BA, BCom, and MA degrees and, Rs 2,250 for BEd. degrees.

Mr Sakthivel, however, is now seriously thinking of closing down his institute. One reason is the risk involved. "The northerners are not at all reliable. Often people take huge sums of money and do not give any receipt. Then you have strikes, curfews, riots. But my students will not hear any excuse. They want the goods and if they are not delivered they would just lynch me," he said. Besides the competition was getting tough, the demands of the "agents" were growing, the returns were low and finally as the director of the institute said, "This is a rat race and only the fittest survive."

How examinations are rigged

Blank Bangalore University examination answer-booklets are available to those students who are willing to pay a price. Recently, this correspondent was offered one (No 341309 of batch WD P02163—GPB-4,00,000 booklets of 16 pp each—7-2-75) free. Once a student has acquired one of these blank answer-booklets, all that he has to do is to write out the correct answers to questions from "guess papers" at his leisure before an examination, take it to the examination hall, rip off the top sheet which contains the booklet number and substitute it with the top sheet of the one given in the examination hall. A first class or a very high second is no impossibility after this.

Available from what may be called the "underground cell of examination fixers," the going rate is Rs 200 per blank booklet although they have been known to be available for as little as Rs 50. Does not the university keep account of the number of booklets printed and distributed? Strangely, it does not! The booklets are printed at the government press, numbered, packed under tight security and then sent to the university. The university, then, distributes the booklets to its affiliated colleges. Nor do the colleges keep track of the number of booklets—though it is simple enough to do so. The excess answer-booklets are not returned either, although they belong to the university. This correspondent was told by many connected with the examination system of the Bangalore university, that the originating point of the answer-booklet racket is the university itself. Perhaps, the authorities concerned are ignorant of the thefts of the booklets or if they are not, they are

simply not bothered.

But the answer-booklet trade would not thrive, unless the students are fairly certain about the questions which would be asked in the examination. For this they need not look very far: there are sources aplenty. As with the answer-booklet racket, the "guess paper" racket has been flourishing for years. Although the university does have a foolproof system to check the leakage of question papers, how does it continue to happen year after year, in almost every examination? In the existing system, a paper-setter sets two alternate question papers for a given subject. The paper-setter does not necessarily know which set of questions will be printed for the examination, for the selection is done by a board of examiners and the controller of examinations. The board of examiners go over the question papers, discard the irrelevant questions and rephrase the obscure ones. The papers with the necessary amendments are then put in two separate packets. The controller of examinations, without checking the contents of the packets, selects a packet for printing at the government press.

The press is, perhaps, the most vulnerable point for the leakage. Printing is done under strict vigilance—often, a number of compositors work on a paper. This makes it impossible for them to identify the paper being printed. The bits and pieces so composed are assembled by a press employee and a member from the board of examiners, who also acts as a proof-reader. If a leakage does occur, the press employee and the board member can be held totally and solely responsible. But investigators have revealed that leaks occur elsewhere, too. And mostly at the top

levels. As a former paper-setter said in disgust: "The system does not permit clerks access to the question papers. If they leak out, it is in most cases because the academicians lack integrity and university does not strictly adhere to the set guidelines, especially in respect of the undertaking on private tuitions which the paper-setter and board (of examiners) members must give before they are selected." A paper-setter with relatives and/or friends appearing for an examination can easily set a sizable proportion of questions common to both the papers he sets. All he has to do is to couch the words subtly and then release the common ques-

tions to the student concerned. And a student armed with a blank answer script can easily pass the examination just by answering the common questions.

How can one secure the questions? The easiest way is by joining what the academicians jokingly refer to as the "home universities." The story that is doing the rounds is about a professor who is so adept in "guessing" questions that he "teaches" more students than he would in the university classes. Whether the story is true or not is not the question. But it underlines the fact that the university is incompetent to do anything about these mushrooming "home universities." The high market value of the answer booklets also stresses the point that there are people who are interested in keeping the blank answer-booklet and the "guess papers" chain moving.

But what would happen if the underground cell of examination fixers are unable to get the "guess papers?" It would have few people willing to pay such a high price for the blank answer papers. But, in order to avoid such a contingency, the cell has made its own arrangements: it has set up a "Central Valuation System" or, a system by which marks are increased at the time of evaluation of the answer scripts.

How does this 'system' work? At the time of correcting the answer scripts, the examiners are crowded into one room with easy access to each other. They are supervised by a team of reviewers, who re-check about 10 per cent of the answer scripts, at random, to see that the answer scripts have been corrected according to the prescribed guidelines, set by the chief examiner. This system may seem foolproof, but it is not. The chief examiner maintains a register a list of which examiner is correcting which answer scripts. But instead of maintaining the register himself, as he is supposed to, the chief examiner leaves the task to the individual examiners. Thus an examiner can easily get to know who is correcting which papers. Once this is known, an examiner can influence his colleague, either through persuasion or bribe, to increase the marks of a candidate he wants passed.

Under these circumstances, should the entire examination system be scrapped? The answer is no. It is the lack of secrecy which tends to destroy this system. What, therefore, is needed is to ensure that the authorities act more responsibly and secrecy be maintained. It is only then that this examination system can function in an orderly manner.

Louise Fernandes

BANGALORE UNIVERSITY			
REGISTER NUMBER	W 741 119		
Examination			
Subject			
Page	1 OF A TOTAL OF 16 PAGES		
INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES			
1. Write in Register Number only in the space provided at the top left corner of the answer sheet.	Q. N.	MARKS	TOTAL MARKS
2. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
3. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
4. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
5. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
6. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
7. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
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9. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
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11. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
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14. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
15. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
16. The answer sheet is to be filled in with the answers to the questions in the order in which they are given.			
Total			

Campaign to prevent blindness

The Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind (RCSB) has launched a scheme to save the sight of 60,000 children in India who would otherwise go blind due to malnutrition. The drumstick tree, which grows in many Indian villages and is rich in vitamin A, but is seldom served as vegetable due to its bitter taste, is being utilised by the RCSB to prevent blindness from malnutrition. This is to be a five-year campaign and a prototype campaign to save the sight of children throughout the rest of Asia, West Asia and Africa is also to be launched later. The campaign in India includes 40 projects, ten of which will begin this year, when essential vitamin concentrates will be distributed. The long-term plan, however, is to change the eating habits of people so that children below the age of two are given leafy vegetables rich in vitamin A.

IAF pilot sets record

On 30 June, wing commander Sadhu Singh Gill set a world record when he landed the AN-12 aircraft for the 1,261st time at Leh. This is the maximum number of landings carried out by a military pilot in the world on the highest operational airfield of its type, with highly fluctuating temperatures and rugged terrain. Landing an aircraft on such an airfield requires great piloting skill. Wing commander Gill has flown 10,500 hours, including 8,800 hours as captain of the AN-12 aircraft. This has earned him a memento from Air Marshal L. M. Katre, Air Officer Commanding in Chief of the Western Air Command.

Assam's power potential

According to an expert team, about 12,500 MW of electricity could be generated from about 15 big rivers in the north-eastern region, excluding the Brahmaputra. This survey was conducted by the Assam State Electricity Board, with a view to raising power generation capacity in the state. The survey further states that the Brahmaputra has rich hydel potential and if it could be tamed then a tremendous amount of energy could be generated from this river which would meet not only the demands of the north-east but also supply power to other states.

Educational films on video cassette

The public relations department of the Haryana government has decided to launch a new scheme for screening educational films on video cassettes under the community viewing programme. This facility will be for areas outside the range of the Chandigarh TV centre.

GOOD NEWS

Project to develop small towns

The central government has decided to launch a Rs 45-crore project to develop small and medium towns in Madhya Pradesh with assistance from the World Bank. This will be a pilot project and part of the government's larger plan for the integrated development of 200 such towns in the country, with a population not exceeding one lakh each. The government decided to begin the project in MP as it is not only the largest state in the country, but also one of the poorest.

Infusing some prana



Sushil Kumar

Can prana (life) be infused into the body like blood and glucose? According to Sushil Kumar, a qualified Ayurvedic practitioner in Jaipur, the answer is yes. He has invented the *prana chikitsa*, by which he cures patients without administering large doses of medicines. He believes that a part of the body stops functioning when it is devoid of life, thus causing ailments, and the patient can become normal only if life is brought back to the affected part. Prana is infused into the system by the therapist by touching the affected part of the patient. According to Sushil Kumar, who has applied this therapy on a number of patients for several years now, anyone can acquire the skill but it requires a lot of practice and perseverance. This method has been subjected to scrutiny by members of the medical profession. He has successfully treated doctors, politicians, industrialists, filmstars and bureaucrats.

Janata darbar

The collector of Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh has set up *janata darbars* (people's courts) to look into the problems of the people of this backward district. This experiment was started four months back and every session is supervised by a sub-divisional officer. The collector himself will attend the *darbar* once in four months. At these sessions which are announced well in advance, villagers present their grievances, submit representations to settle land disputes and even ask for loans. A number of officials dealing with rural problems are present at the *darbars* and anyone with a problem is given a proper hearing. Some matters are even disposed of on the spot.

New process from fuel research centre

The Central Fuel Research Institute (CFRI), Dhanbad, has developed a new process for the production of sponge iron. While the present technology involves reduction of iron ore by gases, generated by gasification of coal or char, in the new process no external reduction is necessary. Nor does the process involve fine grinding of iron ore or of reductant iron ore.

Doctor treats poverty

An 81-year-old doctor, Sitaram Sethi, has donated Rs one lakh for the construction of a *dharmashala* for relations of patients admitted to the Raipur government hospital. The money comes entirely from his savings. The existing *dharmashala* near the hospital is small and cannot meet the rush of people coming from outside Raipur. This, however, is not the first time that Dr Sethi has helped the needy. He had earlier donated Rs 25,000 for the expansion of medical facilities at the Swami Vivekananda Ashram at Haridwar and Raipur and to other organisations in Guna and Bhopal.

Pioneering operation at military hospital

The military hospital at Kirkee, near Pune, one of the three largest service hospitals, is the only military hospital in the country to have successfully carried out a total hip replacement operation. Lt Col S. N. Chatterjee, the commanding officer of the hospital, said that the operation, medically described as "Charnley's total hip replacement," had been carried out on Mr Kamley, a chageman in the local ammunition factory. The operation that saved Mr Kamley's life was carried out by a team of doctors led by Lt Col D. J. Mukherjee who had trained for the job in Britain by working with Dr Charnley, a pioneer in joint replacement operations.

INDIAN AIR FORCE

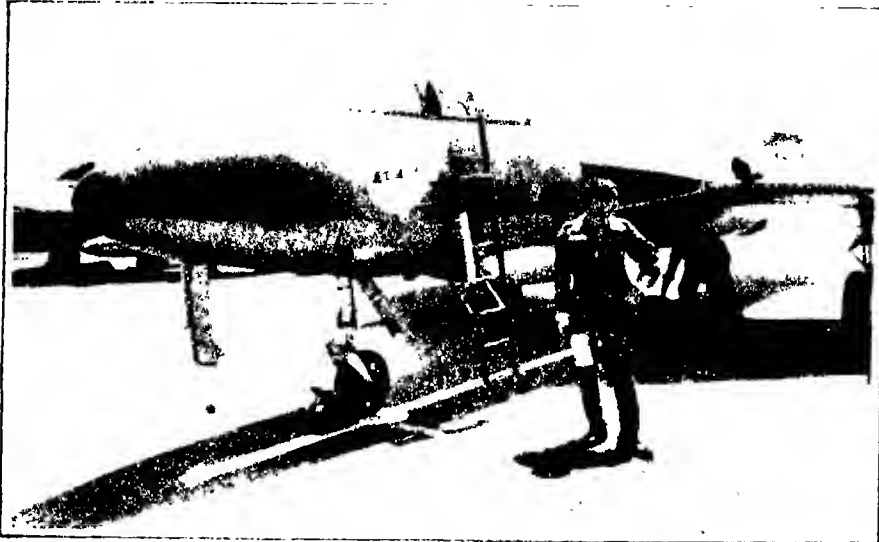
Pilots flying away from IAF: low pay

Will the authorities listen?

New Delhi: Over the last couple of years, discontent among the officers of the Indian Air Force (IAF) has been rising. Reason: salaries and facilities. The situation seems to have become genuinely serious, with the number of cadets from the National Defence Academy (NDA) Khadakavasa, opting for careers as fighter-pilots sinking to an all-time low. The same is the case in

A reason why young cadets at the NDA are reluctant to join as IAF pilots is because they may be found unfit to fly on medical grounds. In that case, after a cadet has spent six months at the NDA on basic training, he is sent back to the NDA for another six months of basic training, this time for the army or the navy. However, there are other factors too. Two years ago

An IAF pilot. will enough join him?



VHNS 4 G

the other sections of the force; for instance, among engineers. This, is inspite of the decision taken by the IAF in 1978, to restart the recruitment of pilots under the direct entry system (which had been terminated in the early Seventies).

Apart from the specific manpower problems in the flying branch and the technical branch of the IAF (because of a lower number of cadets joining the two branches), there is a general atmosphere of discontent and lack of motivation among the IAF's younger officers. Social and economic factors have contributed their share to this problem. A common complaint is housing. In the IAF messes of metropolitan cities like Bombay, it is not uncommon, to be told that if the IAF did not buy two Jaguars, it would have saved Rs 10.7 crores per fighter-aircraft to solve the housing problem for officers. Though IAF officers get a substantial housing allowance, they do not like to live in civilian areas.

A class of young pilots



D. P. SINHA

Air Headquarters conducted a special investigation at Hyderabad to find out why 80% of the pilot-cadets had opted for flying transport aircraft and helicopters and only 20% had opted for fighter-aircraft.

In 1980-81, the feeling in IAF circles is that there has been a further drop in the flying branch for new fighter-pilots, despite the fact that fighter-pilots are the most privileged members of the IAF. The glamour of being what Arthur Koestler once called "the aristocrats of death" has dried up. Younger pilots in the IAF are now more conscious of the fact that flying fighters is more risky and, more important, flying transport aircraft and helicopters opens avenues for civil flying later. A career abroad flying helicopters is also very attractive at the present moment and there have been a few instances in which IAF helicopter pilots have quit to work abroad. Money is the motivating factor. Where commercial pilots earn over Rs 5,000 a month, an IAF pilot starts as a Flying Officer with a basic salary of Rs 750 plus a flying allowance of Rs 375 per month. The highest he can ever aspire to is the position of Chief of Air Staff, whose salary is limited to the highest government grade of Rs 3,500 to Rs 4,000 per month. Most air force officers, however, retire as Wing Commanders, which is the sixth highest rank in the IAF hierarchy.

The discontent in the IAF is not restricted to the privileged flying branch. Discontent is higher in other branches, particularly among technical engineers who maintain the aircraft and are responsible for its performance. The technicians are, perhaps, the most dissatisfied branch in the IAF and it is not surprising to find that the largest percentage of those seeking premature retirement from the IAF is from the technical branch. The technical officers not only feel that they are the lowest paid but they resent the second-class treatment the IAF metes out to them. The environment in which



IAF pilots on the tarmac returning after a sortie

they work is hostile. Naturally, they feel they are the most vulnerable.

Another reason for the technical branch people to feel that they have lower status than the rest in the IAF is because most of the commanding officers of the technical units are not from the technical branch but are pilots who have been "grounded" for medical reasons. The signals unit, supposed to be the kingdom of the technical branch, for instance, has almost always been commanded by pilots. Technical branch officers complained to this correspondent recently, that though hospitals were commanded by doctors, flying units by pilots, the IAF's promotion policies had kept the technical officers from commanding technical units. Today, the burden on the maintenance crew, both officers and men, is high, especially after the introduction of the Jaguars and the formation of the missile squads. Within a few years, this shortage of technical staff is going to hit the IAF badly unless sufficient incentives are given to prevent the technical branch officers from seeking premature retirement.

Many officers in the technical branch have brilliant academic records. They hold specialised degrees and even gold medals. But specialisation for the technicians does not mean more allowances or quicker promotions. Pilots and doctors, on the other hand, receive additional allowances and are recognised for their expertise. Take, for example, the case of a doctor who has spent five years for a MBBS degree and done a year's internship. The doctor joins the IAF as a Flight Lieutenant. An engineer, on the other hand (with the same amount of time put in to acquire a degree), has to work for five years to get a Flight Lieutenant's rank.

A reason why the technicians have not been able to assert their rights is because of their own weak approach with the IAF top brass. It is believed that the technical branch personnel are too busy fighting among themselves for the few promotions that occur within the department. A precedent was created when the signals unit lost its command to an officer of the flying branch. When the shift was first proposed, some years ago, there was considerable resentment among the

technical branch officers. The matter was referred to the defence ministry which objected to a flying branch officer taking over command. The ministry asked Air Headquarters to reconsider the proposal. However, a senior officer of the technical branch concurred with the decision to give over the command to the flying branch. The officer did so, say technical branch officers today, because he wanted a promotion. And he did get it.

A Special Correspondent

PAKISTAN

General Zia is safe

London: Attempts by Pakistan exiles in London to overthrow President Zia-ul-Haq have fizzled out for the moment. Divisions within Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), particularly after the PIA airliner was hijacked by Bhutto's son, Murtuza, last April, have only succeeded in keeping President Zia more firmly in the saddle.

While Bhutto's wife and daughter, Begum Nusrat and Benazir Bhutto, have to advocate more parliamentary means of overthrowing the President and temper their remarks, some of their left-wing supporters have taken a more radical line. The two cannot publicly approve of Kabul-based Murtuza's more militant Qadhafi-inspired line. Mustapha Khar (former Governor of the North-West Frontier Provinces), self-styled successor to Bhutto and his right-hand man, before the two fell out, had emerged as one of leaders of the PPP. But, he is now losing some of his support within the party.

The dashing Khar, self-exiled in London, came to New Delhi surreptitiously twice during the last year—once last summer and again recently—to ask Mrs Gandhi to help him get rid of the General. But he had to go back disappointed since the Indian Prime Minister was unwilling to help him.

Mr Khar who now has, according to Mr Sibghat Qadri, a Pakistani lawyer I met in London who heads the umbrella group of Pakistani associations there,

has few places to turn to for help. Kabul has already been taken over by Murtuza. And Khar's differences with Murtuza have increased rather rapidly since the highjacking incident.

Mr Khar travels a lot to collect funds, mostly from the Gulf countries, to overthrow General Zia. He now plans to go to America to assure President Reagan that he is fit enough to do Zia's job. Were he to replace Zia, things wouldn't really be different at least for the Americans.

Mr Khar has, according to Mr Qadri, recently begun to concentrate on collecting money and forming his own PPP. "Khar wants to be the benefactor of Bhutto's death, but the others won't allow him. Zia is surviving on this. Khar wants an orderly transition from martial to civilian government, as happened during Yahya Khan's time when Bhutto took over." Bhutto condemned both Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan. He could afford to be critical of the army. But Khar can't.

Mr Qadri places Mr Khar on the right end of the political spectrum of the PPP: "He is willing to compromise with the generals. Murtuza says that Khar had a deal with the men in Pakistan that he would never publicly denounce the army. He would say the army is alright, but just get rid of a few of the generals. Do you know that while Bhutto was alive and in prison, Khar got Murtuza to go to heads of states for help and not to the left-wing elements? He is basically a feudal sort (of leader)." The rift between the left and right-wing groups within the PPP is a fundamental one and has widened over the issue of the army holding power. Murtuza wants the army to be reduced to size while Mr Khar is not against it.

Before Bhutto's death, the overseas opposition to the general was strong when the opposition parties united against the General. But afterwards, the breaking-up began, since there was no clear direction coming from the two Bhutto women as they were in prison or under house arrest for considerable stretches of time.

Mr Qadri thinks that as long as the Pakistani army is stable, Zia will remain where he is. Interestingly enough, even the British press which never used to go beyond the Terry Thomas image of Zia (manic eyes, the moustache and famous gap between the teeth) has started taking him more seriously after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The General is no joking matter now. He certainly seems to have staying power.

Murtuza's presence in Kabul is significant. But if the Afghans were to increase their activities in Baluchistan, Pakistan could not, according to some of the Pakistanis I met in London, survive under military rule primarily because they are multilingual. "The army is Punjabi—essentially that is—and there will be a provincial backlash of the minorities, whatever the ruling class might say," said a Pakistani in London.

The present military is basically

different from Ayub Khan's. And Zia has not been slow in learning from the mistakes the former made. Said Mr Qadri: "Ayub Khan tried to introduce basic democracy; and initially Zia even said that there should be elections. Zia has realised that the moment you loosen the grip, you can't survive...Pakistan is also the feudal part of India, and now there is no East

Pakistan as the balancing factor."

Zia, then, will remain unless there is a violent struggle. Nor is there chances of a revolt within the army. Right-wing families, particularly those belonging to the Jamaat regularly send their sons to the army. But the left-wing families do not.

Meanwhile, there is clear indication that whatever opposition to the

military ruler there might have been outside Pakistan is almost over. Policemen are hardly visible in any public function in the Pakistan High Commission in London these days. In the past, all one could see were policemen (not the invitees) posted around the High Commission to ward off demonstrators protesting against the military ruler. Madhu Jain

The four-fold unhappiness

New Delhi: A little before sundown on 2 July, an exhausted 38-year-old Mrs Chandrawati Tomar delivered quadruplets: three boys and one girl. She became an instant celebrity. She is now the pride of Jeevan Vihar, where the Jeevan Nursing Home is located, for only one out of five lakh mothers is privileged to carry quadruplets! But for Mrs Tomar after 25 years of marriage, two daughters and one son, being a rarity was small consolation. When a mother conceives late in life, the chances of multiple pregnancies and mental retardation are greater. And the quadruplets born between 6.12 pm and 7.08 pm were breach deliveries (the feet emerges first) which further increases the possibility of mental defects. As it happened, the first two boys weigh a puny 1.25 kg against the average Indian baby's weight of 2.5-3.5 kgs, have no ears,

have misshapen hands, and worse of all suffer from the genital deformity of having no testes.

Within hours of the births, people flocked to the nursing home. While cameras clicked and flash lights popped, a now wise Mrs Tomar decided to undergo a tubectomy. The operation was performed within 24 hours and a pale and wan Mrs Chandrawati Tomar lay propped against pillows writhing in pain, in the bare private room, her 42-year-old husband, Chandrapal Singh, had arranged for her: too dazed to speak, let alone ask for her children.

Chandrapal Singh is a cook at the Ashok Hotel and earns a monthly salary of Rs 750. His father, who was a houseman at the Ashok has retired. He now spends his time tending the family's 60 highas of land near their dacoit-infested village in Bulandshahr

district, Uttar Pradesh. The family pools its earnings which explains how Chandrapal Singh could afford to pay Rs 4,000 on pre-natal care and the Rs 2,000 medication and room fee, the nursing home charges.

The three elder Tomar children, 10-year-old Santosh Kumari, seven-year-old Savita Kumari and the club-footed four-year-old Sanjay Singh live with their parents in a tiny room in the squalid quarters behind the deluxe Ashok hotel. For them, the quadruplets are bundles of delight; a fascinating and wonderful event. The grim realities are for the parents. Did the Tomars want another son? "I did not want any more children," said Chandrapal Singh. "I already have a son. But we are ignorant villagers. We tried conventional contraceptives. They failed, which is why, my wife had a tubectomy done." Yet, despite

Mrs Tomar with the quadruplets and her three grown-up children



Two of the deformed quadruplets



the baby bonanza, Mr Chandrapal Singh has ambitious aspirations for his three elder children. He wants them to be either doctors, engineers or teachers. As for the two deformed quadruplets, Mr Singh says he is prepared to spend money on medical care to bring them back to normalcy. But though, the infants have hit the news right from their birth, no one has come forward to help them. This is perhaps why their grandmother, who has made her second exodus to the capital, to help Mrs Chandrawati Tomar tend her young, is more prosaic. "Those quadruplets who live will be looked after. What else can we do?" she says.

S. Ekanath

Unnatural death of an engineer

Calcutta: "...I have sent two telegrams to my wife advising her not to come (to Baghdad). I have no idea whether these have reached her. If she comes, she can't go back alive..." This was a letter written on 22 May 1981 by Mr Ashim Kumar Biswas (37), a civil engineer, working as the chief designer for the State Organisation for Animal Production (SOAP) for the government of Iraq in Baghdad. Later, on 6 June, Mr Biswas's wife, Bharati Biswas, received an unsigned telegram from the Indian embassy in Baghdad which shocked her: "Regret to inform that your husband A. K. Biswas died yesterday after a fall from the terrace. His employers making arrangements for sending body to India. Flight details will be communicated later. Kindly accept our sincere condolences."

At midnight on 16 June, Mr Biswas's body was brought to Calcutta by an Air India flight. Along with the body were his personal belongings: two tape recorders, used garments, two wrist watches, a pair of spectacles, a ring, an electronic clock, a transistor radio and an umbrella. The question that was uppermost in everybody's mind was: how did he die? A fall from the terrace of a single-storied house (in which he lived) cannot be fatal. Mr Biswas's telegrams and letters to his wife and friends mention that he was unhappy in Iraq. The request to his wife not to come merely emphasised the fact that his life was in danger.

Something was definitely troubling Mr Biswas. Till September 1980, Mr Biswas had been working as the deputy manager in the engineering department of the Food Corporation of India in New Delhi. His services were then placed at the disposal of the Iraqi government when he was given the post of chief designer of a project of SOAP. His contract in Iraq was for a year only. Initially, Mr Biswas went alone but planned to take his wife and three children only after November 1980. Mrs Biswas and the three children were scheduled to leave India on 30 May 1981. But on 16 May Mrs Biswas received a telegram from her husband: "Do not come. Self returning." On 23 May, Mrs Biswas received a letter from her husband again. The postmark on the envelope was Indian: the letter had not been posted in Iraq. Why did he have the letter posted in India? Perhaps he was afraid his letters were being read. In the letter, Mr Biswas had written that he was unable to cope with his new assignment. He had requested the Iraqi government to terminate his contract. He was also mentally troubled since he had lost Rs 5,000 to a pickpocket. On 22 May, Mrs Biswas received another cable: "Stay with your brother till I reach."

On 30 May, an old friend of Mr Biswas, Mr A. K. Basu Roy, received a letter from him. The letter, perhaps, was a premonition of what was to happen. Wrote Mr Biswas: "We may not meet again. If you don't get any information from me, contact the two following addresses in Baghdad for my whereabouts: Mr B. M. Nagbhusan, Room No 24, Al Mashing Hotel, Wathba Sq, Baghdad and Mr Y. D. Mangel, 54, Umarbin Abdul Aziz St, Adhanieya, Baghdad. I have sent two telegrams and a letter to my wife advising her not to come here. If she comes, she can't go back alive. My friend," he implored, "please look after my helpless family. I have sent some money to my wife. But in addition to this, sell my wife's ornaments to maintain my family." And on 3 June, Mr Biswas was dead.

Recounting the story of her husband's unnatural death, Mrs Biswas wondered why the authorities had not bothered to conduct a post-mortem. She has already appealed to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the external affairs minister and the chief minister of West Bengal for a thorough investigation. She hopes that the investigation will reveal the names of the culprits and ultimately protect some Indians whose lives are in danger.

Biswaranjan Sarkar

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KHAAS BAAT

"I won't have much to do. Nor do I expect my market price to rise but just for Dev Saab's sake, I will work in his film," says *Mithun Chakrabarty*. Mithun, incidentally, has managed his career well despite the flops. He is in the "fourth" or "fifth" position according to the box-office ratings and may soon reach the top of the list.

Smita Patil is bent on getting rid of her sexy image. Of course, we all know that she is a roaring success in low budget films as well as in commercial films. But that does not satisfy Smita. So she has decided to play the role of the mother of *Rati Agnihotri* in the film, *Ek Duje ke Liye*. The film is to be made in Madras and her co-star is none other than *Rajesh Khanna*

DURGAPRASAD



Reena: how sporting can you get?

Amitabh Bachchan has been acting rather strangely. Recently on the sets of *Be-Misaal*, he fooled around on the sets: flirting with junior artistes and making people laugh at his jokes. But his flippant attitude did not prevent him from giving a perfect "take" on the first shot. This only proves Amitabh is still a very serious person when it comes to acting.

Pramod Chakravorty has been keeping himself very busy these days. Not satisfied with *Jyoti*, he is now making another film, *Nastik*, with *Amitabh* and *Hema* in the lead roles. And he has brought in all the heroines of yesteryears: *Nailini Jayant*, *Lalita Pawar*, *Lalita Kumari* and of course, *Nirupa Roy*, to play the roles of mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in the film.



Anita Raj.
'Others may worry,
but not me'



Mithun: on his way to the top?

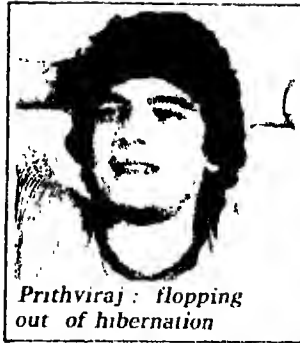
The film industry has a lot to learn from *Reena Roy*. Not only has she faced *Shatru's* marriage to *Poonam* courageously but she has also proved to be a sport. Recently, while on the sets of *Sanam Teri Kasam*, she came across a group of *hijras* (eunuchs). *Reena* went out of her way to entertain them. What did she get in return? A lot of goodwill from the *hijras* that resulted in two full days of free shooting.

Not everything is alright between the two actresses, *Rati Agnihotri* and *Anita Raj*. Both are acting in the film *Ek aur Sikander* but nobody seems to be very sure as to who is the heroine. Of course, *Rati* who plays the role of *Mithun's* sister, claims to be the heroine. And *Anita*? Well she is rather cool about the whole thing and says, "Let the picture be over, then people will know who is who."

DURGAPRASAD

KHAAS BAAT

South's sex-bomb *Jayamali* is sore with the censor board. The members of the censor board never fail to turn up when her films are screened, enjoy her titillating dances to the full and then snip off some scenes from the dances on the grounds that they are obscene. Andhra-born Jayamali has performed a number of provocative dances in more than 500 films in five languages including Hindi. She is such an asset that even N.T. Rama Rao cannot dream of appearing in a film which does not feature the dancer. As long as the fee is fat and the producers assure her that her efforts will not be wasted by the censor's scissors she is ready to go to any length without batting an eyelid. It's sheer sadism on the part of the censors, says Jayamali. The panel members should give a chance to the audience who are eager to see their heroine on screen.



Prithviraj : flopping out of hibernation

Tick tick tick—that's the name of the film *Bharatiraja* is directing at the moment with his favourite star Kamalahasan. The director who scored two solid hits with Kamalahasan and also a couple of flops describes this venture as an action packed thriller. Besides Kamalahasan, the film stars Swapna.



Sripriya: looking up to the future

Can you imagine duplicate wedding invitations being sold for anything between Rs. 50 to Rs. 100? This happened recently in Bangalore when the daughter of popular star *Raj Kumar* got married to her father's brother-in-law. The place was swarming with people who came to have a glimpse not only of the Kannada and Tamil stars (including *Rajnikant*) but also *Raj Kumar*. *Raj* who is nearing the mid-fifties enjoys a unique box-office record and is still the most popular hero. Although a couple of films starring other actors have occasionally collected more money than a *Raj Kumar* starrer, *Raj* can still boast of the most impressive record, percentagewise. Like Tamil Nadu's matinee idol *MGR*, *Raj* is often seen on screen opposite teenagers. Senior artistes like *Lakshmi* too are seen opposite him but very often such films feature *Raj Kumar* in dual roles.

Swapna: following Rati Agnihotri's footsteps



Whenever *Hema* is in Madras she makes it a point to stay in her own house while her co-stars put up in five-star hotels. But poor *Hema* hasn't acted in a single Madras-made Hindi film opposite her darling, *Dharam*. Her heroes have been either *Amitabh* or *Jeetendra*. Actually the Madras producers aren't fond of *Dharam* anymore. But *Dharam* can still go to Madras on a holiday—at least for *Hema's* sake.

Prithviraj Sagar has at last come out of hibernation. He had disappeared from the film scene after his first film, *B.R. Ishara's Bazaar bandh karo* flopped. Now after five years, he's getting a second lease of life. *Prithviraj* is paired opposite sexy *Jayamala*, in the musical *Raga tala* being directed by *Ishara's* assistant, (*Nandi*) *Krishnamoorthi*.

Begining 26 July

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April-14 May) This is a favourable week for you. Not only will friends and relatives come out of their way to help you, but you will win praise from your employers and colleagues. But in spite of the favourable influences there are chances that you might get entangled in disputes and arguments. So a word of advice: do not speak out your mind. **Good dates:** 26, 31 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** North



TAURUS (15 May-14 June) An excellent week for those in love. But take care: do not be extravagant to please your beloved. Try not to neglect your duties so that you can maintain the confidence reposed on you by your employers. Consider everything before you quit your present work. Financially, this is a bright week for you; you might gain some property. **Good dates:** 28, 29 and 31. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North



GEMINI (15 June-14 July) A very prosperous week for those in business. Push all your pending deals and make new contacts. Young people will have a very busy social life. Those in service might be surprised by a sudden promotion. Those connected with the creative arts will have a very successful week. You are advised to take care of your health and keep away from romance. **Good dates:** 26, 28 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South



CANCER (15 July-14 August) This is an excellent week for romance. A word of caution, however, to those contemplating marriage: do not take a hasty decision. Those of you who are in service will do well to consult your colleagues and superiors. A friend of the opposite sex will help you in an important matter. A word of advice: do not get carried away by the recent success but pay attention to your family. **Good dates:** 29, 31 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West



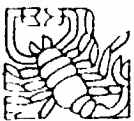
LEO (15 August-14 September) The stars are in your favour this week. So grab every opportunity that comes your way. Persons of the opposite sex will come out of their way to help you in your ventures. You could be tempted into extravagance by your good fortune. A letter will bring you an excellent piece of news you have been waiting for. **Good dates:** 27, 28 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North



VIRGO (15 September-14 October) This week, unfortunately, is not very favourable. But do not be disheartened for the end of the week will bring you a pleasant surprise. Problems you are facing now may be solved if you seek the advice of an elderly person. But watch out: your fits of temper might get you in trouble. So exercise caution. **Good dates:** 29, 30 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 5. **Favourable direction:** East



LIBRA (15 October-14 November) This is going to be a peaceful week indeed. However, you may not be able to sit back and relax, for a journey may take you far from home. For those in business, this is an excellent time to enter into new contracts and buy new stocks. Watch your health. A word of caution: do not squander your resources. A good time for romance. **Good dates:** 27, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Southeast



SCORPIO (15 November-14 December) A very favourable week with progress on all fronts. Those in government service are likely to be rewarded with a promotion. Businessmen and those in independent professions may safely take risky ventures to achieve their goals. Those looking forward to a transfer will have their desires fulfilled. Heavy expenditure is forecast. **Good dates:** 26, 28 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and Southwest



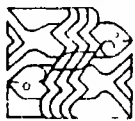
SAGITTARIUS (15 December-14 January) A splendid week lies ahead of you. Do not hesitate to grab every opportunity that comes your way. Have confidence in yourself and do not miss the opportunity of making a drastic change in your career; it will be a change for the better. This is not a good time for romance. **Good dates:** 28, 31 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 8. **Favourable directions:** West and South



CAPRICORN (15 January-14 February) Not a very good week. Minor problems will keep bothering you from time to time. False friends will try to deceive you, so be on your guard. Let not a sudden reversal of fortune dishearten you. It will be only a temporary setback. This is the time to establish contacts with people. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 26, 29 and 31. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 7. **Favourable directions:** North and East



AQUARIUS (15 February-14 March) This, unfortunately, is not a good week for you. You will be troubled by deception and trickery by people you have trusted so long. Those in love will have a trying time because a romance will come to a sudden end, causing you great distress. Promotions are likely for those in service. A little tact and diplomacy in your dealings with relatives will help you later. **Good dates:** 27, 28 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and South



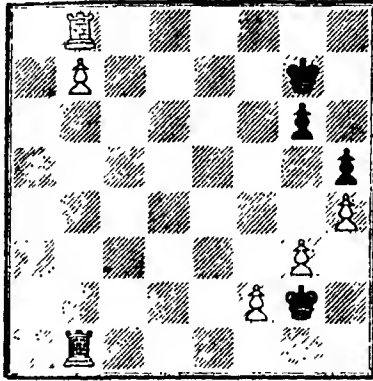
PISCES (15 March-14 April) It will be worthwhile for you to conserve your energy and resources this week. Do not enter into new business contracts and try to curb extravagant tendencies. For those not yet in love, be on the lookout; you might find a suitable partner this week. The financial problems that you are having now will soon be solved. Be patient and your hard times will be over soon. **Good dates:** 28, 30 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northwest

For those born between 15 July and 14 August: This is going to be a very profitable year for you, especially if you are an agriculturist, a construction engineer or in the iron business. Self-employed professionals like musicians will find the year specially beneficial. Some Cancerites might face a few problems because of the bad effect of the planet Mars; they will feel unhappy and disheartened. But this is only a temporary phase and there is nothing to worry about. There is good news for Cancerites since some will receive unexpected help from friends. This will not only raise their financial position but will also enhance their position in society. A member of

the opposite sex will influence you in your profession. Cancerites are generally hard-working, patient, intelligent and possess the perseverance to overcome troubles and difficulties. Some of you might be in a position to change your jobs. This is the right time to branch out independently in business.

Females born during this period like to dress well. They prefer to live in a well-furnished house with a garden. There is excellent news for many Cancerites on the romance front, especially for those not yet in love. Those already married will have a easy time. Married female Cancerites will have a very happy conjugal life.

chess



White to move

Solution to Christmas Competition

1. ... R-N7 15. White to play can be won? The answer is, and would not be of perhaps ought to

elaborate a little

White's only winning chance is to create a passed KBP, the point being that the only way to win is to decoy the black king from its safe squares KN2 and KR2, and only a passed KBP can do this. Any other plan is doomed to failure from birth. Surprising it is almost impossible to obtain a passed BP, because the white KRP is on KR4. The only method is the brutal 1. P-KB4! (intending 2. P-N4, P x P 3. P-R5). Black can make life still more difficult by giving checks

1. R-N7 2. K-B1, R-N8 3. K-K2, R-N7 4. K-Q1, R-N8 5. K-B2, R-N3. Now White must break 6. P-N4, P x P, and run back with the king as last as possible. 7. K-Q2, P-N6, 8. K-K2, R-N7. Best 8. P-N7 9. K-B2, R-N7 10. K-N1 followed by P-R5 would win for White. 9. K-B1, K-KR2; 10. K-N1, K-N2. Now the time is right for the second pawn break. 11. P-R5, P x P, 12. P-B5, P-R5, 13. P-B6. At last a check! 13. K-B2! The only move. 13. K-R2 walks into an ambush after 14. R-K8, R-N8. 14. R x P, 15. R-K7, 16. K-N2, R-N7, 16. K-R3, R-R7, 17. R-N4, P-N7, 18. K-R5! Because after 18. P-N8, Q 19. R-K7, K-R1, 20. P-N8, Q-Q-N1, 21. R-K8 the game is over. 14. R-R8. The trick White has had to go to such pains to set up. If now 14. R x P, 15. R-R7, wins, but Black still has plenty of checks. 14. R-N8 15. K-N2, R-N7 16. K-R3. The

only attempt to avoid a draw

16. R-R7 17. K-N4, P-N7. A critical moment! 18. P-N8, Q-P-N8, Q is check and Black gets in first as 19. K-R5, Q-N3 is mate but White has two other ways to play. The first is the dramatic sequence 18. K-R5, P-N8, Q 19. R-R7, K-N1, 20. R-N7, Q x R, 21. P-N8, Q-Q-R1?? Q x R which fizzles out to a drawn queen ending.

The second is more ambitious but less clear. 18. R-B8, K-N3. Not 18. K x R, 19. P-N8, Q-Q, and 20. Q x R. 19. R-N8, K x P, 20. P-N8, Q-P-N8, Q-21. K-R5. The difference. With the White rook on KN8 Black has no mate and in fact after 21. Q-Q8, 22. K-R6, Q-Q7, 23. K-R7, Q-B7, 24. K-R8 Black runs out of checks. Normally in Q-R v Q-R situations he who has no check is lost because when the other side starts checking something terrible happens. However in this position Black has the resource 24. Q-QN7! and any check by White will be met by a king move by Black with discovered check and the position becomes almost uncalculable.

An amazing game. After 23 virtually forced moves the road to 24 is White's. Trying to win the position is somewhat less clear than to begin with.

Apologies for setting such a difficult puzzle but it was really an honor.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



The sinking of the Cunard liner Lusitania by a German U-boat off the Old Head of Kinsale on 7 May 1915 is recalled by the 9p stamp in a new series from the Isle of Man. The stamp shows the Peel lugger Wanderer rescuing 160 survivors from the liner. Before other vessels could arrive on the scene the Lusitania had sunk with the loss of 1,198 passengers and crew, 124 of them Americans. The new series marks the centenary of the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen and features different types of fishing vessels used by Manx fishermen during the past 150 years. The designs are the work of the Douglas artist J. H. Nicolson, R.I., and the stamps have been printed by the House of Queens, London. The Isle of Man Post Office runs a philatelic bureau (address: PO Box 10M Douglas) from which collectors may obtain mint stamps and first-day covers. The bureau recently enrolled its 40,000th account holder, 15-year-old Ian Pears of Leicester who was presented with a commemorative cover to mark the occasion.

C. W. HILL

bridge

Pre-emptive defenses may create bidding problems for the opposition, but they certainly make the play much easier. Left to themselves, North-South might or might not have reached a slam in hearts on this deal, whether they would have made it without the information supplied by East's pre-empt is very doubtful.

Dealer: East. Love all.

♠ A J	♠ K O 10 7 6 5 2
♥ A Q 7 6	♥ 3 2
♦ A O 5	♦ 9 4
♣ A 9 8 4	♣ 10 5

♠ 9 8 3	♠ K O 10 7 6 5 2
♥ 8 4	♥ 3 2
♦ K J 10 8	♦ 9 4
♣ Q J 7 3	♣ 10 5

♠ 4	♠ K 10 9 5
♥ 7 6 3 2	♥ 7 6 3 2
♦ K 6 2	♦ K 6 2

East opened Three Spades and the bidding

continued SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
—	No	—	3♠
4♥	No	—	No
5♣	No	—	No
6♥	No	—	No

The North-South hands did not fit too well in the sense that a discard on a long club would not provide a valuable discard for South and the discard on a long diamond would not help North. However, the play was not too difficult after a spade lead. South drew two rounds of trumps, finessed ♠ Q and cashed the winners in the minor suits, arriving at this position:

♠ J	♠ K Q 10 6 5 2
♥ Q 7	♥ —
♦ 5	♦ —
♣ 9 8	♣ —

♠ 8 3	♠ K 10 9
♥ —	♥ 7 6
♦ J 10	♦ 6
♣ Q J	♣ —

The lead was in dummy and South exited with the Jack of spades. East won and South discarded a club. Now East was forced to concede a ruff-and-discard on which dummy's diamond went away.

TERENCE REESE

quiz

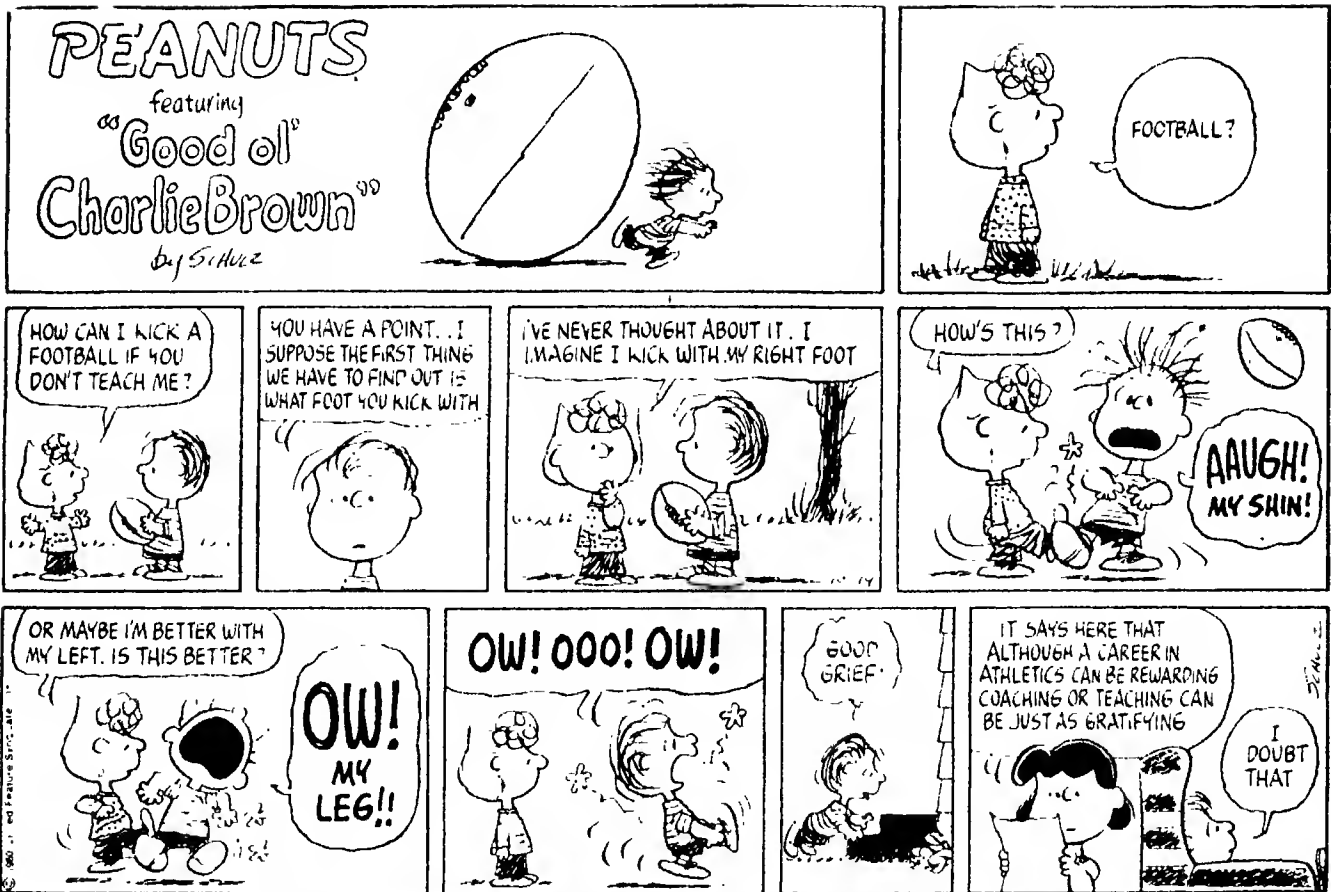
ANSWERS

1. A group of far dyes that act without mordants.
2. The eyeballs.
3. At the time of the astronomer Hipparchus about 2,000 years ago.
4. The Battle of Britain fought between British and German air forces.
5. 746 watts.
6. A jeroboam. It is 9.4 pints.
7. Marshal Aleksandr M. Vasilevsky.

1. What are direct dyes?
2. What is the globe of the eye known as?
3. When were the signs of the zodiac named?
4. A battle was fought between 8 August 1940 and 10 November 1940. What is it known as?
5. How many walls is an unit of horsepower equal to?
6. What is the measure of champagne known as?
7. Who was the Soviet army chief of staff during World War II?

QUESTIONS

staff during World War II ?



VARIETY

Interferon: what now?

By Dr D.A.J. Tyrrell

The story of interferon began in 1957 with a paper by Isaacs and Lindenmann, who worked at the National Institute for Medical Research in London. They reported a discovery which radically changed our ideas about virus interference, that is, one virus making cells resistant against another. It had been thought that this was an event which happened inside cells, in which one virus that had got into a cell kept out a late-coming second one. But, as Isaacs was to show over the coming years, the first virus often induces the cell to produce a relatively small protein, which is known as glycoprotein.

At first, the work was retarded by a series of practical difficulties. Interferon was produced in only very small amounts which varied with the cells and virus used. Interferon of one species often had no effect in cells of another.

Experiments with animals showed that injection of interferon could prevent virus infections. Further experiments have now shown that human

interferons prevent infections of human skin with vaccinia (the virus used to vaccinate against smallpox) and colds caused by rhinoviruses, and that it has an effect when used to treat herpes virus infection of the eye, chickenpox and zoster (shingles) in cancer patients, and so on.

Most trials have been done with human leukocyte interferon produced at the laboratory of Dr Cantell in Helsinki, Finland. Without this we should know little about the clinical effects of interferon, but further progress will slow unless we get substantially larger amounts. It is clear that we can now expect to have almost pure interferon for such work, but recent results suggest that it will produce unpleasant, though not dangerous side effects. When we recently gave interferon purified on monoclonal antibody to volunteers, they developed fever and felt quite unwell; in fact, the experiment lent weight to the theory that some of the general illness from which we suffer when we have a local virus infection, such as influenza, may be caused by the interferon that gets

into the circulation.

Interferon may well be useful both in local and in general virus infections, but I believe that extensive trials that are needed will take place only when we have interferon produced in bacteria carrying cloned interferon genes.

Most available human interferon is now being used to treat patients with various sorts of malignant disease. This is happening because experimental work shows that interferon prevented the development of virus-induced and non-virus tumours in mice. Subsequently, Strander in Stockholm apparently reduced the frequency with which secondary tumours developed in cases of a certain bone cancer (osteogenic sarcoma) by using interferon as an auxiliary treatment. However, the trial was not rigorously controlled though after further analysis there still seems to be some benefit. Interferon also seems to be beneficial in treating juvenile laryngeal papilloma (a growth in the larynx which may be regarded as more of a virus infection than a tumour) some cases of myelomatosis (bone-marrow cancer) and Hodgkin's disease. Small numbers of other tumours are being treated in the USA and elsewhere but it is premature to say whether there is even any short-term benefit.

this india



BANGALORE: A modern *swayamvara* was organised by a Brahmin Sangh here last week to help about 200 parents who had exhausted all avenues of finding suitable matches for their daughters. The parents belonging to the smartha, madhwa and srivaishnava sects along with their sons and daughters assembled on a common platform. The prospective brides and bridegrooms sat face to face and the organisers announced details regarding each bride such as age, job and income. The boys could follow up the matter through their parents—*Times of India* (Pradeep Ghosh, Calcutta)

UJJAIN: *Pani patra*, a form of gambling based on rainfall, has once again become rampant with the onset of the monsoon in western Madhya Pradesh. Controlled by only 25 families, *pani patra* involves betting in which gamblers forecast the amount of rainfall, starting with a minimum of "five drops" to the "flooding of gutters." The active participants occupy high rooftops, for which they pay high rents, to closely monitor the direction of the wind and the movement of the clouds in order to make as accurate a forecast as possible. Daily weather reports are read with avid interest by the gamblers. A top *pani patra* expert said that at least Rs 10 lakhs changed hands every day and nearly 25,000 people earned their livelihood from *pani patra*. Each person earned at least Rs 15,000 in the four rainy months. Nearly 400 brokers earned enough to last them till the next monsoon. At least five drops of rain are needed to win a bet. The gambler's jargon is limited to four words *kavelu*, gutter, *patra* and *patti*. *Patra* means a tin shed, *kavelu* stands for *kuccha* shed, gutter for a gutter filled with rain water and *patti* for an overflowing gutter—*Times of India* (Anand R. Deshpande, Solapur)

NEW DELHI Officials of the licensing branch of the Delhi police arrested two women while they were reportedly selling cinema tickets in the black outside a Shahdara cinema hall yesterday (30 June). The two women were identified as Veena and Misso, both of Shahdara. A total of 22 tickets were seized from them

prize rs 30 for the entry given first

The tickets were all of Rs 4 each. According to Mr A. K. Sinha, assistant commissioner of police, licensing branch, the two women worked as a team. While Misso kept the tickets, Veena approached the customers and took the money—*Times of India* (Rashbehari Das, Calcutta)

KOLHAPUR: A student who writes with his left foot, has passed the secondary school certificate (SSC) examination, the results of which were declared on Monday (22 June). Disabled since birth with no hands, Bal Gurbile, a student of secondary school at Gadhinglaj taluka in Maharashtra's Kolhapur district has achieved a second class. Bal Gurbile began practising to write by foot and eventually mastered the art. He can also ride a bicycle and swim. He has been awarded a grant of Rs 15,000 from the chief minister's relief fund for further studies—*Times of India* (Ozair Ahmed, Pune)

MADRAS: Loudspeakers blare out answers and examinees receive answer papers from outsiders in some examination centres in Tamil Nadu. The invigilators are subjected to physical threat and assault. A note circulated by the Tamil Nadu government among political parties says mass copying is a recent phenomenon in Tamil Nadu. The government has stressed the need for increasing invigilators from the present one for 50 students to one for 25 students. Outsiders should not be allowed to enter college premises during examination time. Police patrolling should be arranged outside the examination centres. Stringent punishment for students indulging in copying has also been suggested by the government—*Times of India* (Jayanta Das, Madras)

TRIVANDRUM Teachers of private schools in Kerala are paying out bribes to be thrown out of job. Hard to believe but it is not without reason—such teachers with not less than two years of service are absorbed in government schools and become government employees. The payoffs go all the way. A teacher gets a job in a private school after bribing the manager. Once he has completed two years, he launches his campaign to get thrown out. First, the headmaster has to be softened to ensure that more students are not admitted. Next, the manager's palm has to be greased to see that he does not ask the additional divisions. Then the assistant educational officer should be "persuaded" not to sanction more divisions. Once thrown out and his service "protected" the teacher can approach "other parties" to get a posting in a government school, preferably in his native place—*Indian Express* (R. Venkatesan, Madras)

without comment

What matters to me is not how long I remain in power but how long I continue to enjoy the confidence of our Prime Minister—Jagannath Mishra, Bihar CM

The opposition parties are like free competing companies which occasionally form cartels while pursuing monopolies—Piloo Mody, Janata Party leader

Bahuguna out will be more dangerous than Bahuguna in the Lok Sabha—H. N. Bahuguna, Democratic Socialist Front leader

The people who talk about parliamentary democracy are not ready to sit in the opposition—Sharad Pawar, Congress(U) leader

It would be childish to assume that the ruling classes would allow us to go on ruling here (West Bengal). The attack is bound to come—Pranod Das Gupta, Left Front chairman in *India Today*

I am confident that those people who were close to Sanjay will be able to fit the bill with Rajiv also—Kamal Nath in *Probe*

I know one thing when I was in the opposition I was good. Suddenly I have become bad for the same people—C.M Ibrahim, controversial Karnataka minister in *Weekend Review*

It hurts me to see the lack of moral fibre in politics today—Arjun Singh, Madhya Pradesh CM in *Probe*

The Soviet system is showing signs of spiritual exhaustion—Alexander Haig, US secretary of state

Bani Sadr and his ilk are Muslims, but their Islam somehow leaves room for US domination—Ayatollah Khomeini quoted in *Time*

We will not give up our efforts to acquire arms for fear of adverse reaction in India and the Soviet Union—Agha Shahi, Pakistani foreign minister

Dr Fitzgerald, you're hopping up and down like a whole's knickers—An Irish MP to Dr Garret Fitzgerald, new PM of Ireland

I should like to see a (management) system appear that is derived from India. I think we should start working on this, go back to the sources of Indian thought and idealism, bring it to the present day—C Northcote Parkinson in *India Today*

There is no way I can continue to win all the time, but I shall be back. As long as I enjoy tennis I shall keep coming back, but don't know how many years it will be—Bjorn Borg

WHO WILL REPLACE NARGIS IN RAJYA SABHA?



Nargis: difficult to replace

SINCE the death of Mrs Nargis Dutt, there is a scramble among social workers and artistes to bag the nomination for the Rajya Sabha seat which has fallen vacant. Mrs Dutt was a presidential nominee in the quota meant for leading artistes, social workers and prominent intellectuals of the country. Among the names being considered is that of Mrs Pupul Jayakar, who is now the chairman of the Handicrafts and Handlooms Export Corporation. It is hardly known, but Mrs Jayakar is one of the closest personal friends of Mrs Indira Gandhi. She has, however, till now judiciously avoided being in the limelight. Will Mrs Jayakar shed her shyness now and accept the nomination?

CM DOCTORS INTELLIGENCE REPORTS

THERE is a chief minister of a northern state who has learnt the art of manipulating Intelligence Bureau reports. It is well known that the Prime Minister keeps a close tab on the goings-on in the states through IB reports. So, this chief minister has ensured that both the senior IB officers posted in his state are kept in good humour. The man posted in the State capital, incidentally, is the chief minister's cousin. So, little difficulty there. But it being a vast state, the IB also maintains an office in the eastern part of the State with another senior officer manning it. This officer has been "won over" by appointing his brother-in-law to the State's public service commission. The VIP member of the PSC has not been allotted the usual bungalow within the PSC premises, but has been lodged in a spacious government bungalow not meant for his rank. All this, however, may not help the chief minister, because, apart from the IB, Mrs Gandhi is now also depending on the unofficial network spread all over the country and being monitored in New Delhi by the former RAW bosses, Mr Ram Nath Kao and Mr Shankaran Nair and the former CBI chief, Mr D. Sen. And this network is operating in such secrecy that even the IGs of police in the States do not know who are manning it.

BHAJAN LAL WILL SHOOT YOU



'Cowboy' Bhajan Lal

PEOPLE from Dehradun had an insight into Haryana chief minister Bhajan Lal's style of functioning which was not passed on to the rest of the country by reporters covering the countermanded Lok Sabha by election at Garhwal. Speaking at a Congress(I) election meeting, Mr Bhajan Lal attacked Mr H N Bahuguna as a political opportunist and defector. This prompted a person in the crowd to stand up and remind him that, in 1980, he had also defected from the Janata party to the Congress(I). Quite unmindful of the fact that he was speaking into a microphone at a public meeting, he is said to have told the man that, had he asked this question in Haryana, Mr Bhajan Lal would have had him "shot".

SAIL DIRECTORS UPSET

THERE is disaffection among the directors of the public sector giant, Steel Authority of India Ltd (SAIL). The company, which is on the verge of showing its first-ever loss since its inception a decade back (its predecessor, Hindustan Steel Ltd, was in the red, but SAIL has always earned a profit), has appointed an executive director, in-charge of the central marketing organisation of SAIL in Calcutta, in a very unusual manner. (SAIL has functional directors, who sit on the board and executive directors who don't.) The new director, Mr A. R. Shankaranarayan, who has been designated as the director (marketing), was incidentally the first-ever secretary of the SAIL board and had been the first managing director of its subsidiary, SAIL International. For the last few years Mr Shankaranarayan's services were "loaned" by

SAIL to the Kerala government and he was its special commissioner in New Delhi. But in bringing him back to SAIL all procedures were thrown to the winds. The director (commercial), Mr S. N. Kaza, who is a functional director (member of the SAIL board), was suddenly divested of his responsibilities by a diktat from the chairman's office to make way for Mr Shankaranarayan. His case was not referred to the Public sector Enterprises Board (PSEB), the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE), or the union cabinet's appointments committee.

According to the rules, when a director-level appointment is made, the case has to be processed by the BPE and the PSEB and then sent up to the cabinet committee for final approval. In Mr Shankaranarayan's case, none of these procedures were followed. A bewildered Mr

Kaza was simply informed that as a functional director he would "continue to help the chairman on the board," while Mr Shankaranarayan would discharge all the functions hitherto carried out by Mr Kaza. Two other members on the SAIL board, Mr R. Ganapathy and Mr Ramaswamy Iyer, both government nominees, are also understood to be unhappy with the working of the board and want to be relieved. Mr Iyer has, meanwhile, joined the Jha Commission on economic reforms, so he will automatically cease to be a member. Mr Ganapathy, an additional secretary in the department of mines, is said to have tendered his resignation. The irony is that the chairman of SAIL, Mr Kanhaya Charan Khanna, is himself a member of the PSEB, and SAIL chooses to ignore the PSEB in making senior appointments.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

*He puts his
best foot forward.
With his hands.*

*To him feet don't matter.
To walk. To race. To play
a special volleyball.
Just a rare will that overcomes.
And a strong pair of hands.
Watch him...*

*He does anything you can.
And some things you can't.
Like taking a chair for a walk.
Suddenly those barriers crumble.
You discover he's like you.*

*What's more...
You realise that
the hands of the handicapped
are strangely beautiful.*



INTERNATIONAL
YEAR OF DISABLED PERSONS
1981



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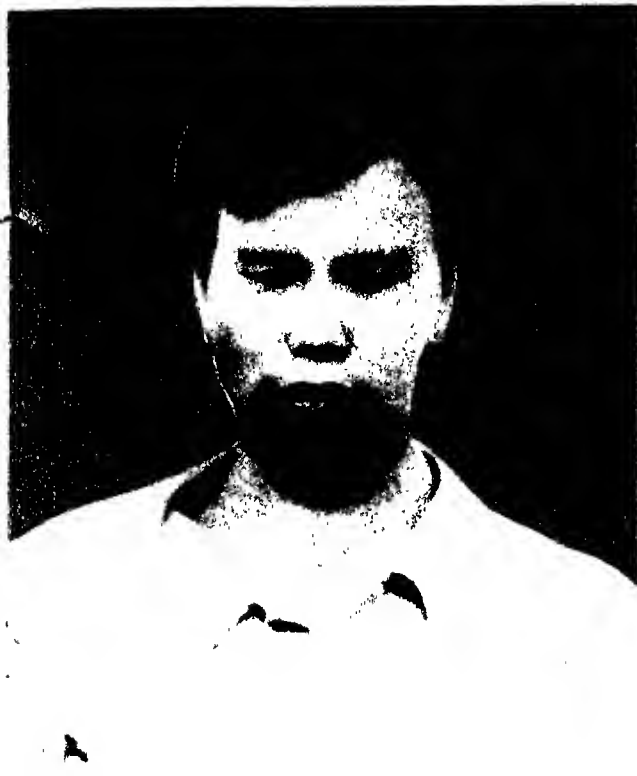
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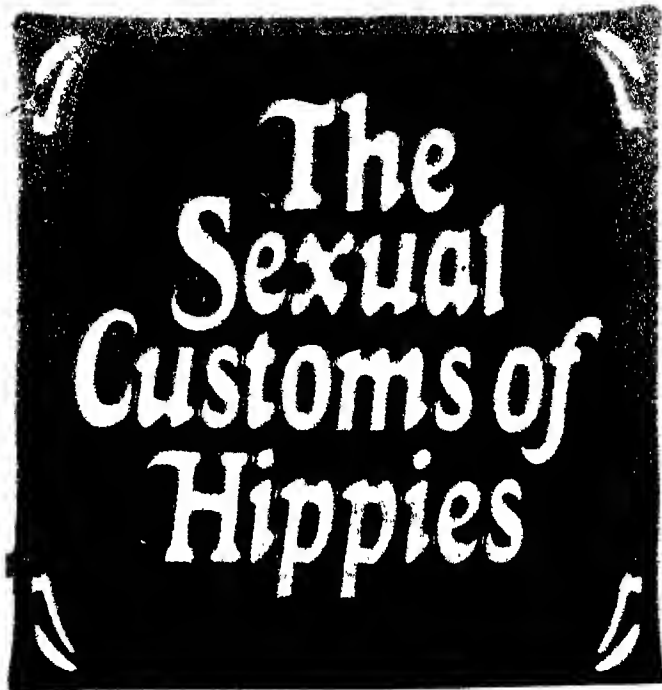


SUNDAY

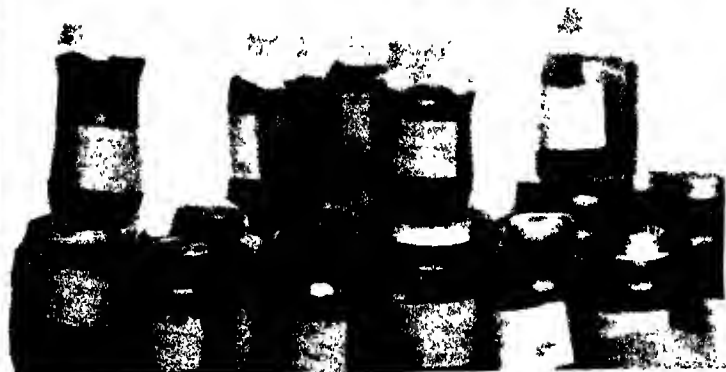


**Bisheswar Singh,
the rebel hero**

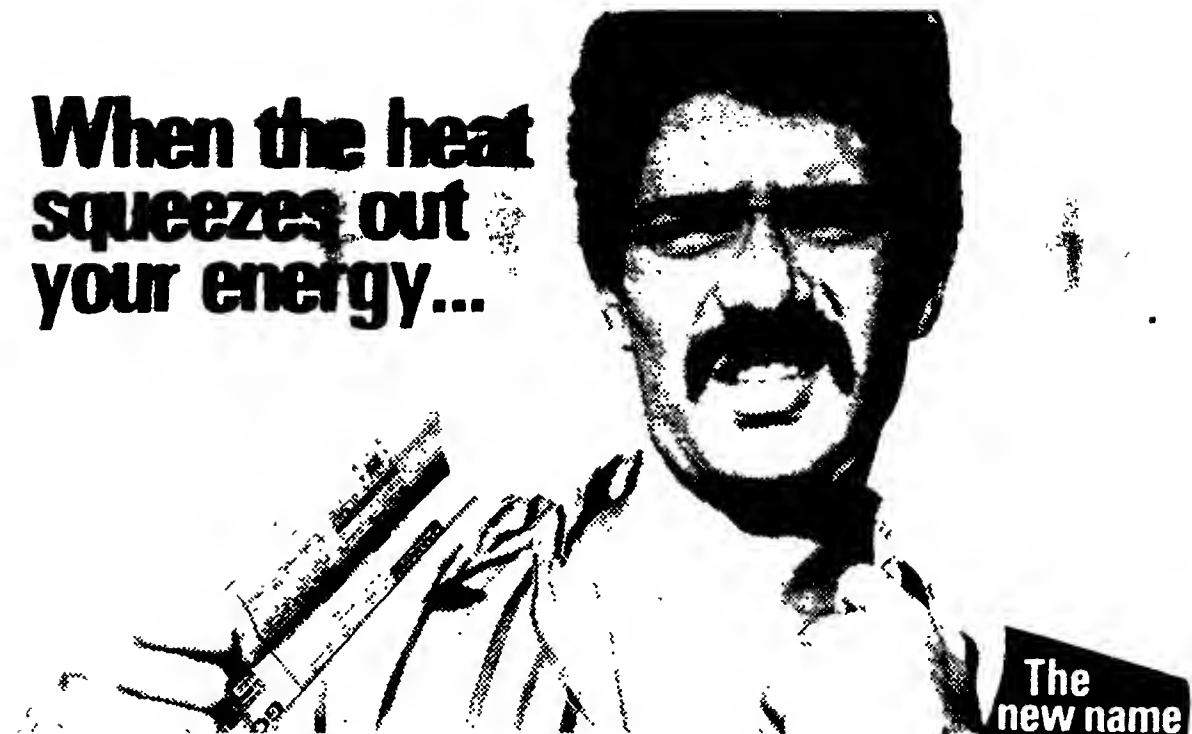
How the army broke the back of the Manipur rebels



Bangalore: poisoning the pool



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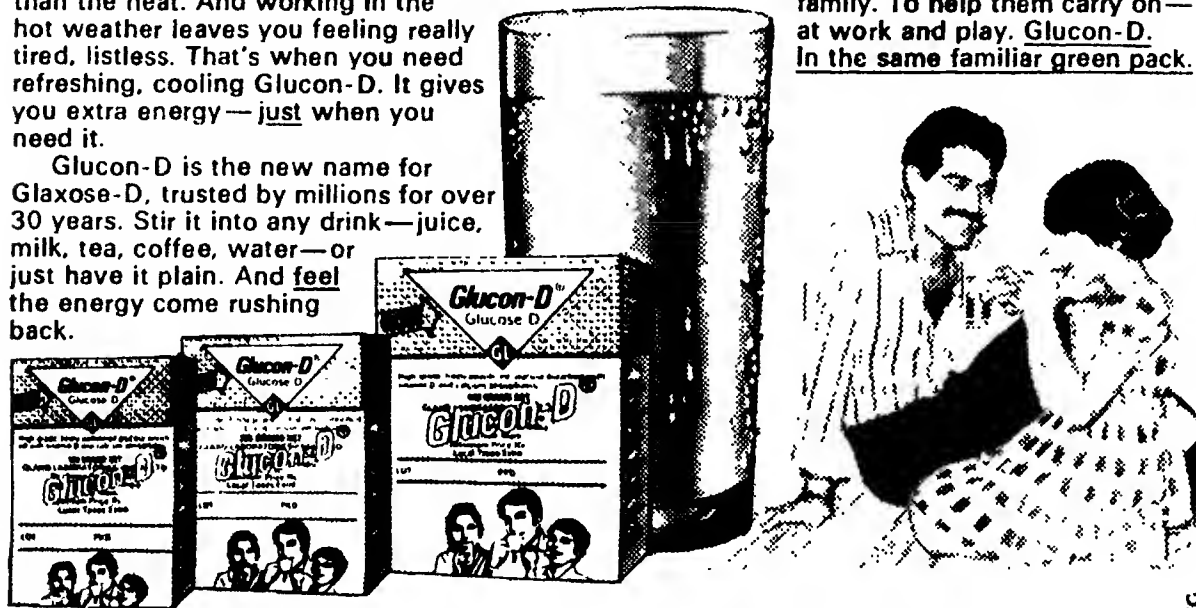
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and calcium phosphates from *Glaxo*.**

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The most serious extremist challenge to India's territorial integrity in the north east ended on 7 July when the army captured N. Bisheswar Singh, Chinese trained commander of the dreaded Peoples Liberation Army of Manipur. This was the climax of months of dogged effort by the army in the hostile jungles of Manipur. Tooshar Pandit narrates the full story **Page 8**

The race riots in Britain have brought about a big change in the attitudes of immigrant Asian youths like the West Indians they are at last hitting back, fighting for their rights they consider their own **Page 18**

Are all hippies promiscuous? Are they heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual or polysexual? Are they overly worried about venereal disease or pregnancy? A detailed study of the sexual customs of hippies **Page 38**



It was the worst liquor tragedy in recent memory between 7 and 9 July, 325 people died in Bangalore and Mysore after taking a poisonous brew. While doctors battled to find out exactly what was in the killer drink, the police got on the trail of illicit liquor king Amir Sultan, who they think is the person responsible for the tragedy **Page 14**

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MEN'S FASHION IN '81



**The collar is short.
The suspenders are back.**



But at the end of the cuff, it's, as usual, an HMT!

Men's fashion is something as mercurial as the stock market.

The cut fluctuates wildly, the fabrics change overnight, while the high priests of male plumage continue to be replaced as fast as the fashion.

But, mercifully, there is one spot of permanence in all this hectic tumult. Most male wrists have continued to sport a single watch - HMT.

Maybe there is a reason for this persistent popularity. Over the

years we too have kept pace with international styling. We brought in the square dials and when the world was 'Wow'ing the Roman numerals, we gave you that too.

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If you've the inclination, we've the time!



EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE

BY KULDIP NAYAR

Why make a virtue of taking money?

Dog should not bite dog. But what does one do when newspapers which have been receiving a UN subsidy, far from feeling guilty about it, are flaunting it as a good deed. The story begins sometime in 1978 when the editor of the famous Paris daily *La Monde* gets a multi-national firm and the UN Secretary General, Mr Kurt Waldheim, interested in financing "a global supplement for a new economic order." The editor tours some countries and picks up a few newspapers, one chain in India, to print the global supplement and distribute it along with their regular edition once every three months. A 'fee' payable in foreign exchange is decided upon. (One-fourth of it is income tax free in India).

The editors of the papers concerned constitute an editorial committee to discuss the contents of the supplement. Their first meeting is inaugurated by the UN Secretary General and the editors have been meeting once every three months since. Otherwise supercilious, they have not found it demeaning to accept free travel and five-star hospitality in European cities for their "editorial committee meetings." Ironically, no meeting has ever been held in a third world country, though the economic order they are striving to bring about will seek to end "the growing misery of most of the third world countries."

The UN subsidy has reportedly stopped since this year but a multinational or a foundation (at present a Japanese foundation) has been financing the editors' "discussions" if not defraying part of the supplement cost. The *New York Times* was the first paper to take the UN to task for giving subsidies to selected papers from funds meant for all people, all countries.

The supplement editors have hit back by saying that the *New York Times* does not help the cause but is "satisfied with selling advertising space according to established com-

mercial rules." This is a strange argument. All newspapers, including the ones which run the supplement, have commercial interests uppermost in their minds. They themselves must have refused free publicity to some of the most deserving causes in their own countries. There is nothing wrong in newspapers selling advertisement space. They are financially structured that way. But, to paraphrase Bernard Shaw, those who live in glass houses should not change their clothes with the lights on.

The editors have said that the UN subsidy only helped their newspapers "partially to meet production expenses for the first four issues of the supplement." The point at issue is not whether the subsidy was full or partial but whether the acceptance of a grant by newspapers is ethically correct. The fact that the source was the UN does not make a grant any less so.

And what about the product? The supplement is duller than a government handout. Since most contributors are officials of the UN or its affiliated bodies, the supple-

Hunger or poverty cannot be fought through a "Red Cross-type" effort; some basic decisions have to be taken and rigorously implemented. The paper in Hungary which runs the supplement is bound to have a different approach to the problem of poverty from the one in India.

ment is full of praise for all that the UN and its affiliates are doing or some of the UN member nations. In a way, the project is very much like the third world news pool. Articles from countries under military dictators or totalitarian systems appear along with the ones from democracies. There is the same pretence—and claim—of independence and the same dilution of credibility as in the copy of the news pool.

Regarding the editors' obiter dicta that the UN organisations should be allowed to carry on their "mission of fighting against hunger, poverty and underdevelopment," it is a most naive statement by people who should know better. Rhetoric is one thing, solution is another. Hunger or poverty cannot be fought through a "Red Cross-type" effort; some basic decisions have to be taken and rigorously implemented. The paper in Hungary which runs the supplement is bound to have a different approach to the problem of poverty from the one in India. The editors will do well not to give sermons. The project gives them an opportunity to travel abroad free; let them not make it look otherwise.

While on the subject of the news media, I must mention what the two o'clock AIR news bulletin said the other day. It carried the announcement of the appointment of the new AIR director general, "Mr K. C. Tikku." But in the subsequent bulletins and the government handout on the appointment "Tikku" became "Sharma." It was later learnt that the DG's father was a *purohit* (priest) in the Nehru household. Someone at the top perhaps feared that the use of "Tikku" would connect the appointment with the Nehru family. (Kashmiri brahmins can use either "Tikku" or "Sharma.") The obedient AIR news setup was told to drop "Tikku."

The government has done a great disservice to the new DG. Mr Sharma is a competent person who has worked his way up. The fact that he is Tikku or Sharma neither detracts from his merit nor adds to it. He is there not because of his family connections but because of his own merit. And his appointment has saved AIR from the pomposity and stuffiness of an IAS official—a danger that was averted at the last minute.

The PM's secretariat faced an embarrassing situation last week. Someone, posing as a retired deputy secretary from the central secretariat, wrote to a New Delhi daily about the newspapers Mrs Gandhi read. There was never a deputy secretary with such a name in the secretariat. The matter has been brought to the notice of the paper concerned and left at that.

SUNDAY



Trip-up by Morarji

Reading the cover story, *My secret trip to India* (28 June), I cannot help observing that Moshe Dayan's meeting with Morarji Desai in New Delhi was an insignificant event. And I don't think it was wise on Mr Desai's part to invite Moshe Dayan to India.
Sourav Kumar, Kharagpur

Moshe Dayan's account of his secret visit to India shows Morarji Desai as a seasoned politician and statesman.
K. Sreedharan, Bangalore

The issue of Palestinian refugees seems to have lost its importance. But Mr Dayan has shown some concern and his solution to the problem—settling the refugees in the lands where they dwell at present—is commendable. However, it is unlikely that the super powers would permit this, it is in their interests to keep the Palestinian issue alive.
Pinaki Chakraborty, Calcutta

The extract from Moshe Dayan's autobiography about his secret trip to India was a significant and explosive story.
D.P. Bhatt, Rajkot

Downhill with Dunhill

Arun Shourie's "Mrs Gandhi can give me the keys and sleep" (14 June) is bound to cause a furore within the Congress(I). I wouldn't be surprised if the axe falls on Gundu Rao.
Sudha Nalapat, Punnayurkulam (Kerala)

The *SUNDAY Special* was wonderful. I hope Gundu Rao will have enough money to smoke Dunhill when he goes downhill.
Vadakkara Aravindan, Guruvayur (Kerala)

A sensible politician, particularly a chief minister, is not expected to make careless statements to a journalist. Gundu Rao has proved himself a bungler.
P. P. Moideen Koya, Calcutt

Nude wave hits SUNDAY

Anil Saari's *Who's afraid of stripping?* (28 June) revealed the influence of south Indian films on producers in Bombay. It is a pity that there is only a handful of filmmakers in our country who are committed to the cause of meaningful cinema.
Ashok Kumar Paudyal, Hooghly (West Bengal)

Hrishikesh Mukherjee's views on sex and violence in Indian cinema are really commendable. Filmmakers should realise that in order to be successful at the box office, their films have to be socially relevant.
Kishore Biswal, Mangalpur (Orissa)

Thanks for the *SUNDAY Special* and, of course, for the wonderful photographs.
D. J. Patro, Bhubaneswar

As if the regular *Khaas Baat* pages were not good enough, *SUNDAY* has now started capitalising on the film industry in a really big way.
U. Mukherjee, Silchar

The 'nude wave' has hit *SUNDAY*, not the

film industry, and this is an insult to the intelligence of readers. I am sure that without vulgar photographs the magazine will do better business.
Bamburata Mukherjee, Silchar

It is ironic that in the very same issue *SUNDAY* published letters of protest against nude photographs (*Opinion*, 28 June). Does the magazine have no regard for its readers' views?
M. R. Haque, Patna

The photograph captioned "Anita Raj—hip, hip, hooray!" was actually that of Anni Gupta.
Bachus Drougo, Calcutta

It would be advisable for you to have "For adults only" stamped on the covers of such issues.
Siddhartha Kumar Roy, Karankia (Orissa)

Is *SUNDAY* a sex magazine, a film magazine or the most popular family magazine? Please make up your mind. It can't be all of them.
N. C. Das, Imphal

Please investigate

Reading Kuldeep Nayar's *Mountbatten Trust runs into trouble* (*Exclusive*, 21 June), I was shocked to learn that nobody knows anything about the Rs 90 lakhs which were collected for the Jayaprakash Narayan Trust. This is a serious matter and if the government is hesitant to institute an enquiry into it, *SUNDAY* should get on the trail.
R. N. Lakhota, Calcutta

I would like to clear any misunderstandings which might have been created by Mr Nayar's reference to the Jayaprakash Narayan Trust. The J. P. Amrit Kosh, as the trust is known, started with Rs 89.42

lakhs in its account, Rs 47.45 were allocated for work in the states (state fund), Rs 21.97 lakhs for work undertaken by the national trust (central fund) and Rs 20 lakhs for a training programme through camps and workshops to realise JP's dream of 'total revolution'. After meeting its expenses in the last three years, the trust now has Rs 63.95 lakhs in its account. Had Mr Nayar bothered to make enquiries it would not have been difficult for him to get hold of these figures.

Radhakrishna, managing trustee, J. P. Amrit Kosh, New Delhi

Oh God!

Congratulations to Jyoti Jafa for her *Murder on God's command* (21 June). One can only hope that Goddess Durga will refrain from ordering the death of innocent people in future.
Pravat Kumar Mohanty, Puri

It is really unfortunate that people like Bholanath Sharma are playing with God's name. God is the supreme power, he does not need a mere mortal to carry out his wishes.
Shekhar Samuel, Jamshedpur

Most distressing

I was distressed to find that the *Khaas Baat* columnist has concocted an absurd story about me in the 21 June issue. I cannot understand how such a report could sneak into a sophisticated magazine like *SUNDAY*. It is true that I belong to a wealthy family, but the allegation that, having failed as an actress, I took to financing and controlling O. P. Ralhan's productions, is both a lie and an insult to my dedication to cinema.
Aaloka (Nazneen), Bombay

Can't buy love

Madhu Limaye's suggestion in *Gujarat: Graveyard of Mahatma's hopes*, that only those people who have contracted or are willing to contract inter-caste marriages should be considered for gazetted services, is not practicable. What prevents someone from marrying a lower-caste girl and then

divorcing her? Or, the marriage, even without breaking up, could be an unhappy one. Love and marriage have something ethical about them which cannot be purchased by money or office.
Bimal De, Gen. Secretary, Eastern Railwaymen's Union and Working President, All India Railwaymen's Federation.

Doig delights

A thousand thanks for the interview with Desmond Doig (21 June). It was really great to know something about the man who created the JS magazine. The story reminded me of all the wonderful posters and the coverage on people and places (not politics, as Doig rightly emphasises) in a racy language.
J. Japani, Hyderabad

Mr Doig admits with touching simplicity and honesty that "he was feeling a bit old" to keep running a youth magazine. But so many magazines (*Sun, Weekend Review, etc*) flourish today because they have taken up where JS left off.
J. Devaraj, Coimbatore

Misplaced valley

In Mr Hua comes to Delhi. At last (28 June) Shubhabrata Bhattacharya has claimed that the Chumbi valley is "a narrow tongue of Chinese territory between Nepal and Bhutan." This is not correct. We all know that Bhutan and Nepal do not share a border, Sikkim lies between these two countries. Chumbi valley is actually a narrow strip of land between Sikkim and Bhutan.
Sashi Dewan, Darjeeling

Pakistani, so what?

Pankaj Mishra's *Opinion* (28 June) on Nazia Hassan was shameful. I cannot understand how he could refer to such a talented artiste as a "street singer" and then question HMV's choice of a Pakistani "when there is no dearth of talent in our country." I get the feeling that people like Mr Mishra cannot tolerate the success and popularity of a Pakistani singer.
S. Sen, Anandapur (Orissa)

Mr Mishra should realise that great artistes like Nazia Hassan rise far, far above national barriers and prejudices. I congratulate HMV for signing her.
Neyaz Ahmad, Benidih (Bihar)

A case for Finland

My attention was drawn to Shubhabrata Bhattacharya's *Is the fourth Indo-Pak war round the corner?* (7 June) and the references therein to my country. Without going into the merits of this report, I would like to state the following facts:

1. Finland was never occupied by the Soviet Union.
2. The economy of Finland has always been based on free enterprise.
3. The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance which Finland signed in 1948 with the Soviet Union does not give the latter any right to enter Finnish territory.

Finally, it is my request that the word 'Finlandisation' not be used to imply interference of a major power in the affairs of a small country; this word is best used to describe how a small nation, while maintaining its integrity, can live in peace and harmony with a powerful neighbour.
Risto Hyvarinen, ambassador of Finland, New Delhi

Unjust to Bhagwan

Many 'Bhagwan-watchers' among the readers of SUNDAY must have read *A coup against Acharya Rajneesh?* (21 June) with great interest. Unfortunately, Olga Tellis has not done justice to Bhagwan; she made no mention of his vision to create the Buddhafield—a global network of communes where, through meditation and celebration, a new man can arise from the ashes of the old. In fact, this is already happening: all over the world *sanyasins* are experiencing new depths of love and new heights of creativity. We are proving that Bhagwan's vision is a practical reality. We are building new meditation centres, growth centres and *sanyas ashrams* where not only is every comfort and care available to the temple of the human body but also

nourishment for the inner man through meditation. Buddhafield is a 'mystery school,' to live in this mystery is to experience the showering of Bhagwan's blessings.

Ma Simant, Rajneesh Ashram, Pune

Olga Tellis' contention that Bhagwan is no longer a welcome guest at his own ashram is absurd; we'd sooner put out the sun than Bhagwan
Ma Deva Vandana, Rajneesh Ashram, Pune

The fact that Acharya Rajneesh had to flee to an unknown destination shows that there was something fishy about the entire business.

Mohd Shoib Siddiqui, Lucknow

Why glorify the Mastan?

The cover story, *What is Haji Mastan doing now?* (21 June), was interesting. But it was sheer blasphemy on Haji Mastan's part to say that his wealth is Allah's *meherbani* (beneficence).
M. Salahuddin, Tirur

The report was far from satisfactory. A number of questions remain unanswered. Has Haji Mastan really given up smuggling? If yes, how does he earn his livelihood and how does he manage to help the poor?
Bina Singh, Tinsukia

SUNDAY cannot be forgiven for wasting six valuable pages on Haji Mastan. The activities of an anti-social element are of no interest to the average reader.
S. C. Khare, Varanasi

It is clear that SUNDAY has run out of ideas for its cover stories.
K. V. K. Nair, Madras

SUNDAY's glorification of the Mastan is downright Hindi-filmish, stupid and, for God's sake, harmful. While people can so

easily see through the industrialist who exploits his workers and then tries to do good to the poor, why can't they call the bluff of a smuggler who robbed with one hand and now gives away with the other?
Aruna Thosar-Dixit, Pune

As it did with Haji Mastan, the government should allow others to utilise their black money for the benefit of the poor. This would unearth concealed wealth and allow it to be used for national development.
Biradaitya Sahoo, Jharbandh (Orissa)

What have we, thousands of your readers, done to deserve a noted criminal/smuggler on the 21 June cover? By giving a smuggler that kind of coverage you have committed a criminal act yourself. You can't take us for a ride by giving us Robin Hood stories about ordinary rascals who in any other country would have been soundly punished for their anti-national activities. The world is burning with much more important issues, please think of them.

M.K. Majumdar, Guntur (A.P.)

Report by-passed

Tooshar Pandit's reply to readers' *Opinion* (21 June) on the Biharsharif by-pass massacres was not convincing. It is a pity we could not meet Pandit otherwise, we would have taken him to the spot where bloodstained clothes, human hair and bones were found by the

police dog squad in the presence of additional IG(Q) Ram Chandra Khan. It was on the very same by-pass that ex-Bihar health minister Jabir Hussain's nephew and Col. Sahay's son were killed.
Zafir Alam, joint secretary, Anjuman Mufidul Islam Nalanda, Biharsharif

Shame, shame

Rearguard action (World, 28 June) proved beyond doubt that SUNDAY has joined the fraternity of shameless journals in order to boost its circulation.
S. F. Sundararaj, Tiruchirappalli

Whereas the caption claimed that 11 demonstrators lowered their trousers, the photograph showed only ten buttocks. What happened to the 11th?

Rana Dutta, Burnpur (West Bengal)

You have, once again, displayed your extraordinary good taste by publishing a picture of a row of buttocks. It just shows that you have your brain in the right place—in your "rear."
A. R. R. Narayanan, Rourkela

The photograph was simply wonderful.
Vimal Saxena, Raipur

Fanning out

We intend to form a Satyajit Ray fan club and invite suggestions.
Amitabha Das, c/o Kalachand Banerjee, Vill. Subudhipur, PO Barupur, 24 Parganas

Last letter

The SUNDAY Special (*Who's afraid of stripping?* 28 June) was very revealing.
R. Raghupathy, Calcutta

How the army broke the back of Manipur rebels

An on-the-spot report by TOOSHAR PANDIT on the capture of Bisheswar Singh, the legendary leader of the Peoples Liberation Army

THE informer was quite positive about it. Some insurgents were camping at Tekcham, a small village (pop: 80), about 50 kms south of Imphal, surrounded on three sides by an arc of ragged and densely-forested hills. The main approach to the village is through sprawling paddy fields and marshy undergrowths at the opening in the east. There, the insurgents had

chosen for their hide-out two huts a little set apart from the main cluster of settlement. The stocky commanding officer of 17 Jammu and Kashmir Rifles, Lt Col R. P. Singh, could hardly suppress his excitement as he received the information. For his was the army unit nearest to the village—within 25 kms of it. Did the informer have any clue about the identity of the insurgents gathered there? No, he did not.

Col Singh tapped other sources. None could enlighten him but most seemed certain that some insurgents were there.

Once his doubts had been set at rest, Col Singh got in touch with Maj. Gen: V. K. Nayar, the GOC for Nagaland and Manipur, who happened to be in Imphal on that day, Monday 6 July, on a brief visit. Could he go out for the insurgents? the commanding

A PLA poster with the red star at Singjameji police station in Imphal



officer asked. The General said yes. Soon Col Sinh was on the job. From the map of the area he gathered that the target village could be reached from his post by at least three routes. But which one should he take? It had to be the one, movement on which would draw the least attention. As it was, any large-scale army movement was bound to attract some attention. Besides, the insurgents could be keeping watch over the area from their hideout. If they were, then they would be able to spot any movement from quite a distance since the village was at an elevation. Col Sinh settled for the longest route as that would keep the movement mostly on the main highway and thus make it less conspicuous.

Having selected the route, the Colonel turned his attention to the composition of the assault team. The choice for leading the team was: 24-year-old Second Lt. Cyrus Pithawala who had put in only about 22 months' service in the army. At about 1.30 pm, shortly after the GOC, Maj. Gen. Nayar, had left Imphal by a chopper for his headquarters at Zokhama, on the outskirts of Kohima, the signal came over the radio: we are all set for the assault. The General thought that the timing was rather unusual. Normally such operations are carried out at night or before dawn. That reduces the chances of movements being spotted to the minimum. By launching the assault in the middle of the day, Col. Sinh was certainly taking a greater risk of detection. But then, the General concluded, there must be some very compelling reason for it. One of the reasons, of course, was the possibility of the insurgents shifting to another hideout. Rarely did they stay in one place for more than a couple of days. And if the informer was right then those who had gathered in Tekcham should be leaving the place any time now.

At 2.30 in the afternoon, the wireless crackled and vehicles came into formation. A few minutes later the final order went out. The engines purred and Second Lt. Pithawala with three JCOs and 80 other men rolled out for Tekcham—the target of assault. Moving south through the main highway for about an hour, the convoy swerved to the right, hitting a narrower arterial road. It followed that road for another 15 minutes before coming to a halt. The soldiers clambered down from the vehicles and resumed their journey—this time on foot. A column under Second Lt. Pithawala headed straight for the huts, some 7 kms to the north, where the insurgents were said to be hiding. Another column moving further west took to the hills surrounding the village. By 5.20 pm Pithawala and his men were within 100 yards of the huts. The soldiers who had fanned out to the hills were occupying vantage points on the ridges.

That was when the inmates of the hut got the first hint of trouble. Some of them who were sitting in a clearing,



N. Bisheswar Singh

a little above the hut spotted some movement on the hills. Looking down they saw more people, all armed, headed towards the hut. They rushed to the hut where they found that their leader was still asleep. They woke him up. Certainly the situation was desperate. They could see soldiers closing in—those on the hills coming down and those in front coming up. What should they do now? Theoretically they could escape through the hills. But chances of success were slim. So, the only way out was to force an opening on the eastern side. Through that opening they could go to one of the neighbouring villages. It was already getting dark. And, if they could escape the dragnet around them the chances were that they could not be traced. But how to accomplish this? As the leader waited in the room, all his eight followers reached for their guns stacked in a corner and went out, dressed as they were (most of them had vest and underwear on).

The first shot rang out at 5.30 pm. It

came from the hut. The troops also opened up with their rifles and automatic weapons at a withering, point blank range of 150 feet. In the exchange Pithawala got a bullet in his right shoulder. When Col. Sinh leading a support column of three officers and 20 other men reached the place at about 6.15 pm, Pithawala was bleeding profusely. Would he like to be evacuated? Pithawala's reply was a blunt no. By then, from the ferocity of the resistance all the men and officers were convinced that they were onto something big. Pithawala, like everybody else, wanted to see it to the end. And, that was why he would not budge. At around 8 pm the inmates of the hut held fire. Reciprocating, the troops, now almost at the doorsteps of the hut, also stopped shooting. That gave Col. Sinh a chance to say his line. Shouting at the top of his voice he asked the inmates to give themselves up. "If you surrender, no harm will come to you," he promised.

Even before he could finish, Col. Sinh heard someone yelling: hands up. The sound seemed to have come from the hut itself. So he made a dash for the door. There, before him, with his hands raised, stood a chubby man wearing a T-shirt, blue track suit and matching sports shoes. Two of Col. Sinh's men, L/Naik Rabi Singh and L/Naik Rampal, had halted the man on his strides. Col. Sinh asked them to frisk the man. It was then that the man spoke for the first time. "Who are you?" he asked the Colonel. "Well, I am an army officer," came the reply. "How big an officer are you?" he shot back. "I am big enough for you," the officer replied. The man then relapsed into silence as Col. Sinh started firing questions at him one after another: Who are you? How many of you are here? How long have you been here? Where is Bisheswar Singh? The last question did the trick. The man was alert again. In slow measured tones he replied: "I am Bisheswar."

Col. Sinh could hardly believe his ears. He asked the man once again who he was. The same reply: I am Bisheswar. He hardly looked like a raving conspirator, a militant insurgency leader. He was not even carrying a gun. With his wide nose, dishevelled hair and sagging eyes, he looked even teddy-bearish. Col. Sinh still had doubts and he wanted to probe more before taking the man at his word. "Were you in Choru?" the officer asked. Yes, he was. "Where did you go after giving us the slip there?" The man replied that he went to Asangkullen, stayed there for three days and named the person with whom he stayed. The answers tallied with the information the army had about Bisheswar's movements during that period. (On 8 October 1980, the army busted a Peoples Liberation Army (eastern region) camp at Choru killing seven PLA members. Bisheswar, who was at the camp at that time made a narrow escape.)

By then (8.30 pm), Bisheswar's followers must have come to realize that

their leader had been captured. They, therefore, resumed firing in a desperate bid to free their leader and themselves. It was a moonlit night and some shadowy figures could be seen running towards the door through which Bisheswar had come out. These flung themselves on the ground and started firing. Bisheswar, however, was nowhere near the spot; he had already been shifted beyond the army cordon. Having put Bisheswar in a parked army vehicle, Col Sinh, now sure of his

catch, radioed the dramatic news to Maj Gen Nayar at Zokhama. The shootout continued till 9.30 pm. Then, silence. After some more time had passed, Col Sinh asked his troops to comb the area. Soon they stumbled upon four bodies riddled with bullets. Leaving some of his troops behind to continue with the combing operation, Col Sinh, followed by the rest of his troops, left for base with his prized catch. Among those who stayed back was young Second Lt Cyrus Pithawala nursing a bullet wound.

Bisheswar had a feeling that if and when the army caught up with him they would probably roast him alive, or do some such horrendous thing. That was why he was so sullen and uncommunicative initially. When he saw that his fears might be exaggerated, he started opening up. He asked Col Sinh if he could have some food. "I am very, very hungry. For months I have been living on herbs, roots and sweet potatoes," he said. Like most Meitais, he did not have pork, but fish? "Ah, nothing like that!" he said. There was no fish at the dinner that night, served by Col Sinh. But Bisheswar seemed to relish the food and even burped.

Then they sat down inside a tent and talked and talked and talked into the small hours of the morning. And in the process he exploded many myths about him. For instance, it was widely believed that he had undergone plastic surgery in Lhasa to alter his facial features so that he could not be recog-

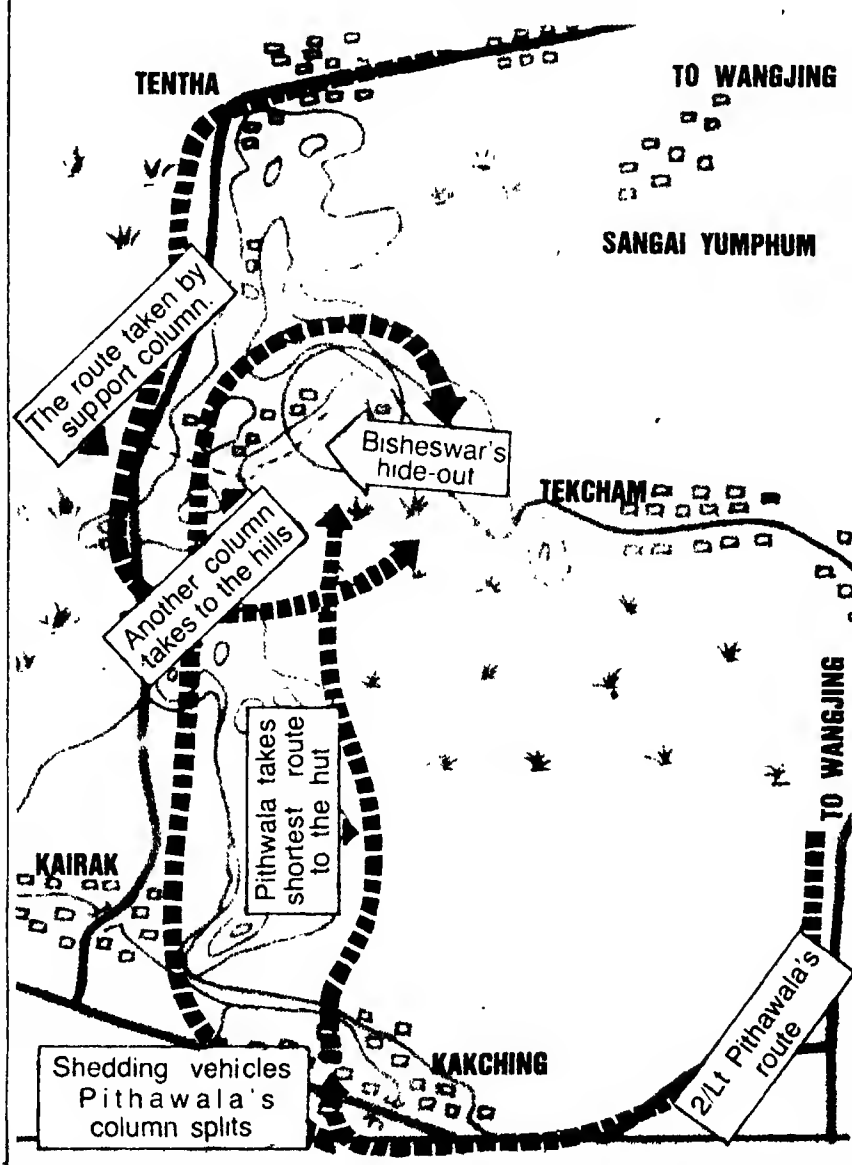
in Lhasa was for removing stones from my kidney," he said, showing the scar he still carries on his abdomen. Another popular belief was that he and the Maoist Naga insurgent leaders, Muivah and Isaac Swu, were thick as thieves. Bisheswar's comment: "I hate them; they are puppets." Yes, he had gone to Lhasa and did not deny that he had Marxist-Maoist ideological leanings. But he hated working for others. The Chinese not only offered him money and arms but also the

over Rs 55,000 tucked inside an imported bedroll; a box of English type-faces weighing about 100 kg; a few copies of Chinese periodicals and a mass of PLA literature and papers. But the most exciting find was a diary—Bisheswar's own—a record of his thoughts, plans, friends and enemies, all in his own handwriting. It also listed the persons who had been helping him with money and materials. If the list were published, quite a few politicians and sections of Manipur's elite would be in an embarrassing position. At 9.30 in the morning Col Sinh called off the operation after Bisheswar informed him that only nine of them were hiding in the hut. That had been accounted for: seven killed, two apprehended. Those killed were: Bir Mangal Singh, Indrajit Singh, Rajen Macha, Kabi Chandra Singh, Khajin, Shanti and Inao. They were all in the "elite 20" of the PLA who had trained under the Chinese in Lhasa

Bisheswar must be cursing himself and wishing he had not summoned almost all his key associates to that hut. For in one stroke his entire organisation had been demolished and with it his dreams too. What was now left of the "elite 20" were just two men—Temba Singh and Kunjabihari Singh—the others having either been arrested or killed. Kunjabihari too might have been captured had he not left Tekcham for Imphal, two days before the

army struck, on an errand for Bisheswar. As for Temba Singh, once the most trusted lieutenant of Bisheswar about him not much has been heard, for more than a year since he married a kuki girl and fell out with his mentor. Bisheswar himself believes that Temba was killed while crossing over to Burma. Some other reports, however, claim that he is leading a battalion of the Kachin Independence Army in Burma. As with the top 20, the rest of the PLA's hardcore has been slowly debilitating; from the original 55 in December 1972 when the

Map showing the area where Bisheswar was held



services of a Chinese adviser. But he refused.

As dawn broke news came from Tekcham that the troops combing the area had come upon three more bodies. One person was captured alive; he had hidden under a haystack. The search yielded a lot else: 3 SLRs, 7 pistols and a carbine rifle manufactured in the USA; a wireless set which had been snatched from a police jeep on 30 June; a taperecorder and some two dozen cassettes, mostly recording Bisheswar's addresses and instructions

55 in December 1972 when the



Second Lt. Pithawala

was born, it is now down to only about 20.

However, despite these setbacks, what sustained Bisheswar was the deep-rooted conditions of poverty, neglect and despair, in Manipur and the anger against it. When Bisheswar with his men left for Lhasa in 1976 the per capita income of Manipur stood at Rs 201 against the all-India average of Rs 366. Even neighbouring Tripura was better-off with a per capita income of Rs 374. The state earns only about Rs 6 crores in revenue and spends 20 times more for its annual budget. Of the 62,000 unemployed who were registered with the employment exchanges in 1978, only about 34,000 could be absorbed in the organised sector. There are close to 1.5 lakhs unemployed people, almost a tenth of the state's population. Bisheswar symbolises the resentment of the Manipuris against their deprivations and has become a kind of folk hero for the underprivileged, not only of Manipur but of the entire region. After Phizo and Laldenga, he is certainly the most talked about insurgent leader of the area and by far the most active.

Such is his image in Manipur that when the GOC for Nagaland and Manipur, Maj Gen Nayar, announced at a press conference in Imphal on 7 July that Bisheswar had been caught and several of his associates killed, even some senior members of the press

raised their eyebrows. "What? Bisheswar? Captured?" They could not believe it. To most Bisheswar was like *Phantom* or *Superman* come alive: indestructible. To set the doubts at rest as to whether Bisheswar had really been captured, the army authorities got Bisheswar photographed and released it to the local press on 7 July. The press carried it on 9 July and unwittingly created more confusion. Earlier the Calcutta newspapers had carried a mugshot of Bisheswar taken when he was in jail in 1972. In that photograph Bisheswar's face appeared to be a little more rounded than in the photograph of his in captivity. For the next few days everybody seemed to be doing just one thing: comparing the two photographs and looking for discrepancies between the two. To make things easier the largest circulated local daily *Huiyanlanpao* carried both the pictures on its front page and sold out within minutes of hitting the stands. Even now there are people in Manipur who will swear that the two photographs are not of the same person and Bisheswar is still at large.

Bisheswar's arrest takes away much of the mystery and romanticism that are associated with him in the popular mind. But it hardly means the end of insurgency in Manipur. The land is still fertile for sprouting new insurgents. It is likely that an intense rivalry among the leaders of numerous

insurgent groups (there are about a dozen of them including the three major ones: PLA, PREPAK and KCPI) to fill the vacuum caused by the removal of Bisheswar from the scene, will lead to fresh violence. The proliferation of insurgent groups itself is the result of bitter personal rivalries for leadership. As long as Bisheswar was there on the scene he loomed large over all the others.

The PLA is unlikely to give up so easily and will certainly fight to retain its pre-eminence among the insurgent groups. To demonstrate that it is not finished, the PLA has already started to hit back. Within five days of Bisheswar's arrest PLA activists hoisted their starred flag on a building right in the heart of Imphal. The next day two army jawans died when explosives expertly planted on a major road some 20 km south of Imphal went off as their vehicle passed the spot. On the same day, another bridge was also damaged by an explosion. The funeral procession for the PLA activists killed in Tekcham was well attended and many mourners carried placards praising the PLA and its dead heroes. What all this means is that the insurgency in Manipur, instead of petering out with the arrest of Bisheswar, might gain a new militancy. Even within the PLA, Bisheswar was the sobering influence on the militants.

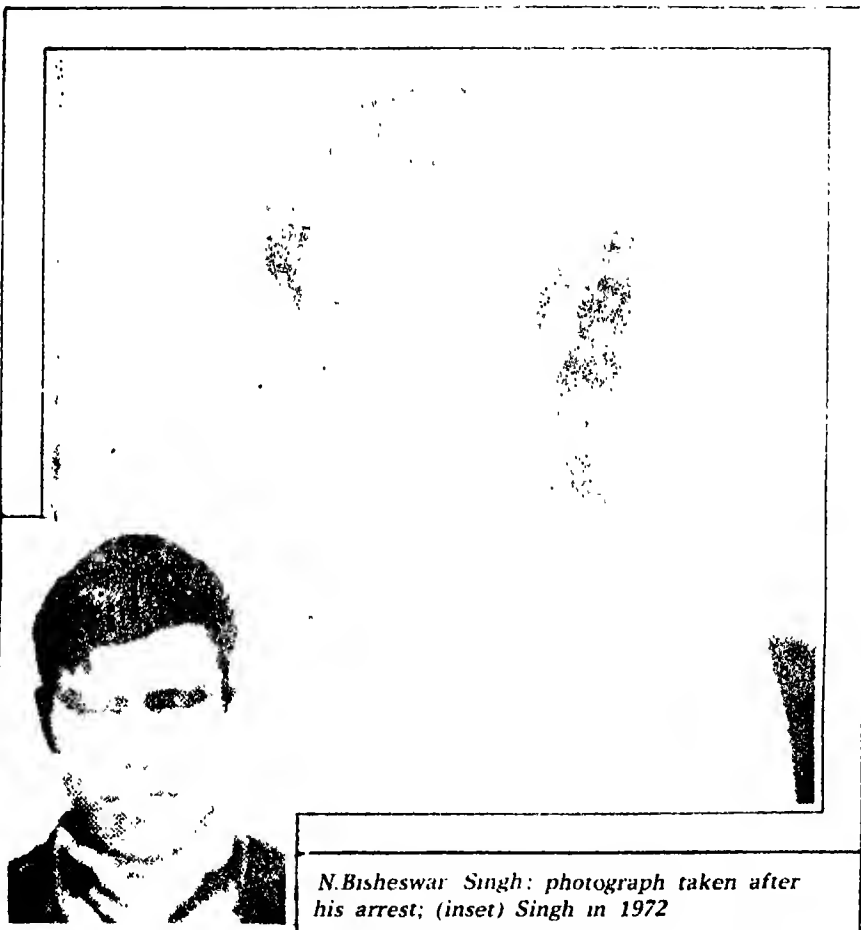
Soldiers comb the site for Meitei insurgents



Bisheswar: the making of a legend

Nameirakpam Bisheswar Singh, 35, might well have been a potter instead of a militant insurgent leader if he had had his way. That was what he wanted to be. Having finished a course in ceramics at the Ceramic Institute in Jadavpur, Calcutta, he returned to Manipur in 1968 hoping to make a living out of the skill he

completed school in 1965. To continue with his studies he had to struggle hard: he worked as a construction labourer during the day and attended his undergraduate classes at Manipur College, Imphal, at night. Having completed the first year of his BA, he found that the struggle was becoming increasingly



N. Bisheswar Singh: photograph taken after his arrest; (inset) Singh in 1972

had acquired. First, he started looking for jobs. When he could not get any he decided to start a small ceramics unit of his own. For this he needed Rs 5,000 and applied for a loan from the government. But he could not get any. This was particularly disturbing for him because he had got married only recently and his widowed mother was ailing. For him there was no light at the end of the tunnel.

His troubles began virtually from the moment he was born on the outskirts of Imphal to a poor family. He lost his father soon after he

tough. So when he was offered a monthly stipend of Rs 80 to take a course in ceramics in Calcutta, he was elated. And it came at the right time too—he was beginning to lose faith in himself. But what he did not know then was that soon he was to be disillusioned again.

It was during that phase of depression when he hunted fruitlessly for a loan, that he got in touch with a group of educated, unemployed and frustrated Meitei youths who had secretly set up the Manipur Revolutionary Government (MRG)—an

armed underground organisation. The organisation was already three years old and among its architects were: Yangmaso Shaiza (later chief minister of the state), Chandramani Singh, O. Sudhir Kumar, Somorendra Singh, Y. Pramod and Hidanarayan Boby. While studying in Calcutta, Bisheswar had been exposed to Marxism and Marxists, but he never gave much thought to them. In fact, he shunned politics. But after his return to Manipur and faced with a hopeless future he began to accept the idea of a pan-Mongoloid utopia being sold by the MRG. And, that set him on the insurgency course.

Soon Bisheswar established himself as one of the most active dedicated members of the MRG. He was among those led by Sudhir Kumar who went across to East Pakistan to try and establish contact with the Chinese. He met the Chinese consular staff in Dacca quite often till Pakistan disintegrated in 1971. While returning from one of these missions, Bisheswar was arrested in early 1972. On an earlier occasion too, in 1969, he had been spotted by the border forces while trying to slip into Tripura from erstwhile East Pakistan and spent quite some time up in Agartala jail. It was at Agartala jail that he was initiated into Maoism by the Naxalites held there.

Bisheswar along with other MRG leaders, came out of jail after three years in mid-1975 following a general amnesty offered by the chief minister, R. K. Dorendra Singh. Singh also promised land and money to those who renounced violence and settled down to a quiet life. Many MRG leaders, including the lynchpin Sudhir Kumar, grabbed the offer and quit insurgency. But Bisheswar remained as defiant as ever and fell out with the MRG leaders who had opted for an easier life. Along with some other dissidents he raised his own banner: the Manipur Revolutionary Party. He started scouting the area to find a convenient route to China. Finally he found one. It was absurdly simple. The route: Imphal-Dimapur-Gauhati-Gorakhpur-Kathmandu-Lhasa. Meanwhile, Bisheswar had also established contacts with the Chinese through Naga rebels.

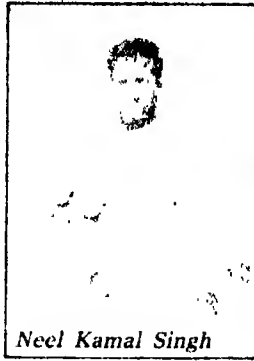
On 16 April 1976 Bisheswar set out from Imphal for Lhasa. With him were 15 other men, all handpicked by him. They travelled to Dimapur by bus and from there took trains to Gorakhpur. A bus ride took them to Kathmandu and another to Lishang, a Chinese outpost on the Nepal-Tibet border. There, at the outpost, Bisheswar and his men were received by two Chinese PLA officials who escorted them to Lhasa. They travelled by bus for the most part of the journey and only for the final stretch to Lhasa were they huddled

into two cars. In Lhasa, a political officer was waiting to greet them. They were billeted in a house in Lhasa's PLA complex. They also got their rations, the regulation blue uniforms, winter clothing, blankets and even a cook. The food was simple: mostly vegetables and rice. They always took their dinner early: before sunset.

For a long time Bisheswar and his men were not given any weapons. The emphasis during that period was on political indoctrination. The Chinese gave them a mass of books and papers to read and assimilate. They also provided an interpreter. Supplementing the books were regular lecture sessions on Maoism and Marxism. For the first four months or so they underwent rigorous PT drills for three hours every morning and afternoon; they really sweated it out. Once the Chinese were convinced that Bisheswar and his men had been sufficiently indoctrinated, they introduced them to weapons. The Chinese not only taught them how to use various weapons, mainly small arms, effectively, but also familiarised them with all the intricacies of guerilla warfare.

By May 1978, all the 15 men who had accompanied Bisheswar to Lhasa and four others who were recruited later (in November 1977), had finished their training and returned to Manipur in batches by the same route as they had gone. Bisheswar, who had contracted TB, stayed back for treatment. Soon after their arrival, Bisheswar's followers started to make their presence felt. Their first operation was an attack on a posse of Manipur Rifles on 29 June 1978. This earned the insurgents one pistol. Two constables were hurt. The first time that Bisheswar's men robbed a bank was on 19 July 1978. They got away with Rs 20,000 in cash from the United Bank of India's Imphal branch.

Bisheswar was held up in Lhasa for quite some time. After being treated for TB, doctors discovered that Bisheswar was suffering from some unspecified ailments. They also operated on him to remove kidney stones. Finally, in December 1979, Bisheswar was fit enough to undertake the journey back to Manipur. Reaching Manipur, he renamed the Manipur Revolutionary Party as Armed Revolutionary Government of Manipur (ARGM) and organised its armed wing—the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA). The PLA was placed under the command of a crack shot, Chorom Ranjit Singh, 23 (he since has been arrested), although Bisheswar kept a tight grip on it. And ever since its inception the letters PLA have become synonymous with violence in Manipur, sending tremors to even distant Delhi.



Neel Kamal Singh



Kabi Chandra Singh



Beermangol Singh

The "elite 20"

- N. Bisheswar Singh: arrested on 6 Jul 81.
- Kunj Bihari Singh: alive, absconding.
- Ch Ranjit Singh: arrested on 22 Oct 80.
- Beermangol Singh: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Inderjit Singh: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Surjabora Singh: killed on 20 Jan 80.
- Brojen Singh: killed on 20 Jan 80.
- Neel Kamal Singh: arrested on 8 Oct 80.
- Temba Singh: could be alive.
- Kali Chandra Singh: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Rajen Macha Singh: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Kulla Chandra Singh: arrested on 9 Jan 81.
- Chaoba Singh: arrested on 19 Jul 80.
- Amumacha Singh: arrested on 22 Oct 80.
- Neel Mani Singh: arrested on 30 Nov 80.
- Rajen Achouba Singh: arrested on 11 Dec 80.
- Khajin: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Shanti: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Inao: killed on 6 Jul 81.
- Shashi Singh: arrested on 6 Jul 81.



Inderjit Singh



Rajen Achouba Singh



Ch Ranjit Singh

Bangalore: poisoning the poor

Between 7 and 9 July over 325 people died in Bangalore in the worst case of liquor poisoning in recent memory.
An on-the-spot report by LOUISE FERNANDES.



H. K. RAJA SHEKHAR

Bodies lying on a truck waiting to be taken to the morgue

Row after row they lay there, exposed to the heat, the drizzle and the vicarious curiosity of a hundred onlookers. Row after row of half-naked male and female corpses in various stages of rigor mortis, splayed haphazardly in grotesque abandon, awaiting their turn to the autopsy table. In life all the corpses shared a common bond of poverty and all of them suffered a violently painful death. Very few who came to the hospital for help have survived and even those who have will, in all probability, be either mentally or physically disabled for life.

Till today there is no precise explanation for what caused the deaths of 325 persons in Bangalore and Mysore over the four days from 6 to 10 July. Till samples of viscera, vomitus, and internal organs are analysed the cause of death remains broadly listed as illicit liquor "poisoning."

Bangalore still reels under the shock and horror of those four grizzly days. The stench of death still permeates the emergency ward of the Bowring Hospital where a majority of the liquor poisoning victims came to die. Within a space of 84 hours, from 11.30 pm on 6 July to 11.30 pm on 10 July 326 persons were admitted for emergency treatment to Bowring Hospital and 185 of them went out with a sheet over their heads within half an hour of reaching there.

The end for most was gruesome. "Govinda, Govinda!" shouted 42-year-old Muniswamy, desperately clutching at his stomach with his left hand, while a glucose saline drip attached to the palm of his right hand prevented it from moving. As he strained in pain his stomach muscles knotted and blood began to ooze from one corner of his half-opened mouth. His pupils began to dilate, his pulse grew thready and more blood began to ooze out, this time from his nose. This was too much for his brother, who held the saline bottle, to bear. He rushed out leaving this reporter to hold the bottle and watch Muniswamy die. This was the first of the deaths. During the next hour 20 more names were added to the death list.

What killed them? Owing to the lack of a forensic laboratory on the premises, doctors on call were treating their patients symptomatically. And, as a doctor said, though all symptoms pointed to illicit liquor poisoning, the precise nature of the poison was impossible to determine, rendering effective emergency treatment impossible. Some patients showed signs of blindness—which could point to the presence of methyl alcohol in the liquor. The pupils of many others became dilated and fixed which meant that belladonna could have been present in the hooch. Administering diuretics to many to flush out the toxic substance through the kidney became dangerous, for many showed signs of an urine shut-down, which could be due to lead poisoning. "What could we do except wash out their stomachs, put them on

life sustaining drip and then treat them symptomatically?" said a doctor.

Working within the cramped confines of a seven-bed emergency ward, with the assistance of a modest staff, one stomach pump and one respirator, the obvious question which arises is: Could more lives have been saved if the hospital had been better equipped? "Yes and no," said a doctor. According to him, almost all those who succumbed to the poison had arrived at the hospital either dead, or in the final stages of respiratory depression. Nothing short of a miracle could have saved them. But as the doctor admitted, "The hospital is prepared to treat its average of three to four poison cases a day but the facilities are not good enough for a crisis. If only they had come in earlier..."

But they did not, as, a bout of lethargy, a little bleary vision and an attack of nausea are not exceptional for regular hooch drinkers. By the time

they discovered that the brew they had drunk was lethal, it was too late for most. But yet they came—some on their own, others supported by aged parents, pregnant wives and even little children—doubled in severe pain, foaming at the mouth and blood oozing from their mouth, ears and nose. The screams of pain, the mounting stench of blood, urine and vomit, the endless sounds of retching, the gasps for breath and the smell of death were present in all corners of the hospital.

But the impact of this tragedy could be felt only after the second day when attention, which had earlier been concentrated on the emergency ward, turned to the morgue compound of Bowring Hospital and the mortuary of Victoria Hospital. Finding the way down the crowded passage in the Victoria Hospital mortuary on 7 and 8 July this reporter counted 47 bodies of women and men ranging from eighteen to eighty years of age. There were

Weeping relatives carry out the body of a hooch victim



H. K. RAJA SHEKHAR



Bodies awaiting autopsy.

so many corpses that they had been dumped on top of each other. Most of the bodies showed visible signs of extreme pain before death. Froth still flecked their mouths, the blood had dried along their chins. In a far corner lay three pregnant women, their bodies sprawled in a position of childbirth. By the time they reached the hospital, they were dead.

Outside the morgue the scene was equally pathetic. An old woman and her daughter struggled to place a dead body, covered with straws, on a waiting *tonga*, while in a parked hospital van, three more bodies were waiting to be unloaded.

For the husband of Muniamma who held the hand of his dead wife, the stench from the dead bodies around him meant nothing. All he wanted was a few moments with his wife. "All she drank was half a glass of the liquor, amma, and now I have two children to look after," he moaned. Six people from his area had died after drinking

Sultan: man behind the deaths?

AT around 1.30 am on 7 July, Mr B. K. Bhattacharya, excise commissioner, Bangalore, received information that 30 to 40 people in the Cantonment area were dying of liquor poisoning. He at once called up the commissioner of police, Mr A. R. Nizamuddin, to inform him of this. But he was told that the police commissioner was sleeping and he could not be disturbed. Next, Mr

Bhattacharya contacted the police control room and passed on the news. The control room, in turn, relayed it to the Fraser Town police station and asked them to take action. It was then that the assistant commissioner of police at Fraser Town police station took up the matter and sent a sub-inspector to look into the incident.

The Fraser Town police were all

along aware of who the prime suspect was: a man called S. Amir Sultan who lived on Davis Road which falls under the Fraser Town police station. Sultan, as a matter of fact, had been black listed by the excise department and was running the hooch trade through "front men." But, in spite of this, the police took three days to raid Sultan's house. By then, Sultan had disappeared. He had absconded with his family. What the police did find was ten litres of liquor in a tin drum. Next the police raided the house of his brother, Mir Ahmed, in Sepping Road, and recovered 20 litres of hooch in jerry cans. But Mir Ahmed had also disappeared. The police maintain that a link between Sultan and the hooch tragedy can only be established after samples of the liquor found in Sultan's house is compared with that found in the stomachs of the victims. But interrogation of several vendors of hooch has revealed that Sultan was the main supplier of the concentrate.

The question which arises is: why did the police take three days to raid the house of Amir Sultan when he had already been black-listed and the police were aware that he was involved in the hooch trade? Many believe that the police and Sultan were hand in glove in the entire business. In the meantime, some Congress(I) MLAs have sent telegrams to the Prime Minister linking the name of a party MP, close to Mr Gundu Rao, with that of Sultan. This is one reason why two Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) officers have been sent to Bangalore to look into the incident.

Excise men raid a hooch distillery in Ambajidurga village



K. G. SOMESWAR COURTESY DECCAN HERALD



Relatives bend over a dead victim.



Faces of tragedy



Hooch being prepared

the killer brew.
 The family members of Rajamani (35) did not bear their suffering as quietly. In fact, his two surviving wives, Veliamma (38) and Muniyamma (30) who is eight-months pregnant, were hysterical. His five-year-old son Raju was calm: he had not even realised that he would never see his father again. Rajamani, an autorickshaw driver, who lived in far off Jayanagar had travelled to the civil lines for a drink. There, his work for the day over, he had bought himself a ticket to death. He had been found writhing in pain and was rushed to the Bowring Hospital where he died an hour and a half later. His elder brother, Subramanyam (47), also a habitual drinker, said: "I'll never touch another drop again."

Venkataraman (30) was admitted with stomach cramps at 3.45pm on 8 July to the Bowring Hospital. He died soon afterwards. His wife who had been admitted to the maternity ward of the same hospital had no inkling that her third child would never see its father.

Amidst the pain and horror, a 15-day-old child, yet unnamed, curled her little fingers around the listless hand of her mother, Ramakka (38). Mother of eight, Ramakka is one of the few fortunate people to have been taken off the danger list. She is not a habitual drinker but had drunk a bit of the liquor from the local vendor after a quarrel with her husband, Subbiah, who is himself a habitual drinker, but had also escaped death because of his preference for government licensed arrack. Ramakka lives in the slum areas of the city's Cantonment Civil Lines from where hundreds lost their lives in this tragedy. For corporation sweepers, railway coolies, peanut-sellers and scavengers, hooch was the means of forgetting their miseries. Many of them used to drink the safer government controlled arrack till it was priced beyond their reach: the price doubled from Rs 3.25 to Rs 6.25 a bottle this year. It was then that illicitly brewed hooch began to flood the market.

"We'll never drink again", two brothers vowed as did countless other relatives of the dead. But one is more inclined to believe the butcher who said: "Sharab ke bina zindagi mein aur kya hai? Agar mar jayenge to mar jayenge. Sab Allah ka marzi. Ye amir log apne whiskey, brandy peeke kehetha hai ki sharab acha nahi. Ha! (What else is there in life besides liquor? If we die, we will die. It is all Allah's wish. These rich people drink their whiskey and brandy and then say that liquor is bad. Yes!)" Ironically, though legislators are calling for the resignation of the government and sacking of inefficient and corrupt excise and police officers, the persons most affected by the tragedy continue to maintain that their fate is in the hands of God. The Muslim butcher, for instance, has every intention of heading for the nearest hooch shop when the hospital discharges him. ■

K. G. SOMSEKHAR COURTESY DECCAN HERALD

LOUISE FERNANDES

The Empire Strikes Back

MADHU JAIN reports on the "harijans" of Britain

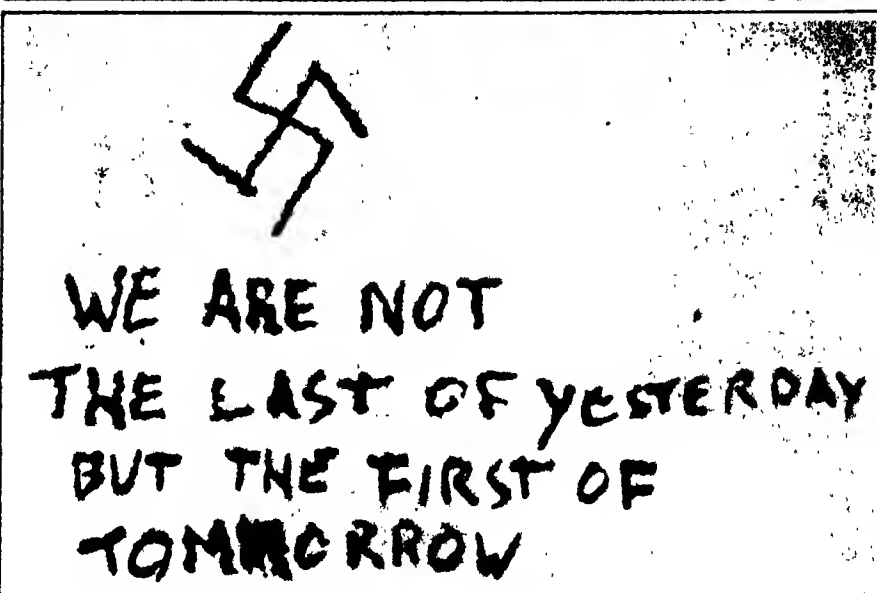
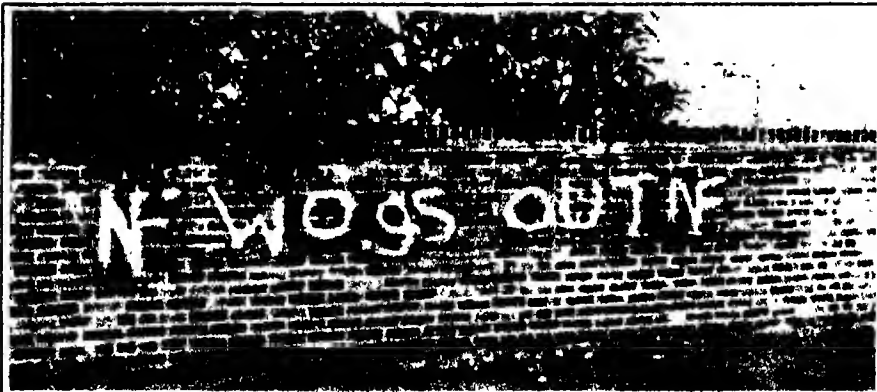
*Eeny meeny mina mo
Catch a nigger by his toe
If he screams...*

The nigger did scream. And he fought back. At Southall, Liverpool, Brixton, Bristol... The innocuous little nursery rhyme that even we brown-skinned children parroted, wasn't all that innocent after all. The racist bug has crawled out of the nurseries and into the streets. 'Racist' is no longer that dirty a word. In some milieus it has even become respectable. Closet racists have come out. An Indian writer I met in London last month fumed in his impeccably upper class English: "At a party last week this respectable-looking Englishman came up to me and said: 'Well, you

know, actually I'm a racist'...." Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon was only looking for a fight, and it isn't quite fair to say that the British are a racist lot. In any case Indians can match them caste for caste and colour for colour. Indians today are only the "harijans" of the British. The nasty-looking Skinheads with their tight pants and closely cropped hair are merely the visible boils, eruptions of a basic disease hidden behind the famous British reserve. The message is quite clear: an England with over two and a half million unemployed, and more or less the same number of "immigrants," doesn't want any more "coloureds." For the simple-minded the arithmetic adds up to: 2.5 million blacks—2.5 million jobs lost. The Empire is striking back.

It was Enoch Powell who with his "rivers of blood" speech in 1968 introduced the term "race" into the immigrant question. He pulled out the stopper on that reserve which had kept racial hatred from welling up. More important still, race became a political issue. With politicians anywhere, expediency always conquers principles; until 1968, there was, it seems, a multi-party agreement not to play the race card. But in the next decade, it proved to be the trump card—during the hard times. In a nation in which prices and unemployment spiralled uncontrollably, and the standard of living plummeted (making Great Britain the poor cousin of the EEC) a punching bag had to be found. Politicians found the immigrants an easily identifiable enemy.

Racist graffiti by the National Front



Initially the Asians proved good targets: they did not fight back. Oriental timidity at your service. The master-slave (barter of services for comfort) relationship from the days of the Raj hadn't quite petered out. The Paki-bashers of the 60's and 70's were afraid to touch the West Indians, who were willing to answer with their fists. "The West Indians did not have a real family structure. We did. Our children had no time to loiter. We told our children that they must work hard, get scholarships, go to the university and then open a shop..." said Mr Khabra, president of the Indian Workers' Federation at Southall. And those shops did it. The East Africans in particular (lots of Patels) with large capital bases drove out the nine-to-fivers; small chains of retail stores brought a new, visible affluence. The brown man was threatening a nation of shopkeepers by building shops! Hatred by itself was bad enough. Envy added to it proved explosive.

But everyone, alas, is not a Patel. Almost 35% of the unemployed are "blacks" (those of the Indian subcontinent are included in this category, much to their displeasure). The figure rises to 40% in the north. In the riot areas, in Brixton, Bradford etc, it can be as much as 66%. The blacks are at the bottom of the ladder, and the distance between them and the next step is growing wider daily.

One must add that many British officials now feel that this can be disastrous for society as a whole. Remedial language teaching, mother tongue teaching, youth opportunity, schemes to cover more people, and teaching the bobbies Punjabi are among some of the more recent mea-

asures taken to encourage social integration.

But the Asians and West Indians continue to feel insecure. With reason. The new Nationality Act, which most see as overtly racist, has for the first time created two different types of nationalities, it has made second class citizens without mincing words. And these citizens can be shown the door anytime. "This act will encourage witchhunts and start repatriation. Whatever powers the local courts had to question arbitrary expulsions are now finished," says Sighbat Qadri, the Pakistani lawyer who has a large immigrant clientele. Passport checks on the road, and police entering homes after "anonymous" telephone calls about illegal immigrants will be the tense scenario of the post Nationality Act era, according to him.

There has, ironically enough, been one good offshoot, of both the new Act and the increased racial violence: the West Indians and Asians have come closer. Black for Indians has now also become an acceptable colour. The Act extends the passport checks (a McCarthyian excess, surely) to West Indians, 60% of whom were born in England. Conversely, the Asians, like the West Indians, can now also be arrested

under the dreaded SUS law, for loitering.

The white man's Indians (the right accent, right clothes, right style) no longer wrinkle their noses in disdain at their compatriots on the wrong side of the rail tracks. A few years ago, the brown sahib would say, "But I never encounter any racial hatred. Those people, who don't even speak English and mess up the place, they do." He no longer says this now.

Fear hovers over Southall like a bat. Swastikas are painted over the bus stop opposite the once grand but now desolate Dominion cinema, which is the platform for visiting Indian politicians. Amitabh Bachchan looks out sultrily from a poster, half his million-dollar cheek covered with a perfectly-formed Swastika of the neo-Nazis. The words "nigger" and "go home" embroider other parts of this building. This is the message from whites. And the brown men in blue denim and Travolta looks might hang around shops watching *Kranti* or listening to Hindi film music, but the air is full of apprehension. And hatred. I have never heard the word "white" pronounced with such venom. This is racism, too.

Every Indian one meets has a story

to tell about Indians being attacked by Skinheads and police not being helpful. "If a white girl is abused or attacked by a black, they cry rape. If it is the other way round, they say 'I would get along home and forget about it if I were you'," says Nita Sharma. An Indian told me that, at Brixton, a black who had been injured was told to go home by the police and watch it "on the telly."

Some say that the policemen, especially the younger ones, have become racist. Qadri told me that he saw an advertisement in a local Luton newspaper inviting policemen with "experience" in South Africa and Rhodesia to apply for police jobs.

The Asian is no longer a ninny—as was seen when the Skinheads attacked a shop in Southall. They walk, talk, dress and basically think like the white working class youths. They go to the same schools. Kung Fu and punk rock are as much a part of their culture. And, most important, they were brought up to believe that the plums in this supposed land of milk and honey are theirs for the asking—their birthright. And suddenly, race raises its ugly head. It can only be black and white after that. ■

Skinheads

The Skinheads make a good punching arm for the extreme right. These descendants of the punks of the last decade, and cousins of the Hell's Angels, are far more dangerous because their innate violence is not directed inwards; they don't pierce their own cheeks with safety pins, they inflict pain on others. This violence, stemming from a sense of insecurity which the unreal level of unemployment keeps at boiling, exploitative point, is channelled towards the blacks.

Skinheads are usually from the bottom rung of the ladder. The right wings (neo-Nazis, British Movement, National Front) picks them up from football grounds or schools. "These Skinheads are underachievers. They are the unemployed teenagers who are easily led by the right wing who tell them that the blacks are taking their jobs. These are ignorant people," says Mr Cooke, a West Indian employee of the Community Relations Council in London.

The letters of racial hatred pour in, but Mr Cooke never loses his remarkable cool. The illiterately penned letters no longer affect him. A typical one: "Will give the niggers equality, yes. An equal space on the cattle boat when we ship the black animals to Africa. You can take the nigger out of the jungle, but you can't take the jungle out of the nigger."

Never too young to make friends: This young citizen of London extended a hand of friendship to two policewomen on patrol in Notting Hill.





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Britain's anguished response

CHANDAN MITRA, who is doing his Phd at Magdalen College, Oxford University, analyses the current violence.

EVEN by our sub-continental standards, the racial violence which has rocked Britain is terrifying. Although no one has died so far, largely because the police in Britain do not carry firearms, the number of injuries have run into several hundred persons, and the damage to property into several million pounds. Britain's response has, however, been rather confused.

The Left, including the Labour Party, has squarely blamed Mrs Margaret Thatcher's policies, which have led to unprecedented unemployment, for the disturbances, and has warned of more to come. The extreme Right has also warned of more to come, but it blames non-white immigrants entirely for the troubles. The reality lies elsewhere. Britain today is shorn of both its colonies, and the technological boom of the 1960s. The British—and they now include both white and black—have simply failed to come to grips with these new facts. The recent violence is one more facet of a once-glorious society trying to readjust to the unpleasant fact of being no more than a small group of islands in the north-eastern Atlantic.

The Southall riots began with an unabashedly racist provocation. A group of rampaging Skinheads broke into a grocery shop owned by an Indian, and abused and assaulted Mrs Nirmal Kalhan, wife of the proprietor, Mr Darshan Kalhan. The news of the incident spread quickly, and soon a huge mob of Asians, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis who dominate Southall, assembled to settle scores. The Skinheads had come from all over London to attend a concert at a local pub where a group named Four Skins was playing. They had come into Southall in busloads, flying National Front banners. (The home secretary, Mr William Whitelaw, has officially held the Skinheads entirely responsible for triggering the violence.) The police moved into the area rather late, and while they did prevent a blood-bath, they failed to stop looting and arson.

The police saved the Skinheads that night, vastly outnumbered as they were by the Asians. What the Asians wonder, however, is whether the police would have been so eager to render protection, had the numbers been the other way round. The widespread feeling that the police would not have done so, reflects the state of mistrust that now exists between the communities in Britain. In the eyes of Britain's large non-white population, the 'friendly British bobby' is a myth. The police are known to wilfully harass the non-whites, especially the

youth. Unable to avenge himself on employers who are racially prejudiced, unable to always retaliate against the insults he faces in everyday life, the black youngsters select the police to wreak their vengeance.

Such was the story in Brixton in April this year. A frighteningly similar pattern was repeated in Toxteth, Liverpool, on Saturday 4 July. Like Brixton, Toxteth had over the years become a deprived ghetto, inhabited mainly by the blacks. Successive governments—Conservative and Labour—and the local councils have simply allowed these ghettos to emerge, and done little about them. Toxteth, in fact, has been evolving as a predominantly black area for more than a century now.

There is, indeed, an explosive situation in these inner-city areas of Britain, caused by social discrimination and psychological deprivation. To this has been added the scourge of unemployment. These areas are really the product of the post-war boom and the technological revolution, when menial and other low-paid jobs were at a discount and thousands of Asians, West Indians and Africans had been virtually invited to Britain. It is ironic today to go back into history and recall that in 1948, it was Britain which was pursuing Nehru to let India remain within the British Commonwealth with a common citizenship. The boom is now over, and only staggering unemployment figures remain to write its epitaph. The latest official counts admit 2.75 million unemployed in a country of 55 million. While on an average every one out of nine in Britain is unemployed, the figure is one out of every five for blacks—almost double the white figures.

It is also important to understand the psychology of the young non-whites in today's Britain. Most of them are second or even third generation domiciles here. Their parents and grandparents came to Britain to do menial jobs and helplessly accepted the humiliation that went with the colour of their skin and the status of their job. But understandably, the present generation is not prepared to accept all this. Many openly ask whether Britain has given them anything except poverty, unemployment and humiliation.

As a consequence, the many laudable features of community relations in Britain are overlooked. It is often not recognised that in spite of the apparent racialism, sincere efforts are made by thousands of dedicated men and women of the country's social services to understand, help and assist the immigrants, especially over problems of integration into British society.

One is apt to forget that one is more likely to observe groups of black and white youngsters happily roaming in the streets together, than one is likely to witness Skinheads hurling abuse at Asians. But as in every sphere of life, the distasteful aspects tend to stick out.

In fact, if Brixton and Toxteth have any particular lesson to dispense, it is that poverty and unemployment are not exclusively black concerns. Once rioting was afoot in Toxteth for instance, the police admitted to having confronted more white rioters than black. In Toxteth, black and white unemployment rates are both reaching scandalous proportions—at 47 and 43 per cent respectively.

The riots have left most Britons bewildered, confused, and above all, dismayed. One plane of opinion was voiced by James Cameron writing in the *Guardian* on 7 July: "Whether or not one believes in the possibility that a multiracial community was a good idea in the first place, somehow or other society has just got to come to terms with it now. You cannot de-racialise a body of people as big as ours, and it is useless to try to do so. The Empire-builders should have thought of that two centuries ago. We, after all, colonised the coloureds; they did not colonise us."

But when the Fleet Street tabloids scream with bold headlines, 'Blacks on the Rampage,' or broadcast Enoch Powell's self-advertised statement after the Brixton riots, "you've seen nothing yet," the mischief-making power of the media comes into full play. When the *Daily Express* runs a front page story on 7 July headlined, 'How Much More Must We Take?' and goes on to ask—"How much racial violence are we to put up with before the interests of the majority are considered?" one can almost hear the sounds of searing flesh as Britain's liberal face is sought to be disfigured by irresponsible and small men. When the *Daily Mail* on the same day tries to convince its readers that left-wing militants orchestrated the rioting, derides liberal opinion as "sentimental, wishful-thinking and humbug" and then goes on to print a bold-lettered block item claiming that hundreds of non-white immigrants have started to think in terms of returning to their countries of origin, one begins to realise that it is not necessary to be a Skinhead in order to openly express racial prejudices.

The recent riots have put liberal and tolerant British opinion to a crucial test. One must sympathise with it. It is perverse for us to delight in Britain's misfortunes as some of us tend to do. ■

Pahadia underestimated Rajiv Gandhi

After Mr Pahadia, on whom will the axe fall next? Only Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv can provide an answer to this. It may be Gundu Rao, or Bhajan Lal; or anyone else. But so far, neither the mother nor the son has given any indication of who will be the next chief minister to go. In all probability, there will not be any change in leadership in the Congress(I)-ruled states till the next union cabinet reshuffle takes place.

But first it should be clear to everyone why Mr Pahadia has been removed: not because of his administrative failure, or assertion of political independence, but because he could not read the writing on the wall in time. He first thought that Mr Rajiv Gandhi was not important and quite foolishly antagonised Rajiv Gandhi's friends. Then he went on to cultivate the wrong people in Delhi who, he thought, were still important. Thereafter, when he realised his mistake, he made a *volte face* and tried his level best to appease Mr Rajiv Gandhi. His final folly was to throw a challenge to the central leadership by mobilising support among his party MLAs. He failed to grasp a basic reality: who the number two in the Congress(I) was.

It is strange that there are still people in the Congress(I) who do not realise that Mr Rajiv Gandhi can take the toughest decisions with a smiling face and an innocent air. He is very different from Sanjay Gandhi, who seldom tried to hide his anger. There is a single lesson to be learnt from Mr Pahadia's removal: Rajiv Gandhi matters and if one wants to survive in the Congress(I) then one better be on the right side of him.

Mr Pahadia became the first victim of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's wrath because of his own foolishness, but it could have been any one of the other loudmouthed, ill-mannered, chief ministers. Culturally, Mr Rajiv Gandhi prefers a polished and 'proper' style of functioning. Messrs Gundu Rao and Bhajan Lal are hardly 'proper'. If they cannot mend their ways, they will have to go. Mr Rajiv Gandhi wants a smooth and quiet style of functioning; he cannot tolerate ineffective loudmouths.

This will be reflected even in the next cabinet reshuffle. There seems to be little doubt that he will have a say in the reallocation of portfolios and the induction of junior minis-



By **BARUN SENGUPTA**

ters. And as Rajiv Gandhi asserts himself gradually, his style and preferences will become manifest more and more.

Though, in all probability, no other chief minister will be removed immediately, Mrs Gandhi has already said that everyone's performance will be assessed after a year in office. This applies to both chief ministers and cabinet ministers. And the assessment will be done by none other than the mother-and-son duo. The poor ministers must be spending sleepless nights at the moment: the year is over! Anyone can change from a VIP to a nonentity in a trice. And after losing his job, a minister cannot move the High Court under section 226, as even a *chaprasi* can, for arbitrary dismissal.

Pahadia cultivated the wrong people



All this does not mean that Mrs Gandhi will sack people in a fanciful manner, (though she can certainly get away with that). There are serious political considerations and detailed calculations behind her every dismissal and appointment. Take Mr Channa Reddy's removal. He was a shrewd and ambitious political operator, with a base of his own. Such people can become dangerous in a sudden political vacuum. It is for the same reason that people like Mohanlal Sukhadia and Dinesh Singh are not being given any important posts in either the party or the government, and people like Y. B. Chavan, Rajni Patel and S. S. Ray will not be admitted into the party easily. Like Channa Reddy, Kamalapati Tripathy was also removed because he was not considered safe. Tripathy's relatives were foolish enough to go about claiming that *Panditji* was a big leader in his own right.

Shrewd calculations were also at play when Mr Kedar Pande replaced Mr Kamalapati Tripathy. Like *Panditji* he is also a Hindi-speaking brahmin. So, replacing one with the other would mean no erosion of the Congress(I) following among that section of the people. Then, take the case of Mr Gundu Rao. Why is he not being removed? Mrs Gandhi is certainly angry with him. After his interview with Arun Shourie he has been made to apologise in writing to all those whom he had insulted. Once he could walk straight into even Mrs Gandhi's dining room, but now her house itself is out of bounds for him. But removing him right now would mean admitting to everyone that the Congress(I) had in fact been allowing an obnoxious person to continue as chief minister.

Although past performance will matter in the impending cabinet reshuffle, the main consideration again will be political. The 'big three' in the cabinet (Narasimha Rao, R. Venkataraman and Pranab Mukherjee) have become big because they are all intelligent, quiet, apparently clean, and have proved comparatively efficient. They are politically mature, and better still, fully dependent on the Nehru family for their survival. Now the 'three' may become 'four' with the inclusion of Mr Kedar Pande. His trump card is that he can give the impression of being a quiet and dull person, when in reality he is anything but that.

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*"It's the feeling, it's the caring,
it's the giving, sweet feeling of joy..."*

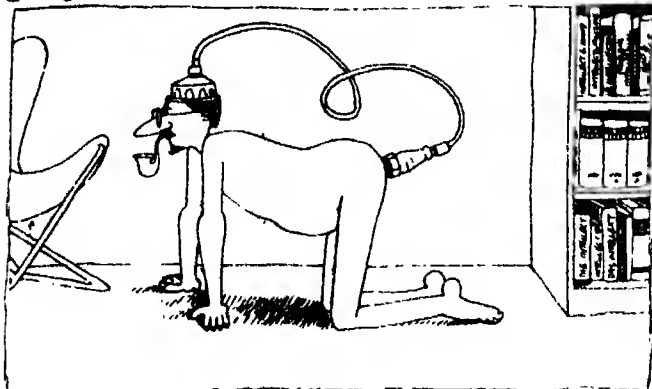
**Bring home these
moments**

*Sometimes, Cadbury's can say it
better than words*

REVIEW books

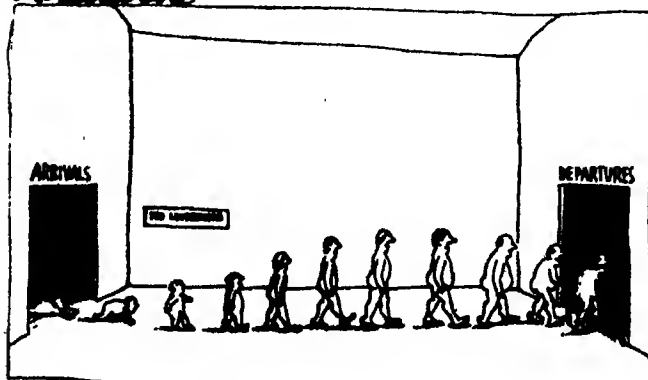
In memory of Q, X and Y

Intellectual



B. KLIBAN dedicates his book *Whack Your Porcupine* (Eyre Mebhuen, distributed in India by B. I. Publications) to A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U, V, W and Z. Why do Q, X and Y come in for discriminatory treatment? What does Kliban really have against them? Why does Kliban, for that matter, want to whack a porcupine? Thankfully, there are no good answers to these questions, unless you are an intellectual—and Kliban has defined the intellectual quite unambiguously (see illustration above). There is no ideology that holds together the drawings in the book. It is a series of perceptions. Sometimes the imagination runs loose, and then the artist probes the mind, fantasy, loneliness, hypocrisy. It is not quite black humour though; not depressing enough to be included in that genre. Perhaps the best adjective to describe is that inimitably American word, "whacky." At 2.50 pounds, the price is steep, but if you can buy a copy, buy it—otherwise try and borrow a copy and avoid, if you can, returning it.

No Returns



The publication in 'NEW DELHI' on 3 September 1979 under the Caption 'Riot Tellers' about Shiv Hari Singhal and others was published on the basis of incorrect information and we express our regret for the same.

Khushwant Singh
Janardan Thakur
Bappaditya Roy

ADVT

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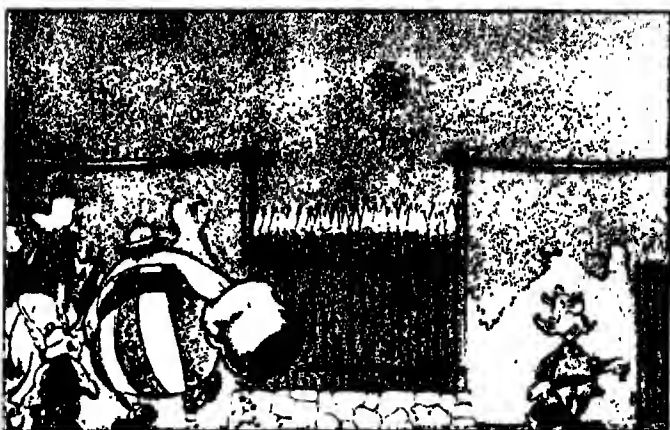


WHY, YOUR VILLAGE LOOKS MORE PEACEFUL THAN OURS!

YES, I DON'T WANT TO CRY STINKING FISH, BUT THE AIR CERTAINLY SEEMS CLEARER HERE!

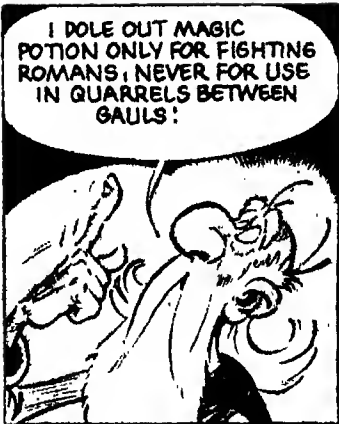


DON'T YOU BELIEVE IT THERE'S A SLUMBERING VOLCANO UNDER THOSE THATCHED ROOFS... ONE WHICH COULD ERUPT INTO VIOLENCE AT ANY MOMENT!



I KNEW I COULD COUNT ON MY OLD FRIEND VITALSTATISTIX! YOUR MAGIC POTION WILL STOP THAT OAF MAJESTIX IN HIS TRACKS!

LET'S GET THINGS CLEAR RIGHT AWAY, CLEVERDIX...



I DOLE OUT MAGIC POTION ONLY FOR FIGHTING ROMANS; NEVER FOR USE IN QUARRELS BETWEEN GAULS!



BUT WHAT CAN WE DO IF MAJESTIX AND HIS WARRIORS ARE ARE FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE ROMANS?

THINGS HAVEN'T COME TO THAT YET! AND WHILE WE'RE WAITING FOR THE ROMANS TO COME...

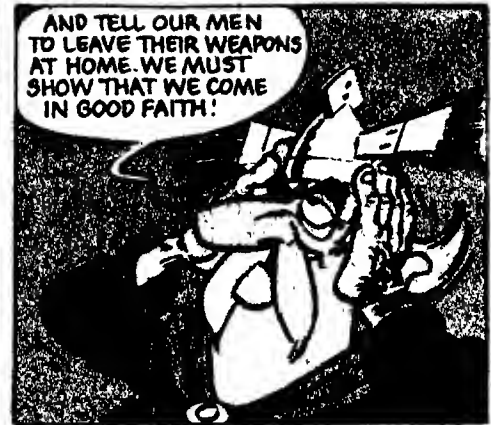


THE ROMANS ARE COMING! THE ROMANS ARE COMING!!!

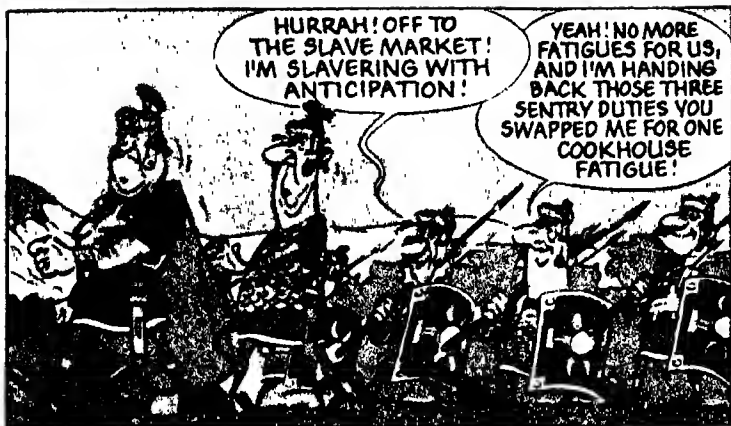


THE ROMANS ARE ADVANCING TOWARDS THE VILLAGE! YOU CAN GET MELODRAMA'S DOWRY READY, MAJESTIX!

RIGHT! CALL ALL OUR WARRIOR'S TOGETHER! WE WILL GO OUT AND WELCOME THE ROMANS!



AND TELL OUR MEN TO LEAVE THEIR WEAPONS AT HOME. WE MUST SHOW THAT WE COME IN GOOD FAITH!



HURRAH! OFF TO THE SLAVE MARKET! I'M SLAVERING WITH ANTICIPATION!

YEAH! NO MORE FATIGUES FOR US, AND I'M HANDING BACK THOSE THREE SENTRY DUTIES YOU SWAPPED ME FOR ONE COOKHOUSE FATIGUE!



SHALL WE GET THEM, ASTERIX?

WAIT A MOMENT, OBELIX! NOT YET.

SEE THAT, DRUID? WE REALLY DO NEED YOUR MAGIC POTION!

I'M AFRAID IT'S TOO LATE TO MAKE ANY NOW...



WELCOME, O ROMAN! OUR GRATITUDE FOR YOUR VALUABLE ASSISTANCE KNOWS NO BOUNDS, AND...

CUT THE CACKLE! WHERE ARE THE SLAVES?



SLAVES? WHAT SLAVES!!!

THE SLAVES YOUR FISH-FACED FRIEND PROMISED IN THE SMALL PRINT OF THE CONTRACT!



GAULS NEVER, NEVER, NEVER WILL BE SLAVES! I SHALL BE CHIEF OF EVERYONE IN THE VILLAGE WITHOUT EXCEPTION, AND WITHOUT SLAVES!

YOU DON'T GO CALLING OUT THE ROMAN ARMY FOR NOTHING! MEN, GRAB HOLD OF THIS LOT! THEY CAN BE OUR SLAVES THEMSELVES!



HELP! THAT FOOL MAJESTIX HAS RUINED EVERYTHING!

UTTAR PRADESH

V.P. Singh reshuffles cabinet to buy time

But how long can he ward off discontent?

Lucknow: On 7 July, Uttar Pradesh CM, Vishwanath Pratap Singh reshuffled his cabinet by inducting two ministers of state, Baccha Pathak and Ram Naresh Shukla and reallocated some important portfolios, in order to consolidate his position. But this reshuffle has hardly had its desired effect: it has produced discontent among a large number of Congress(I) MLAs. This was evident from the fact that a large number of party legislators, who were camping in the state capital were absent from the swearing-in ceremony. Thus the CM, who had returned to Lucknow from Delhi just a day before the reshuffle, had to rush back to the capital after the Governor, Mr C. P. N. Singh, administered the oath of office to the new incumbents, to discuss the situation with the high command.

There are a number of reasons for the discontentment among the MLAs. First, the Bundelkhand area of Uttar Pradesh, from where the CM was elected to the Assembly, is not represented in the cabinet. The general feeling among MLAs from this region is that the CM is neglecting them. Again, MLAs from Agra and Gorakhpur districts are unhappy with the CM for they feel that their districts are not adequately represented in the cabinet. Some MLAs claim that Mr Singh had assured them that they would be included in the cabinet but were dropped from the list at the last moment. For example, Dr Kaushal, a senior MLA from Agra was asked by the CM to rush to Lucknow for the oath-taking ceremony. When Dr Kaushal reached the state capital, he found that his name was nowhere in the list of ministers included in the cabinet.

What, then, were Mr Singh's reasons for including Baccha Pathak who belongs to Ballia in his cabinet? Mr Pathak was taken to minimise the influence of Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi among the brahmins of eastern UP. Baccha Pathak has, for sometime now, been playing an important part in the politics of eastern UP, ever since Mr Tripathi fell from grace. When Mr Kashinath Mishra, also from Ballia, was made a minister in the UP cabinet, Mr Pathak was appointed chairman of the UP Cooperative Bank. Again, he was made the campaign manager of the Congress(I) candidate

during the Mirzapur Lok Sabha by-elections. This was a clear indication that the high command was preparing Mr Pathak for taking a leading role in Congress(I) politics in eastern UP. His induction merely confirms this.

But the most important aspect of this cabinet reshuffle is that the CM has clipped the growing wings of three of his cabinet colleagues, who gave the impression that they were close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi: Balram Singh Yadav, Ammar Rizvi, and Brahm Dutt. Mr Yadav has been stripped of the important portfolios of agriculture and animal husbandry and has been allotted those of *panchayat raj* and rural development. There are other reasons, too. Mr Yadav had also failed to vist Bissauli to woo Yadav votes for the Congress(I). Even in his home district, he has lost considerable influence to the Lok Dal leader, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav. Mr Yadav has also been repeatedly criticised in the Assembly for sheltering dacoits in Etawah district. Similarly, Dr Rizvi, who had been holding several important portfolios including those of information, national integration, cultural affairs and Muslim *waqfs*, now holds those of the public works department and parliamentary affairs. Mr Brahm Dutt has been divested of the power portfolio. The axe fell on Mr Dutt on 27 June when Mrs Gandhi during her visit to Lucknow publicly criticised the UP state electricity board for its "poor

Brahm Dutt: helping a relative?



performance." According to sources close to the CM, the more important reason for Mr Dutt losing his portfolio was the charge of nepotism brought against him. Mr Dutt now holds the portfolios of finance and planning.

This reshuffle has proved that Mr V. P. Singh is not a novice in politics as many thought him to be. A simple instance illustrates this: Mr Nirbhay Narain Singh, a confidant of the CM has been made the minister of state for irrigation and parliamentary affairs only to keep a close watch on the activities of the minister for irrigation and parliamentary affairs, who has of late been defying the CM. The recent reshuffle also shows that Mr Singh is trying to woo the brahmins: the two new ministers are brahmins. The question that is being asked now is: even after the reshuffle, how long can the CM keep the simmering discontent from erupting? Mr Singh should, however, not forget one thing—ever since 1952, no CM of UP has completed his or her term in office.

Udayan Sharma

POLAND

CPI-CPI(M) back Soviets

New Delhi: Whatever their other differences on international affairs, the CPI and the CPI(M) are in full agreement in their assessment of the nature of the Polish crisis and the role of the Soviet Union. They are firmly on Moscow's side and this came out clearly in the way they rebuked Nikhil Chakravarty, editor of *Mainstream* weekly and a former CPI card-holder, for the views he expressed in an article he wrote on Poland after a visit to that crisis ridden country. His views clash sharply with those contained in the 12 June letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) addressed to the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party (PUWP).

Nikhil Chakravarty's crime is that he has found plenty of evidence to praise Solidarity and its leader, Lech Walesa, which runs counter to what the Soviet Union says. He has called what is happening in Poland, "a veritable working class upsurge... Today, Solidarity has a membership of unprecedented dimension." He says that Walesa "has the wisdom of a mature class leader, not the impetuosity of an angry rebel." He also quotes Walesa as having said: "The Poles would offer effective resistance, both actively and passively, in the event of Soviet intervention."

These views of his have "really shocked and also intrigued" the CPI(M) which expresses its confidence that "the USSR, as the mighty force of world socialism and bulwark of world peace and independence of nations ...will discharge its revolutionary re-

sponsibility in case revolutionary Poland seeks its assistance against counter-revolutionary forces in Poland and their imperialist accomplices abroad."

The CPI, for its part, has dubbed Nikhil Chakravarty as "a liberal-reformist in the making." Its criticism is, however, much milder than the CPI(M)'s. But, in addition to Poland, the CPI has, in the same article, attacked him for his editorial in the 30 May issue of his weekly in which he has said that "the concept of left-and-democratic unity in today's conditions

has to be realised by the acknowledged left forces joining hands with the vast segment of democratic opinion in the Congress, irrespective of whether Indira Gandhi is liked or disliked by a section of the left leadership." This sounds like a reiteration of the policy the CPI followed until 1977. Intriguingly, during the Emergency itself the *Mainstream* editor was against much of what the CPI officially stood for.

Ranajit Roy

SIKKIM

Nar Bahadur Bhandari joins the Congress(I)

New Delhi: On the evening of 7 July the ruling politicians of Sikkim did Mr Bhajan Lal proud. Soon after the Congress(I) victory in the 1980 Lok Sabha polls, Haryana's chief minister, Mr Bhajan Lal, had walked into the new ruling party at the centre along with his entire cabinet. On 7 July, Sikkim's chief minister, Mr Nar Bahadur Bhandari, who was in a party called the Sikkim Parishad, did a similar thing. And in a brief ceremony on the lawns of 1, Akbar Road, Mrs Gandhi accepted the new lot of partymen into the Congress(I) fold.

The three principal political groups in Sikkim, the ruling Sikkim Parishad, former chief minister Kazi Lhendup Dorji's Sikkim Prajatantra Parishad and Mr R. C. Poduval's Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary) had been seeking entry into the Congress(I) over the past one year. Initially, the negotiations were conducted under the aegis of the union home minister, Gyanī Zail Singh, who sent some emissaries to Gangtok. Later, the union commerce and steel minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee and the AICC(I) general secretary, Mrs Rajendra Kumari Vajpayee, took up the matter. The final phase came on 27 June, when the young joint secretary of the AICC(I), Mr Krishna Vasudeva Panicker, was sent as Mrs Gandhi's special emissary to Gangtok. He spoke to all the three groups and

was surprised to find that the Kazi's party had been claiming to be the official wing of the Congress(I) in Sikkim.

The crucial meeting in the merger exercise took place at Geyzing, the headquarters of the West Sikkim district, where Mr Panicker met the chief minister and clinched the issue. The main consideration for the Congress(I) in choosing between Mr Bhandari, the Kazi and Mr Poduval seems to have been that as the ruling party at the centre, it was better to align with the regional ruling parties.

Would this mean that the Kazi, who was the first chief minister of Sikkim after that territory's merger with the Indian union, is no more a sought after man in New Delhi? Or is the new strategy planned with only short-term implications in mind? Apparently Mrs Gandhi did not want the new entrants to get much publicity. Therefore, the press was not formally invited to the merger ceremony. Only SUNDAY got whiff of the affair and this correspondent was present at 1, Akbar Road with a photographer. Apart from Mrs Gandhi and Mr Panicker, Mrs Rajendra Kumari Vajpayee and the Indian Youth Congress(I) president, Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, were present at the ceremony.

Our Delhi Correspondent

Mrs Gandhi hands over the Sikkim Parishad's merger document to youth leaders, Ghulam Nabi Azad and K. V. Panicker



Brahm Dutt: guilty?

Lucknow: UP chief minister Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh has ordered a vigilance inquiry against Mr Brahm Dutt, minister for planning and finance. Reason: the CM believes that Mr Dutt has been using his official position and influence to help his brother-in-law, Mr Suraj Bhan Jam.

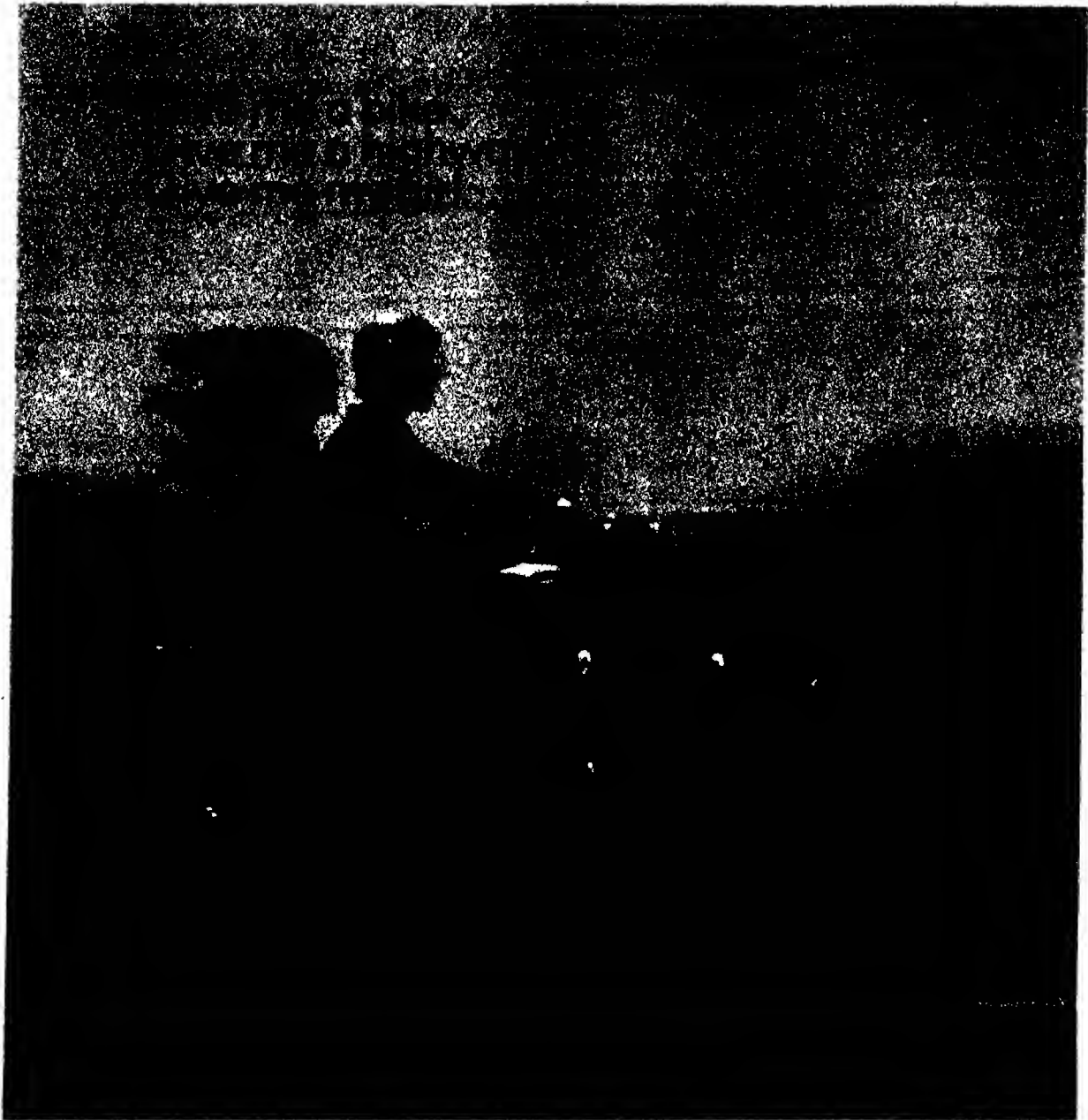
Mr Jam had retired from the Public Relations Department as administrative commandant on 1 April 1980. He had been angling for an extension with the help of Mr Dutt. But in vain. For, the UP government passed an order regarding extensions and Mr Jam was ineligible for either an extension or reemployment. However, Mr Dutt did find a way out for his relative. He pressurised the incumbent vice-chancellor of Pantnagar University, Mr Anand Swarup, to appoint Mr Jam as the deputy director, administration, of the university. With the appointment, a new office for Mr Jam was opened in Lucknow. This meant that the deputy director, administration, would be stationed nearly 250kms away from the university. This was done because Mr Jam did not want to leave Lucknow.

The appointment of Mr Jam is not the end of the story. Mr Anand Swarup, in turn, made use of Mr Jam. He got a Rs three-crore grant for the university okayed by Mr Brahm Dutt. He also managed to get other grants for the university which included compensation for burnt scooters, gratia payment from 1978, etc. The manner in which the grants were awarded baffled everybody. According to reliable sources, Mr Brahm Dutt got a grant of Rs 30 lakhs sanctioned for the university on 31 March 1981 from the Raja Akasmita Nidhi. Perhaps, the most interesting aspect of the sanction was that it was not done by the CM, but the CM's secretary.

But there are other deals too in which Mr Dutt seems to be involved. On 10 July the Governor of UP through an ordinance amended the UP Agricultural Universities Act empowering him to appoint a pro-vice chancellor for Pantnagar University from among the deans of the faculties. There is a story to it. When the government was considering the amendment to the Agricultural Universities Act, Mr Jam somehow came to know of the provisions in the ordinance. He immediately telephoned Mr Swarup. On 10 June, Mr Swarup rushed to Lucknow to inform Mr Dutt of the ordinance. Soon after, the file on the ordinance was found missing. It was during this period that the agriculture department accepted a Rs 50 lakh grant for the university. Later, Mr Dutt pressurised the agriculture ministry to raise the grant to Rs one crore.

This episode has jolted the political career of Mr Dutt who, till the incident, was believed to be a shrewd and honest politician.

Udayan Sharma



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Three days of panic

Calcutta: Tuesday 7 July was humid and gloomy in Calcutta. But if the city's businessmen and industrialists wanted something to cheer them up in the morning newspapers, they were in for a major disappointment. "The union government is actively considering a proposal to nationalise leading private non-banking non-insurance financial companies," read the lead story in one of the city's financial dailies, *Business Standard*. That set off a panic.

Why should the news that a group of small specialised companies (297 of them had total assets of only Rs 282 crores, and made a profit of Rs 37.71 crores in 1978-79; peanuts compared to the trading and manufacturing giants' activities), might be nationalised, prove so upsetting? Because far, far more was at stake. Some of these private financial companies are, in fact, the "front offices" through which large business houses own and control their huge empires. Shares of individual companies are held by these financial companies and it is through these that business houses either gain control or divest themselves of many a market giant. In other words, simply by nationalising these "private non-banking, non-insurance financial companies" the government would have brought under its control large sections of private industry.

What was the aim behind such an idea? To curb the incomes of the super-rich as part of a general anti-inflationary package of measures. If the government decreed an across-the-board restriction on dividends, it would affect large numbers of small investors, depress the currently buoyant investment climate, and dampen government efforts to revive the economy.

The story—if true, a major scoop—had appeared, but would the government actually announce such a decision? There was an immediate impact of the story on stock exchanges all over the country: a perceptive downward trend, but not panic. Calls were made and telexes were sent to Delhi trying to gauge the exact thinking of the government.

And so Tuesday's slight bearish reaction in market prices began to gather downward momentum. On Wednesday the markets lost more. In two days Rs two to three was lost per share in hand delivery deals. By Thursday there was panic (the Calcutta market closed early), the like of which had not been seen in recent years. On Thursday scrips lost Rs three to seven on overnight values.

The market soon came to know that at least one of the leading business houses in the country, with headquarters in Calcutta, was taking the news seriously; the panic spread from Calcutta to Delhi and Ahmedabad. In

Bombay the panic would have been more clearly visible—but, the Bombay stock exchange was not open.

Leading industrialists started selling. This has to be seen particularly in the context of the firm bullish trend that has dominated the market since the new year, particularly in Calcutta, where the demand for scrips has been largely speculative. Among the private financial companies were also some which were plainly fronts for channelling black money into speculative operations in shares. Recently these had come under severe pressure from the government of West Bengal. Now they were right up front in the selling spree, and they had a lot to sell.

The panic reached such serious proportions on Thursday that the president of the Calcutta stock exchange, Mr B N Khandelwal, sent a telegram

to union finance minister R. Venkataraman drawing his attention to the set-back in the stock exchange and asking the government to take remedial measures to restore confidence so that the country's investment climate was not ruined.

After the panic of Thursday, the markets recovered a little on Friday. But what everybody was now eagerly waiting for was Mrs Gandhi's press conference on 10 July, where she was expected to announce what the government's "drastic" measures to curb inflation was going to be. But Mrs Gandhi gave no hint of any impending nationalisation, and fears of the week finally calmed down. Then came Saturday's ordinance, but again nothing suggested that the nationalisation of private financial companies was round the corner. Businessmen and industrialists breathed sighs of relief. The only question that remained was: had the businessmen managed, after the *Business Standard* story, to stall a major decision by the government?

Subir Roy

AIR INDIA

"Economy drive" leaves 75 without work

Bombay: Air-India (AI), the country's only international airline, is on an economy drive. And it seems that for AI, the way to cut down expenses is through retrenchments. The first to fall under the axe are 75 cabin crew who have been sacked and 16 other who have been resettled to their old departments. But paradoxically, AI has proposed to recruit 473 additional staff in 1981-82 which would include 11 operating crew and five crew for the in-flight service department. Said Mohanbir Singh, president of the Cabin Crew Association, "I can confidently say that if our chairman and managing director were to cut out a few European tours a month we could pay the salaries of these 75 people. The chairman's wife accompanies him on all his foreign tours. And her expenses are paid for by Air India. Instead of paying for their pleasure trips we demand to keep the bread in the mouths of the 75 people."

But is Air India really serious about the economy drive? It does not seem so. Take the typical example of the bungling at the upper levels which took place recently in Kuwait. The five-star Kuwait Hilton was the hotel for the AI crew. Recently a decision was made transferring the contract from the Hilton to the more economical Meridien Hotel. Obviously, this was a part of the economy drive. But why did AI abruptly change hotels when the agreement with Hilton was still operative. Predictably,

Hilton sued AI. And the airline found itself in an unenviable position of having contracts with two hotels. A settlement was reached: one set of crews stayed in the Hilton while another set stayed in the Meridien.

Economy drive or no economy drive, AI has not lessened its publicity. The publicity expenditure has risen by Rs 1.50 crores. Recently, a promotional gimmick was organised in Mauritius. Everyone still talks about it. Air India flew in all the chefs and waiters and the food was delicious. Said a visiting Mauritian remembering the party: "Everything was beautiful. But why does Air India need publicity in Mauritius because the number of flights have been put down to only one a week and the flights are packed. Still, we enjoyed the hospitality."

The regional secretary of the Air Corporation Employees Union, Mr A. R. Balasubramaniam was also critical of the economy drive. Said he in Madras: "It's a great name they have devised for restricting employees' benefits. That is all the economy drive amounts to. Come and see our telex operator's room. The poor man is stifling in the summer heat and there's not even a fan. Our traffic people do not have a room to eat in. Our loaders have no decent place to sit in between flights. Yet the Maharajah lounge in Madras has just been sanctioned. Don't ask what the furnishing of that will cost!"

A Special Correspondent

A vital victory for Mohammedan Sporting

Calcutta: At a rain-soaked Eden Gardens on 11 July, Mohammedan Sporting Club came a step closer to winning the Calcutta senior division football league; they defeated East Bengal, by a solitary goal. This victory put them ahead of both East Bengal and Mohun Bagan who have, till the time of writing, conceded three points each. Mohammedan Sporting have conceded one point so far in a goalless encounter with Mohun Bagan on 22 June.

Ground conditions went in favour of Mohammedan Sporting. Their players were accustomed to the soggy turf of the Eden Gardens, having played under similar conditions for years together. East Bengal fielded a number of outstation players who have little experience of playing on wet

Prasun Bauerjee, "I knew I was not totally fit but I still had to be there to help the team, it was a match we had to win at all costs. I am happy I was there."

Though East Bengal began well on the heavy ground, Mohammedan Sporting gradually took control of the situation. Prasun fed the forwards with a stream of probing passes and was instrumental in engaging both the wingers. This gave a lot of relief to the Mohammedan defenders. The match-winner came in the ninth minute of the second half when Shabir Ali found the target off a pass from Akbar. "I was waiting for the moment when I could avail of a good chance. My intention was to drag Monoranjan Bhattacharjee out of position so that a gap could be created. And it hap-



Prasun: 'I had to be there'

pened after half-time when Akbar gave me a good through-pass and I tapped the ball in. I saw the ball trickle in while Dilip Palit made a last-minute futile bid to stop it," recalled Shabir Ali after the match.

Mohammedan Sporting had started with a bang this year; they lifted the inaugural Sanjay Gandhi Memorial Gold Cup in Patna and then drew with East Bengal in the Stafford Cup at Bangalore to be declared joint winners. Though they lost the Federation Cup to Mohun Bagan in Madras, the players returned to Calcutta with one ambition: to win the league—and by all indications, they are well on their way to realising it.



Shabir Ali: no goal without him

Subhash Sarcar

COMMENT

THE rapid deterioration of law and order in the country is an issue high up on the agenda of every one who is concerned with the national situation. Parliament discusses it at length at regular intervals, and almost daily during its Zero Hour. In the suburban trains of Bombay, it is a topic of animated conversation among commuters, several of whom are regular victims of the prevailing lawlessness in the country. The newspapers are filled with stories of crime that make frightening reading. And everybody who is somebody keeps exhorting the people to maintain law and order.

Yet, in a strange kind of a way, many, otherwise sensible and law-abiding people, seem keen on playing a part to make the law and order situation deteriorate. Including the trade union movement.

Recently, in Bombay, I had one more experience of the contribution sections of our working class are making to convert Bombay into a city fit for the mafia. It came from some 450 employees working in the offices of a leading manufacturing house who have been members of the Bombay Labour Union since 1967.

All of them are well educated, and a large number of them are graduates. During the last fourteen years, the union had successfully negotiated a number of agreements with their employer which have put these employees among the highest paid office workers in the city, with many trade unions citing their service conditions as a model to follow.

Recently, negotiations had started between the management and the union for a fresh agreement. As usual, a seven-member committee of the employees assisted by a senior secretary of the union, were engaged in the negotiations. As happens in most negotiations, the management was not particularly enthusiastic about making concessions. Nevertheless, the talks had resulted in their making an offer which would put the employees way ahead of most of their contemporaries in other comparable units.

On June 17, during the lunch-break, the employees staged a demonstration outside the company's offices in Bombay's downtown business district to serve notice on the management that the settlement should not be delayed. The same evening, one more round of talks took place.

On June 19, the management and the union were to have, what seemed to be, the final round of talks. It was obvious from the earlier talks that the differences had narrowed down to a point where agreement was not going to be difficult.

In the evening of June 18, the committee members walked into the union office and asked the union secretary, who was participating in the negotiations, as to how many knives the union could mobilise. The secretary

“Sections of our working class are converting Bombay into a city fit for the mafia”

George Fernandes lashes out at trade unionists who want to knife and beat up managers.

by this unusual question from the most unexpected quarters, the secretary asked: ‘Why?’

An elderly committee member, otherwise a sensible and law-abiding citizen, and a union member of fourteen years standing, said: ‘We want a couple of managers beaten up and stabbed.’

Shocked at this coldblooded answer, the union secretary asked: ‘Why?’

The committee member replied: ‘It is no use having negotiations in a friendly atmosphere. It is one thing to have a settlement by smiling and talking one’s way through it. Well, we have had that for so many years. But these managers must be taught a lesson. They must be beaten up. And our union does not do it. You have no knifera and tough guys on your payroll.’

The union secretary could not read much into this outburst from a person who was otherwise peace-loving and level-headed, and left the matter at that.

On June 19, even as the union secretary had left for the company’s office for the talks, a letter came to the union office signed by the general secretary of another union stating that the employees of the company had resigned from the Bombay Labour Union and had enrolled themselves as his members. The letter was dated 18 June. Enclosed was also a letter signed by some 350 employees informing the

BLU that they had resigned from the union. The letter was dated 17 June. No reasons were given. Neither in the letter of resignation nor in the rival union’s letter. The BLU was very curtly told not to conduct the negotiations any longer. A relationship of fourteen years was snapped without one word of explanation, regret or thanks.

I have not been able to meet the committee members. When I do, I have two questions to ask of them. They have nothing to do with sentiments or finer feelings. They are related to two issues of national import.

First, why did the committee members lack the honesty and courage to tell the union secretary on 17 and 18 June that they had resigned from the union?

This question is important because when we talk of the falling standards of public probity and character in the country, it is an allround collapse that we are facing. Just as freedom is indivisible, so is the battle for public probity. If we lack the courage to be truthful in small matters, it would be impossible to maintain integrity on larger issues. And those who are morally defeated on even small issues cannot possibly generate either the authority or the courage to demand integrity in others.

On June 17, when the committee members and the union secretary were engaged in negotiations with the management, the resignations of the members from the union had been secured.

Forget honesty, even elementary courtesy required that the committee inform the union secretary of what they had done.

On 18 June, before they came to ask about the knifera, they had handed over their letter of resignation to the other union. Elementary decency required that they inform the secretary that they had not only severed their 14 years’ links with the union but had moved into another organisation and that he need not take the trouble of going over to the company’s office the following morning for talks.

The second question I would like to ask them has equally serious implications. If workers organised in unions should feel justified in beating up managers, and that too through hired thugs, what is their attitude to the general law and order situation in the country?

One who believes that the managers should be beaten up in offices or factories or anywhere cannot by any stretch of imagination condemn the chain-snatchers in the suburban trains or the burglars and dacoits who raid people’s homes, beat up women, rape them and kill them. It will not work that way. After all, thugs who are hired by unions to beat up employers and managers have to have some full-time occupation. These are the men who are today endangering the lives of our citizens, molesting our womenfolk, looting our trains and making our cities the nightmare that they have become.

So, I want to know from these committee members whether they believe in violence only against their employers and managers by these hired thugs or do they believe in violence against their wives, mothers, sisters and daughters in homes, in trains and in public places?

I am aware of a standard question that many would volunteer as an answer. I have heard it before in other situations: In the prevailing atmosphere of violence and particularly when the government and its police perpetuate the worst form of violence on poor and innocent people, why pose this question to trade unionists?

But I am not addressing this only to trade unions and trade unionists. I address it to everybody who is concerned with the deteriorating law and order situation and who discusses it in trains, in homes, in offices. I pose it to all those who care and who are concerned.

In the situation in which our nation is, one can either be a part of the disease or be a part of the cure. The trade unions can shrug their shoulders and say that they couldn’t care less on what happened elsewhere as long as some of them had the freedom to hire thugs and beat up employers and managers. In which case, they will be a part of the disease.

Or, they can take a stand against violence, educate the workers to strengthen the democratic institutions and use collective bargaining as the weapon to further the cause of their members. This will make them a part of the cure.

Some militant Bombay trade unionists being arrested recently



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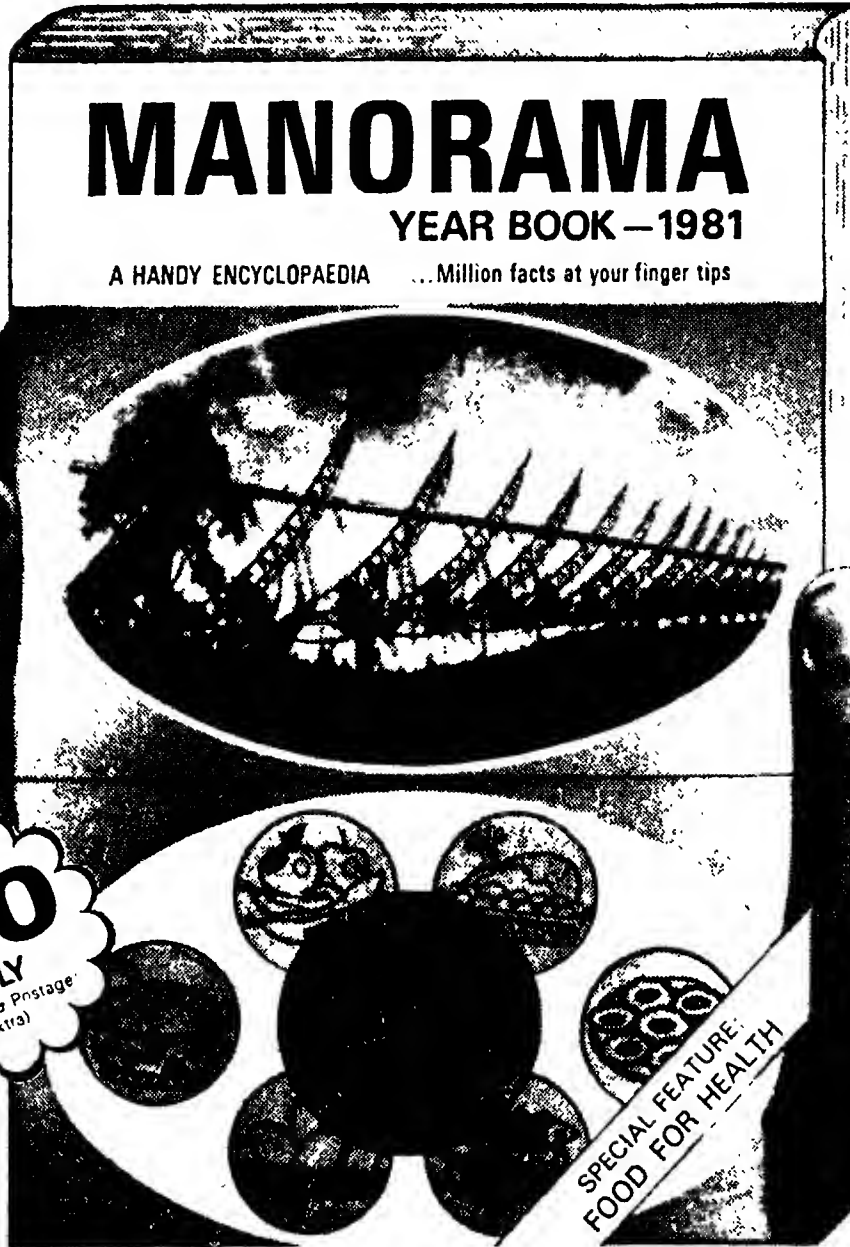
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DE SILVA MAL 08

The Government

Rajiv will try to woo farmers' leaders



Will the soft-spoken Rajiv Gandhi succeed where his mother has failed? Mrs Indira Gandhi has for long been trying to woo the non-political leaders of the farmers' movement. In April this year she had invited Mr Narainswamy Naidu, president of the Indian Farmers' Association and several other leaders including Mr Sharad Joshi for a meeting. All of them, except Sharad Joshi turned up for the meeting, which, according to the ebullient Naidu, ended in less than five minutes with Mrs Gandhi lashing out at them for the unrest in rural India. Mr Sharad Joshi, who was then conducting the beedi tobacco growers' agitation at Nipani, had declined the invitation as he saw no purpose in meeting Mrs Gandhi who had repeatedly said that she had already done enough for farmers. So Mr Joshi felt that it would be a waste of time seeing her and said so then at a public meeting where he, Naidu and Rudrappa of Karnataka were the chief guests. Now it is reliably learnt that Mr Rajiv Gandhi is likely to try his much acclaimed suavity on Mr Sharad Joshi in an attempt to disarm him. The go-between is likely to be Maharashtra's chief minister, Mr Antulay, who has made neutralising all opposition to him in the state into an art.

Cabinet leaves most decisions to PM

There has been a major change in the procedure followed at union cabinet meetings. Unlike in the past when the cabinet would take decisions, now it mostly discusses proposals put forward by the ministers. The Prime Minister mostly listens and seldom expresses herself on the various issues. Later, the issues are gone over by the Prime Minister's aides and her "opinions" are conveyed to the ministers concerned.

Changing times

THE central government recently decided to permit the private sector to approach the International Finance Corporation (IFC) for loans to meet the foreign exchange cost of its projects. The reason for this is quite simple: the government wants to cash in on the attitude of the new World Bank president, Mr A. W. Clausen, who succeeded Mr Robert McNamara on 1 July. Mr Clausen, former president of the Bank of America, is known to favour the private sector.

Chance to revamp MRTPC

Now that Justice S. Ranganathan, chairman of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission (MRTPC) is due to retire in September, will the government use the opportunity to breathe some new life into the commission by finding a dynamic successor to him? He was a Janata nominee and the present government did not take very kindly to him. An Emergency victim, Mr Ranganathan had been harassed by being transferred from the Delhi High Court. He is the third MRTPC chairman, the two others being Justice J. L. Nair and Justice A. Alagirisamy. As we have mentioned earlier, the commission continues to be hamstrung by inadequate powers to pass orders to prevent the spread of restrictive trade practices. The MRTP Act, 1979 needs to be drastically amended to prevent the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. Several recommendations for this made by a committee headed by Justice Rajinder Sachar, remain unimplemented.

Freight rise will hit iron ore exports

The only way the railways seem to be able to collect more revenue is by hiking freight rates every year; even exports are not spared. Freight on iron ore, which earns the country foreign exchange worth Rs 250 crores a year, was raised by five per cent from 1 June. This rise comes close on the heels of the ten per cent rise announced in February in the rail budget for 1981-82. Both the increases have adversely hit iron ore exports. They have nullified the price rise which the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation (the canalising agency) secured this year on its exports to Japan and the reduction in the export duty on lumpy iron ore from Rs 10.50 to Rs six a tonne a month ago. The duty on other types of ore remains. The continuing recession in the West European and Japanese steel industries and competition from Australia and Brazil make a drastic reduction in the freight rate and export duty essential if iron ore exporters are not to be driven out of business.



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THE WORLD

College dropout challenges NASA



Gary Hudson, 31, an American college dropout, has declared that the rocket he is developing will enable foreign governments and private industry to put up satellites—communications, weather or survey—at a third of the fee to be charged by NASA's (National Aeronautics and Space Agency) Space Shuttle. Mr Hudson is also a potential competitor to the ESA (European Space Agency) which, last month, put up the Indian APPLE and another satellite with its Ariane rocket from

French Guiana. Mr Hudson's Percheron project—named after horses bred in Perche, France, known for their strength, lightness and speed—is being backed by a group of Texan businessmen. He is going ahead with challenging NASA when corporations like McDonnell Douglas, Boeing and Rockwell have dropped out of the race. How will he manage to cut costs? An instance instead of spending \$ 15,000 on a stainless steel nose-cone he is using an \$-800 mahogany one

Remember Ben Bella?

Remember Ahmed Ben Bella, the man who led Algeria's bloody freedom struggle against the French, became Algeria's first President and was finally deposed by Houari Boumedienne in 1965? Now released by Algerian President Chadli Benjedid after long years of confinement, Ben Bella was recently in London to personally thank the Amnesty International and the Bertrand Russell Foundation for their untiring efforts to free him. Ben Bella, along with Nasser and Tito, was one

of the leaders of the non-aligned movement. In London he spoke feelingly about his disappointment with the state of the non-aligned movement and the moral bankruptcy of the west: "You cannot say the (non-aligned) movement has created a separate force capable of influencing events." It was not what one saw of the Western consumer society that was shocking, but the thought that "as I speak now, 20 million people in the world are dying of hunger—15 million are children."

United to kill

The Libyan and Syrian secret services joined hands some months back to kill enemies of their two regimes who live in exile. Col. Gaddafi's Green Brigades—who do hit-jobs abroad—and Syrian commando units not only pool intelligence but also carry out joint assassination operations abroad. One joint operation was the raid, on 17 March, on the West German home of Isam al-Attar, a leader of the Syrian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, a rebel organisation. His wife, who

opened the door, was mowed down by gunmen but Isam managed to escape. It was the latest in a series of abortive attempts on his life. Col. Gaddafi's Green Brigades are taken seriously as they have carried out a number of successful killings of rebels abroad. This has resulted in the expulsion of Libyan 'diplomats' from many countries. The Syrian secret service, in comparrison, has so far been quite ineffective. Hence their decision to turn to the Libyans for assistance.

Briefly

Shakespeare in Tibetan

Tears streaming down her cheeks, Juliet looked down from the balcony and called out to her man: "Romeo, Romeo, kige tsèla Romeo?" That was from the Tibetan version of *Romeo and Juliet* staged by a group of Tibetan students in Beijing. It was the

first production of Shakespeare in Tibetan and a competent one too. Mr Xie Qiping, the Chinese director of the play, explained: "Four years ago when they started studying at the Shanghai Drama Institute, the students had never heard of stage plays."

Defector has wrong colour

A black Mozambique Air Force pilot recently came over in his MiG-17 fighter aircraft and sought political asylum in South Africa. He is reportedly being "looked after" by the South African Air

Force but the country is faced with an "extremely delicate" problem. A defector from the enemy side is welcome but here his skin is of the wrong colour. The cabinet is grappling with the problem

Bourgeois crime wave

Crime is on the rise in Beijing and the city police are worried. The chief of the Beijing Public Security Bureau has responded by asking for stiffer measures. His explanation for the phenomenon: "Since we opened our doors to the outside world, Western bourgeois ideology and ways of life have made serious inroads and have had a highly corrosive influence."

Outrageous!

The Rev. Ian Paisley, MP, unloved leader of militant Northern Ireland Protestants, has made known his refusal to attend Prince Charles' wedding because, according to him, the association of the Roman Catholic church with the marriage (Cardinal Hume will bless the couple) forms part of a "conspiracy to subvert the throne...It is an undermining of the Protestant foundation of our nation"

Delicious



Miss Switzerland, Bridget Voss (left) and Miss Philippines, Maricar Mendoza put their heads together to share an ice-cream cone during their visit to New York for the Miss Universe pageant.



The Sexual Customs of Hippies

By TRIBHUWAN KAPUR

In terms of preferred sexuality, hippies are a widely varying lot. However, as in the case of preferred drugs, each hippie tends to indulge in a particular type of sexual activity, preferred above all other varieties available. This gives a simple yet very effective method of classifying hippies along an axis of sexuality of preference or, simply, 'preferred sexuality.'

There are four broad categories of sexual orientation; promiscuous heterosexual hippies; promiscuous homosexual hippies; promiscuous bisexual hippies; and, promiscuous polysexual hippies.

CASE 1 Promiscuous heterosexuality as the spice of life. Jill, 24, British.

Jill is five feet tall, blue-eyed, with thick natural lashes and auburn hair that floats in a halo around her head. She has a retrousse nose and even, white teeth. Her breasts are shapely, and in proportion to the rest of her slim body. She wears cotton shorts and a tie-dye shirt, and her fingers are covered with rings. She claims to prefer psychedelic drugs, charas in particular, being her regular "smoke." Talking about her sexual history, Jill shrugs in a cultivatedly sophisticated manner and says:

"You want to know my sexual history? Well, that's a gas...I could really tell you a thing or two. Begin from the beginning, huh? Okay, here's the starting point...I used to go out with this fella, Jerome, in London, and...well, by 16, I'd been through it, you know. Then I had a period of two years when I didn't feel like seeing any guy...but you know...Jerome had been so very inept...he didn't make me feel like a woman..."

"Could you elaborate on that, Jill?"

"...Well, he was just a year older than me and he had hardly come to terms with his body...he was so painfully shy that he made me uncomfortable...and, strangely, I'd been through it with him so many times and yet I had hardly felt more than a brief kind of pleasantness. I know now that the

guy you're with is what really matters... You know, the guy is so important...it took me a long time to learn this. Jerome couldn't realise that there's nothing wrong with the whole thing...he was one of those fools who feels embarrassed to show his penis...and all this really turned me off. It was at art school about two years later that I met this wonderful man. He was married, and I knew it was a bit risky...but then he really turned me on...Jerome faded out..."

"You began with this person?"

"Sure. There was nothing else to do...you wouldn't believe it...out here there's this insane tendency to make it out as if there's something really terrific out there, you know, out there in London, U.K., but let me tell you I wouldn't be here if that was the truth...it's meant for real freaks...I mean real, real freaks...the whole place, stinking of T.V., fighting, God knows what...and in the middle of all this I had this man comforting me and giving me real sex...he taught me that there's nothing wrong with anything unless you've got something wrong with yourself, baby...and now I know it's true?"

"What happened after that?"

"After I'd turned hippie, I was already too much in love with getting the warmth...love, you know...and anyone I thought was a nice guy...someone without hang-ups...we made it..."

"How many partners have you changed, Jill?"

"Ooooooh! Is this an inquest? Maybe 15, possibly 20...not counting the occasional bang at some fella's party...just to be nice."

"You ever check out if you got an infection?"

"And have some dirty nigger poke up my pussy, huh? Oh, well, let's forget about that...and maybe you're right...maybe I am infected...but my soul is beautiful, right?"

"What sexual variations, and experiments, do you favour?"

"Ha, ha, sex is beautiful, man...it is the spice of life...God knows what I'd do if there weren't enough men in the world who wanted to get off with me. It makes me feel warm,

These extracts are from Hippies—A study of their drug habits and sexual customs by Tribhuwan Kapur, published by Vikas Publishing house Pvt Ltd, price Rs 75.

strong, powerful, and wanted...with me, baby, anything the guy wants to do will do...beat me, eat me, screw me, put it in anywhere you like...do what you like, shall be the law...isn't it?"

"And it must be with more than a single man?"

"Sure! And what's wrong with that, lovey? Sometimes I think the more the merrier. Once I was with this group of three guys and two chicks, including myself...strictly hetero, you know, and the fun we had! God, I really won't forget it...and then watching another person screw...it's terrific...it makes you realise that all of us...you know, anyone at all, is just an animal...turn on man, you don't know what you're missing..."

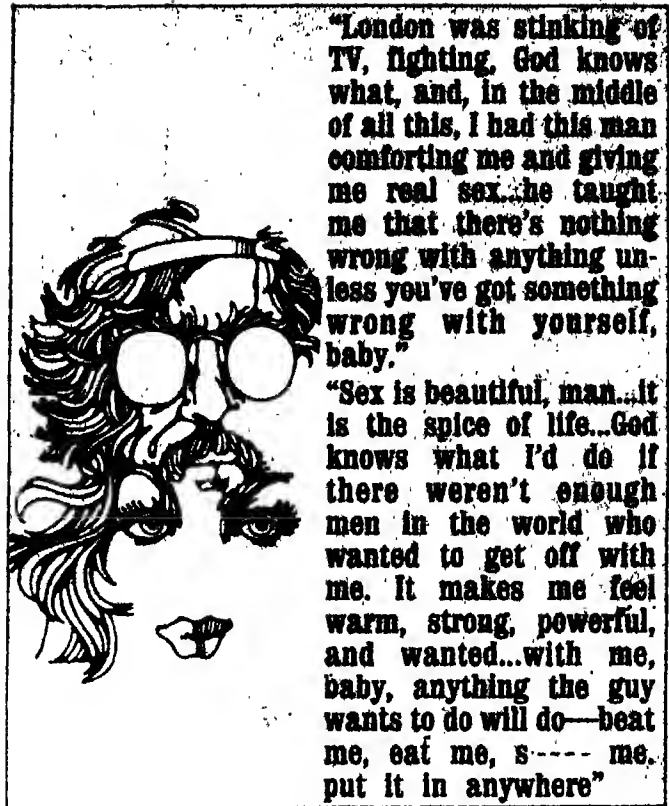
"You ever been pregnant?"

"Phew! No, man, never...and that's just one thing that bothers me...these freaks want to come in you and then they...off, leaving, you with the bomb ticking...ticking away till you get that river washing it all away...but I guess that that's part of being a total woman...sex is the way to being full...not getting pregnant, eh?"

CASE 2 Promiscuous heterosexuality as natural therapy. Terumasa, 22, Japanese.

Terumasa is five feet, two inches and stocky in build. Has brown eyes, brown thinning hair, strong biceps. He wears denims and a red t-shirt. Around his neck dangles a pipe and a pouch in which he keeps a supply of hashish. He wears sneakers and seems to be very well-fed. Talking about his sexual history, he speaks slowly:

"My country, it has really taken off too much economically...just all you want is there...and nothing else. You want love...you can't buy it...and you want sex...you can buy it...but money really puts a bad taste in your mouth. The



"London was stinking of TV, fighting, God knows what, and, in the middle of all this, I had this man comforting me and giving me real sex...he taught me that there's nothing wrong with anything unless you've got something wrong with yourself, baby."

"Sex is beautiful, man...it is the spice of life...God knows what I'd do if there weren't enough men in the world who wanted to get off with me. It makes me feel warm, strong, powerful, and wanted...with me, baby, anything the guy wants to do will do—beat me, eat me, s---- me, put it in anywhere"



first screw I had was a geisha...and it was no use...she sucked me off three times but each time I came, it was...like nothing had happened..."

"Free sex is the idea?"

"Yeah, yeah...no money exchange...free for all..."

"When did your first free affair occur?"

"Heh...she was a real gal. I had split Japan for the U.S. because I wanted to roam the place...I met here in L.A. and she was sick with the whole thing...my age, and we made it...it was great. Then, since she had many friends and wasn't possessive I ended up laying three of her friends in the month I spent in L.A....and that's one reason I love American chicks...they're lovely..."

"What do you like doing, particularly?"

"All of it man, all of it...anything you can think of...screwing around is natural, man...it makes you feel great...natural therapy. If the whole world screwed with each other there'd be no war in Vietnam...nothing, man...all cool...when a babe bites me, scratches me, it's wonderful...anything at all..."

"You enjoy beating your women occasionally, Terumasa?"

"Yeah, sure...they dig it, too...like I said man...two people or more wanna do what they want...let them, what's so bad? Once I burnt a chick with a cigarette and she told me that she had never come that way before...we are all strange, and who knows what the other likes...Think of all the freaks in a government who go f...whores after office hours and then come back with a straight face...that's sickening...not just what two free people do to each other...see the point?"

"Ever caught the clap?"

"Man, you trying to bring-me-down...well; I dunno...and here in this country of yours, man, the bloody doctor might give it to you while checking you out...but we all got to die, and so it doesn't matter...I screw babes when I get a chance...must have laid a hell of a lot of them...30, more?...I don't get a chance to count...so many behind me and so many still to come. I hate using condoms...those American babes really told me off, once...and the ones you get here...you might as well jack off...they really suffocate you, you see. Well, let the clap come when it will...there are pills to stop it...and the hassles I've had so far don't seem serious...and I gotta have my regular supply of loving...for any price in the world...as long as it's free..."

"Ever been involved with a triad, or more, in India?"

"Let me tell you one thing, man, and that is, in this land of yours a man thinks of nothing but screwing... no matter where you are... I don't know why, but there doesn't seem any point in life without it here. I know when I was in the U.S. I went to see the museums of art at some points... here, man, all you think of is screwing... and believe me you get plenty of it... lots of hot bitches around, heh, heh."

"How do you make contact with a new person or group?"

"...Yeah, yeah, your question... sure I've been with groups... but I don't like French bitches... all so much talk... intellectual whores, getting laid and wanting to analyse it... talking of Freud and so on... God, the one time I refused a lay was when these three Frenchies wanted to talk so much while they did it... We're laying because... all sorts of mad reasons... I join groups... but I choose too."

"One chick isn't enough for you?"

"No way, man... man is meant to lay around... every babe is different... and natural therapy comes when you are free... sure it has problems, but you can always leave... no marriage, kids, jobs, just lay around and praise the Lord, and be happy... make love, not war... turn on, tune in, and hell... just drop out... drop out where? Into babes, chicks..."

CASE 3 Promiscuous heterosexuality as neurotic obsession. Helen, 27, Greek.

Helen is five feet three inches, brown-eyed and has jet-black hair. She has a prominent bosom, and her kurta is torn over her right breast showing an inch of white flesh. She wears thin pyjamas and rubber chappals. She turned hippie after attempting to become a film actress in Hollywood, where she claims to have done bit parts, but got sick of the commercial way of life. Relating her sexual history she said:

"When I went to Hollywood, everyone had already told me that there was no hope for a virgin there and I went prepared to use my charm and my body. I was no stranger to sex, having been seduced by an uncle of mine when I went to stay with him in Cyprus for my vacations when I was still just 15 years old. However, I had not become used to the idea of sex even after having three months of torrid sex with that uncle. In between Cyprus and that uncle I began to have a craving for men of an economic class lower than mine and, when I was in Sydney, travelling with a friend of mine, staying with her relatives, I began an affair with one of the labourers they had employed to do up the house... it was fabulous. I immediately wanted to turn hippie but a friend of mine in Hollywood asked me to go over and take my chances. I went to Hollywood relatively fresh with just two affairs behind me..."

"Then what happened?"

"In Hollywood all went berserk... the friend who had invited me over had a brother two years younger than me... I couldn't resist him and we were together sexually till his school opened and he had to leave for England where he was studying... but then I went on a binge with studio technicians, unemployed actors, famous heroes, anyone who caught my fancy, and who liked me... mostly these were week-long or even weekend affairs... remember I was young and tight down there... who wouldn't want me..."

"That's where you began to have notions that promiscuity was 'right,' so far as you are concerned?"

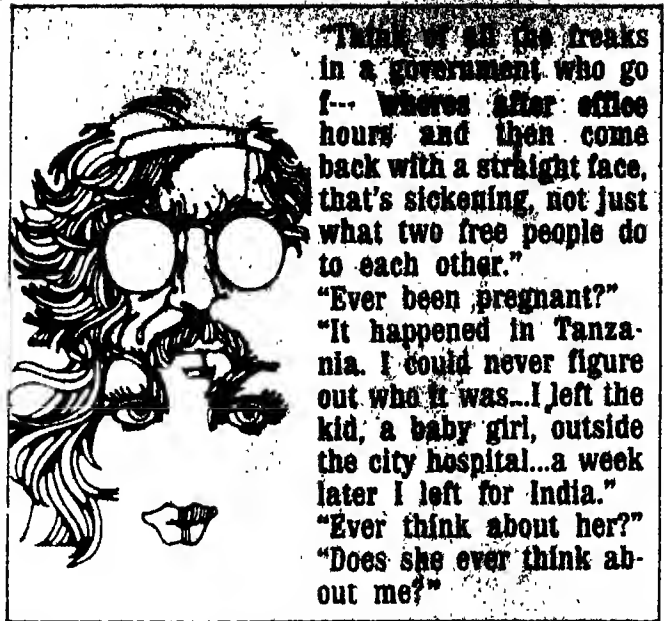
"Yup, quite right... I then spent time in Dar-es-Salaam, and did it mostly with the laboured class... being hard-up I often charged them a small fee that kept me together in the belly... no hang-ups there... and then in Tanzania, same thing... took up a job as a teacher in a primary school and laid the gardener every day... gave him some food for his family... felt he was doing me a favour..."

"What about other hippies?"

"Well, all this time... I thought you wanted the unusual aspects of the scene I've been through... well, all this while I had struck up with the guys tripping through wherever I was... and we did it."

"Any strong sexual preferences, experience-wise?"

"Of course, man sure! I like my guys to have a long hard one... and if that's not possible, I like them to abuse me while doing it... you know, language no consideration... and sometimes when I get into a frenzy I beat my man on his



"Think of all the freaks in a government who go f--- whores after office hours and then come back with a straight face, that's sickening, not just what two free people do to each other."

"Ever been pregnant?"

"It happened in Tanzania. I could never figure out who it was... I left the kid, a baby girl, outside the city hospital... a week later I left for India."

"Ever think about her?"

"Does she ever think about me?"

back, belly anywhere available, I hate guys who come too fast. I was with a group once... seven in all, of which four of them were guys... I remember that I had to have them all at once, one after another... all of them were high on heroin which they had got that day from a guy tripping through... junkies... man, they could hardly do it. I use pills to come... uppers if I can get them... and I do!"

"Ever got the 'sickness'?"

"You mean sickness down there? Well, whenever I get uncomfortable sensations there or some kind of unusual discharge I treat myself with all kinds of analgesics and antibiotic pills... and capsules... that's all that they give you in a hospital, anyway... and beyond that who gives a damn for it all..."

"It doesn't worry you?"

"No, baby, not one bit."

"What about your scene here in India?"

"It's very cool. Just the other day two young guys from college, one thin Sardarji and his companion approached me and wanted to take me out for dinner... I agreed. After dinner we all drove in a cab to one of their houses where they showed me some blue movies... you know, the ones in which there's no-stop action... after that we went to a golf course and... it was obvious where it was all leading to. The Sardar's friend, he did it to me first, and the Sardar, second... he came almost before he was in. I don't mind this kind of scene... as long as the cokes are good and the times are beautiful... who cares about the war, or if the world is gonna end... when it does, it will!"

"Ever been pregnant?"

"...Wonder if I should tell you... it happened in Tanzania. I could never figure out who it was though I had thought and narrowed it down to three possibilities. I approached them and managed to get enough money from two of them to go out into hiding for the last three months... I left the kid, a baby girl, outside the city hospital... a week later I split for India..."

"Ever think about her?"

"Does she ever think about me? Nobody gives a damn... you think being someone's mother makes a difference? Not a chance, no, not a chance."

"Fast change of partners is essential to you?"

"I can't do without it, just can't, man."

CASE 4 Promiscuous heterosexual orgies as cathartic. Salvador, 25, Spanish.

Salvador is five feet, eleven inches, has long hair and black eyes. His beard is long and straggly; he wears denims and a green kurta. His hands are long and thin, and he constantly gesticulates as he talks. He has blue circles under his eyes, and claims to use anti-anxiety pills along with sleeping pills, especially Mandrax to enhance his sexual perform-

"Sex is the ultimate pleasure, Ulla?"

"Gawd! Isn't it for everyone? Why do you think the population is exploding in your country, man? No one can give it up even if they have to starve. Everyone here in this country would rather die starving than give up s---ing. That's what I find so great about it all. Indians are the most intelligent race in the whole goddamn world because they won't give up s---ing."



since. Claims to have changed at least '60 to 70' partners in six years of being a hippie. Talking about his sexual history he says.

"Man, in Spain you can begin much earlier than anywhere else...I had done it to a cousin of mine by the time I was 12...and since then I've felt that I can't be normal if I don't have five or six women in a year. Strangely, I felt starved of the stuff when I was in my teens...I thought that turning on (to drugs) and dropping out was the answer, and it's true...when I was 19 I had maybe at least 20 babes in that first year of flower power...man, was I tired...but the pills are wonderful...you can keep going forever on them..."

"You turned hippie to seek greater sexual opportunity?"

"The way I figured it was...look, a guy needs to get his jocks off and a babe, from what I know about them, is the same...so the point which came to mind was that all those who had dropped out would be available to do it with...and man, did I want to do it...so that was one of the real reasons for copping out, man. Sure I couldn't relate to a scene like a regular job...besides, my pop has so much cash that he's almost glad that I'm draining it a bit...my elder brother is gonna take care of the business and all's cool..."

"What do you especially like?"

"I can't stand a babe who won't let me do what I want to with her. See, the point of sex is to release all your tensions...and these tensions can be hung up anywhere...when the front won't do the back will. dig? Or oral sex...and exchanging love-blows and love-bites...it's all in the game. But the thing I really go for is the orgy, man, I never miss out on those things...must've attended over a dozen of them...and they're really worth it...free punch and free sex...take your own pills or cadge them off another freak...wow, nothing to equal it, man, nothing."

"Ever caught the clap?"

"Sure, I have it right now and I've lived with it for two to three years; but let me tell you, man, they overdo the horror bit...must be over 60 per cent hippies have it, and they keep going...I just get a shot when it gets too painful...but a little pus in the piss...God, it's almost fun..."

"Will you describe an orgy, Salvador?"

"...Hummm, well the whole thing begins by a rich cat wanting to show that he, or she's around town and that anyone worth it can try to make him or her on a semipermanent basis...and then the world spreads by mouth...only everyone takes care to keep the insane guys out of it...you know, guys who've been split by acid and have forgotten their names. Those types don't know what they're doing...not even the country they're tripping through...one of them had gone nuts after his girlfriend leapt off a building after a huge dose of acid. Since then he always takes a double dose...one for himself and one for his dead girlfriend...such guys are just trouble...we should keep out of their way. But then one can never be too sure

and once an orgy ended in a bust...but here the police tend to be lenient...as long as no one gets killed, it's okay. Well, then the party begins in the evening and everyone gets ripped out on punch and gets stoned...and people pair off and begin making it, right there; and you keep changing partners without any predictable rhythm...it keeps on all night, next day, till everyone cops out...man, the things I've done, and seen in these gorgeous things...wow, just beautiful."

"How many partners do you change in a regular orgy, Salvador?"

"Man, I've made it a policy, that while I'm in an orgy never to come in one chick twice...and with the pills, I can make it come five to seven times...so that means I zip with five to seven babes. In my first orgy I went berserk...maybe I did it with nine or ten. but after it, man, you need to rest for a week at least...but it's badly worth the hassle...more than worth it, man. it really cools you down. And for three or four days after an orgy, I take half my quota of pills and feel much better...all a part of the flower-power trip, man, beautiful"

"Ever suffer from jealousy?"

"Jealousy? Never...yeah, but it's sure that when my babe is with me she had better belong to me and do as I say...or else it's fins for her and me. But there's few hippie chicks like that. and believe me, a lot of the screws I've had have been good because I'm such a great lover. A lot of flower children make lousy, dirty lovers and cling on to you if you can give them decent digs and some grub to eat while you're with them...man, the really hard-up hippies have a tough time of it. If a babe sees a rich cat tripping by she just throws up her steady in a flash...but that's the way life is, and who am I to complain...heh, heh, good screwing was written in my karma, right?"

"You can't do without a flock of partners, and must change regularly?"

"So goddam right...need to release myself; do it with a hundred babes...wish I had a hundred cocks..."

CASE 5 Promiscuous heterosexuality as pure hedonism. Ulla, 26, German.

Ulla is five feet, four inches, and has pure Aryan features with a creamy complexion, blue eyes, and long light brown hair which comes down to her shoulders. She wears a tight kurta, which accentuates her figure. She wears denims and chappals. Her lips are painted purple and are full, sensuous and moist. She constantly runs her tongue over her lips as she talks about her sexual history:

"Let's be frank...I always enjoyed sex...and even before I'd begun making it with others I used to fondle my breasts, you know, and they were always a source of great solace to me. It was natural for me to become a flower child...it runs in my blood...maybe I was a great *Yogini* in a previous life...it's possible. Then, when I was in high school some guy I know gave me a few pills to pop...man, that's when I lost all my inhibitions and we did it together right there...I was mad with myself and refused to see that guy again...boy, was I thankful when my curse visited me again. From then on I sensed that I could have any guy if I really wanted to..."

"Do you always use pills when you make it?"

"Let's be careful, man, there's a lot of pills...I take only the easy ones...light tranqs and that kind of stuff. I wouldn't touch speed with a barge pole... though I've done it a couple of times...It wasn't too bad...it's just kinda scary...makes you feel sort of freaked out you know. Sure, I use pills to make me come... scientific medicine is there to help mankind isn't it?"

"Ever made it to an orgy?"

"Yeah, who hasn't? It first happened to me as a real surprise I was still new to the life and then this guy who called himself a prince of Bolivia threw an acid party. Man, there was acid in the punch and some of us didn't even know it. they'd told everyone that one tumbler was one 'hit' of the stuff, but we'd come a bit late. Shit! I've never been so ripped out in my life...must've made it with half a dozen guys...and baby, did I come, I just came, and came...incredible!"

"What happened after that first experience?"

"I made it with other guys there. and they were more

than willing to do it you know...but it was only when I zoomed out of Germany that I turned on to being hip about sex...and since then if I fancy a guy's pants I just go up to him and tell him, 'Hey, you seem to be a real swell cat, how about you and me getting it together?' And, you won't believe it, but almost none can resist the temptation...you see, I kinda swing my hips...and..."

"Always by direct contact on your part?"

"Oh, no...that's just some of the time. A lotta guys come up with propositions themselves. My boyfriend right now is one of them cats who doesn't get phased out by a chick's looks...he came up to me and treated me to a coffee, before he came out with what he wanted...that's what I like...someone who has style and isn't desperate but interested in making it with me...that type makes the best kinda lover-boy"

"How many guys have you made it with till now?"

"Forget it, honey...if I began counting...Joe, Jerry, Aldous...man there's no beginning or end to the count. Well, at a guess, maybe over 50 in three years or so of travelling around..."

"What is it that really turns you on?"

"Whatever turns a real woman on...and make no mistake, I'm real woman, the kind that seduced Adam in Eden. I like to be loved, no holds barred; and when I'm making it with a guy I don't put up a fuss...don't do this, it's dirty...that's all bullshit, man. In sex there are no taboos for me, honey...think of what you can and baby, hey presto! You'll find that Ulla baby has done it dozens of times. It eases you off...look at me, have you ever seen anyone as released as I am? And that's just 'cause Ulla baby doesn't have sexual hang-ups...sex is the ultimate pleasure and, man, you got to have a great deal of variety...the more a chick makes it with other men the more she realises that she is a hundred women in one vagina, right?"

"Ever caught venereal infection?"

"Sure, man, half the guys on the road can't help having it. It's a free life, but, sure as hell, it's a tough one. But I get it done up when it gets too painful or something. But you

know, it's part of the fun. You think, 'Sure, that guy looks great as a screw...and it wouldn't be a bad idea if I could pass it on to him.' And it makes you kind of laugh watching the guy trying to put it up fast as he can, and as many times as he can, when you know what's happening to him..."

"Sex is the ultimate pleasure, Ulla?"

"Gawd! Isn't it for everyone? Why do you think the population is exploding in your country, man? No one can give it up even if they have to starve. Talk of being a junkie and a drug addict...man, everyone here in this country would rather die starving than give up screwing...that's what I find so great about it all. Indians are the most intelligent race in the whole goddam world because they won't give up screwing...no matter what!"

"Does love come into your screwing?"

"Screwing is love, man, there's no difference between the two!"

Discussion

The cases cited till this point comprise those hippies who have no inhibitions (or at least claim so) within a framework of promiscuous heterosexuality. Some of them have experimented outside this frame and have even enjoyed the experience while it lasted; nothing however, would have induced them to switch allegiance from promiscuous-heterosexuality to any of the other possibilities. All of them had claimed to adopt an attitude of letting other oriented hippies "do their own thing," but it would be important to note that heterosexually promiscuous hippies considered that they were more 'hip' and 'normal' than other sexually oriented hippies. Some felt that homosexuality was a sin and that no one indulging in it preferentially and exclusively could be classified as a lover of freedom; one even commented "Faggots are real freaks...it's they who've given our movement such a weird name..."

They also felt that while promiscuity was a God-given privilege it must be restricted by commonsense, keeping in mind that, ultimately, coitus was intended to perpetuate the human race: and that all other kinds of hippies were obsessed by sex and thought of nothing else except how to pervert their minds into accepting modes of sexuality that they would never be able to accept, no matter what.

It was clear that while they thought of their own variety of sexual fulfilment and whatever they did within it as absolutely 'normal,' they did not feel that experiments beyond the frame could be classified as such: yet they had the attitude of accepting that other sexually oriented hippies, could "do their own thing."

WE turned now to a separate group which has, as its preferred mode of sexual indulgence, homosexual partners and activities. Hippies in this group actively shun sexual contact with anyone of the opposite sex.

CASE 6 Male love is pure love. Dave, 23, British. Alpert, 27, Italian.

Dave is five feet, three inches, frail of build and wears a dirty kurta-pyjama with no footwear. His hair is long and he walks with stooped shoulders, often flashing a coy smile and a sideward glance at Alpert. Alpert is five feet, five inches, and relatively swarthy. He also wears a dirty kurta-pyjama, and chappals over feet swathed in sticking plaster (to cover foot sores) He has long hair, eye-black, and rouge on his cheeks. Talking about their relationship Alpert begins first, after dropping two tablets of Mandrax since Dave has refused to split them with him:

"Look, it's nothing, pal. it's been goin' since ole Greek times. You ever read Plato's Republic? Well, in that there's this discussion on love and all these guys, big philosophers are discussing which is the highest form of love...and you know what it all came down to...the love of youths is the greatest love of all."

Dave smiles and interrupts Alpert, saying sweetly, "Male love is pure love, man...nothing unhealthy about it...ever seen a couple as happy as us, man? Man, we're the two most beautiful people in the world, dig?"

"How do you recognise another of your bent of sexuality?"

"Easy," answers Alpert, "When I first saw Dave I knew..."

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he was for me.. after a while you get ESP man...but then it's also the way a person walks, dresses, talks, shakes your hand, a million things, man."

"How many partners have you changed, Alpert and Dave?"

"Five or six, but Alpert's the greatest lover I've ever had...think I'm gonna get married to him, ha, ha."

"About the same, and Dave's the sweetest of them all.. man, what woman could give me what he does? He's simply gorgeous!"

"Have you ever experimented with a woman?"

"Well, I know that Dave hasn't. they frighten him. look at him, he's too frail for a woman. and I tried one once and it was a real shocker. The bitch just turned on me for no reason at all. I'd put it up her goddam twat and had come but she wanted me to do it again and again.. now who can do that? Man, she turned real mean and scratched me up with her nails...no women for me after that.. and, anyhow, I had done it because the bitch had pitched me into that situation."

"When do you change your partner?"

"Well, Dave says he sticks around with a guy as long as he's nice and sweet to him. he's too delicate, he can't stand people who are harsh with him. As for me, well, it depends..you know, not all the guys I've made it with were meant for me like Dave is. and so when things cooled off we decided to go our ways. It happens that someone nicer comes along and you say goodbye with a kiss and a hug, and hope that you'll meet again."

"Ever attended a homosexual orgy?"

"Well, Dave was telling me about one of them he was invited to..they're great when everyone digs each other..otherwise it can be bad. Dave got hurt by a big guy there. you know, you shouldn't force anyone to do what they don't want to. It's nothing. just some guys and their 'gals' get together and swap around. could be fun."

"How frequently do you guys make love?"

"As often as we like, cat, just as often as we like. We love each other, and care for each other.. if Dave tells me he's not feeling like it, I don't press him, and sometimes he lets me do him even though he's not in the mood. man, he's nothing on earth he's pure heaven, man...yeah, sure I'd marry him.."

"Ever caught any disease of the genitals?"

"That's all bull, cat, just bull.."

"When did it all begin for you two?"

"For me," says Dave softly, smiling coquettishly, "it began in school. I fell in love with this other guy in senior class and we used to go for walks together and one day we jerked each other off. I knew then that it was for me. Later, in school, I made it with another cat, but we couldn't go all the way, just tickled and sucked each other off. Then my big day came...I went all the way with a beautiful guy in college. he was a real expert, man, it didn't even hurt when I lost my virginity...since then things have grown. I've learnt to love."

"Man, my case was different. For a long time I thought that women were the thing...in school I was always chasing skirts. Then one evening at a friend's house we ended up sleeping in the same bed after a party, and, without knowing it, we began fondling and kissing each other...I never took that guy's cherry but the chance soon came. we had been on a long walk and when we got back this guy asked me if I wanted to wash my face, and while I was doing it he caressed my bottom...man, I go crazy when that happens, and he led me into a small room, and encouraged me to go all the way...that was my first lay, man."

"Ever sutter from jealousy?"

"Well, it doesn't jell with our philosophy to be jealous, man...but you do remember the times when a guy stole your 'gal' from you...there was this beautiful Viennese 'gal' who had fallen in love with me...but then this big huge American pie began making eyes at 'her'..I don't blame 'her', but that's what it's all about...makes you sad, sometimes.."

"Don't worry Al," Dave says sweetly, "I'm here. remember."

"What drug do you use while making it?"

"Mandies are terrific, man, they take you up, up,



"Dave's the sweetest of them all, man, what woman could give what he does? He's simply gorgeous!"

"Have you ever experimented with a woman?"

"Dave hasn't, they frighten him, look at him, he's too frail for a woman."

up. and sometimes we drop ope (opium); rarely something else. Love is what matters..and only a man can give it.

CASE 7 Men make better lovers than women.
Wilbur, 24; George, 27, both British.

Wilbur is strong and well-built, with blond hair, grey-brown eyes. He wears tight denims and a vest, and sneakers. George is frail and wears kuita-pyjama, dirty and frayed; he has brown eyes, a soft Scottish burr, and holds his hands limp while talking or listening. He is constantly smiling in a dreamy fashion, interrupting Wilbur only infrequently, when he feels he has a point to make that is of significance. Wilbur grins confidently and speaks about his sexual history.

"I turned on to guys when I was working at the massage parlour to earn some bread. used to attend college in the day, and work as a masseur in the evening. not to say that I had not made it with a few chicks before that, but the fact is that they're too goddam stupid, man, and they're always whinning about this thing or that thing. God, the guys who go for babes don't know what a bundle of shit they have to carry around with them. and just for a goddam lay once in a while...shit! Then, one day, after these thoughts had crossed my mind this young guy came in for a massage and I gave him a treat..I saw that he had got an erection and I went out of my way to make him come. We made a date to meet each other later. man, was that guy cool. he really sent me on my way..after that I could find my way around."

"And me," says George, "ever since I was a kid I was fascinated more with the sensations in my anus rather than my prick. Such wonderful sensations, I knew that I had meant to be a woman but that something odd had happened, but, you know, I thank the Lord that he didn't make that mistake. Did you ever meet a woman who wasn't some kind of bitch?.. Women can't give you something for nothing. you gotta always pay for what you get, no matter if the babe tells you she loves you. man, it's nothing but pay, pay, pay. and so I seduced one of the guys who was horny for me...lived around the block, showed him my penis and man I was on my way...from then on I got as many lovers as I cared to get...sure I believe in free sex..but I like to go at my own pace..just had three lovers out there...here, another four not including Wilbur...whom I love madly.."

"What do you like especially?"

"Kissing, sucking, fondling, scratching, f-----, beating, biting, you name it and we have it on our list, of fun-games. Anything, man...life is meant to be had at rocket pace...sometimes we shoot junk and then go ahead and do it..mostly Equanal, Equibrom."

"Wilbur, you said that you'd had women?"

"Hmm, hmm, yeah, that's true. so I should know, eh? Because I've had them both, I should know who's better than who, right?..And I swear on God that men make better lovers than women...women just take and they give you nothing...nothing at all...and after you've done it to them they pretend as if you're the closest thing in the world to them, but behind their faces is a heartless brain working how to enmesh you still deeper into their stupid trap. and what is it that they trap you with, may I ask you?.. Two boobs which are oddly shaped and a cunt that is nothing but a piece of meat.."

To be continued

Ranjeet seems to be passing through a bad patch. There was a time when he didn't have to bother about his career; he was flooded with offers to play the screen villain. It was also a blessing in disguise since it kept him at a safe distance from his nagging wife and countless domestic problems. But now? Things are getting worse. Our heroes themselves are playing villains and that makes Ranjeet almost a *bekaar*. Once upon a time he had to work at least three to four shifts a day whereas now the work is being doled out to him in paltry half hours. But there is a silver lining. He now has enough time to entertain his many girlfriends, which he couldn't do before.

Smita Patil: no more Vinod



Simple: love-lorn woman



Tables have been turned on Dimple and her sister Simple. When Dimple had left Rajesh and gone off to her parents' place (you know why), Simple had put on so much weight that she almost looked like Dimple's grandmother. Tension-ridden poor Dimple had shrunk to pencil-thin proportions. But now that Dimple is once again back with her hubby, in *Aashirwad* she has regained a little bit of weight. And fond hubby that Rajesh is, he makes it a point to be present at mealtimes and fusses over her absurdly. And as Dimple comments: "Once I start eating there's no looking back..." Meanwhile, Simple has thinned down considerably. Fresh from a course at a gym, wearing dresses that no longer fit her, she admonishes Dimple and her kids about their food habits and gives long lectures on dieting. That is of course



Ranjeet: all play

Why does one hear less and less about Vinod Khanna while talking to Smita Patil these days? The answer is simple: Raj Babbar has replaced Vinod in Smita's life. And if rumours are to be believed, the two are very, very close. But Smita and Raj, predictably, insist that they are "nothing but good friends." Perhaps there is a grain of truth in what they say for Babbar has just become a father and has recently acted in an Urdu play with his wife. That speaks a lot about their relationship.

Asha Parekh and the comedienne Shammi behave almost like Siamese twins. They even go on vacations abroad together. Asha being the pampered only child of her parents, needs constant company and Shammi, the genuine warm-hearted friend that she is, always gives her company: she has in fact stood by her throughout all these years. Apart from being a confidante do you know what draws Asha to Shammi? Her sense of humour and her ability to make Asha laugh. And this, says Asha, is her prime consideration in any lasting relationship.

You should have seen Jayshree T the other Sunday evening at a busy Bandra crossing. Returning home with her sister and her husband after shopping, she was caught in a terrible traffic jam and one could read the mounting tension on her face—the poor girl was sitting at the back seat with her eyes glued to her watch. She desperately wanted to rush back home in ten minutes. Why? She didn't want to miss the Sunday film on TV: it happened

KHAAS BAAT

Madhavi, elated by the success of her maiden Hindi film *Ek duje ke liye* has hiked her fee. Her father justifies her self-confidence: "Rati signed 20 films before the release of *Ek duje ke liye* but my daughter wasn't given much importance before its release. But once the film was released, it was different: Madhavi got flattering reviews. Since then the producers from Bombay are pestering her to do more films." Why then has Madhavi not yet signed more Hindi films? "She has over 20 Tamil, Telugu and Kannada films on hand: she cannot abandon them all of a sudden," her father explained. There's a certain amount of truth in it. Rati who was smart enough to realise her demand in Bombay had cut her work down in Madras. But Madhavi couldn't do so. Even Kamal who has greatly benefited from the roaring success of *Ek duje ke liye* is unable to accept one-tenth of the offers he has been receiving from the Bombay producers.

The Bombay producers who are keen on signing Jeetendra for their films better be prepared to fly down to Madras to shoot the indoor scenes. Recently director J. Om Prakash had to chase Jeetendra to Madras to shoot a quarter of his film *Apna bana lo* since the star was tied up with seven Madras-based films.

Rajnikant wants to follow in the footsteps of his screen-rival Kamal: he wants to act in a Hindi film. If the Tamil-speaking Kamal hasan can do it, why not the Marathi-speaking Rajnikant? So the moment he came back from his honeymoon he started sending feelers to some of the Madras-based Sindhi producers. Rajni is also busy wooing a top producer down south who is planning to shoot a multi-lingual film in the US.

Only two years back newcomer Lavanya was on top of the world. She had reasons to feel so. She had done half-a-dozen films opposite some of the more durable artists like Sivakumar. But since then her career has suffered considerably. Interestingly, though, she seems to be doing rather well, even without work; there is no dearth of visitors in her posh Ashoknagar flat;

Vijaya Geetha belongs to that tribe of ambitious starlets who have been knocking at the door of one producer after another. But without luck. She's left with little to do even after she had played a couple of minor roles and displayed herself liberally in some soft-porno magazines. She's now planning to float a movie concern with the help of some other starlets to spawn an action-packed quickie. She could always join Reena who has been struggling to make a film for the last six months.



Vijaya Geetha. no more exposures



Kamalahasan and Swapna in Tick, tick, tick: made for each other



Madhavi: 'Time to hike my fee'

The local press lacks a sense of humour, complains Rajnikant. He has reasons, of course. Recently the press has circulated a story that Rajni and Kamalahasan nearly came to blows at a cocktail party organised by a producer friend. Rajni shrugs it off as a "minor teasing session" between himself and Kamal and charges the press with blowing it up. The rumours have it that Rajni had been provoking Kamal by saying that the latter had refused to serve drinks when he and his wife Latha were guests at his place. A sulking Kamal walked out of the party while Rajni made threatening gestures at him.

PIOUSJI



ROHTAK: A marriage party had to go without a bride at Pai village in this district on Thursday (2 July), because her parents would not allow the bridegroom's relatives to photograph her. The relatives tried to take some pictures of the bride at the wedding. When the parents of the bride objected, an exchange of hot words and violence followed, in which some persons were injured. The marriage party left the village without the bride as efforts of village elders to bring about a reconciliation failed—*Times of India* (Shamsul Ameen Sahariah, New Delhi)

FEROZEPORE: High velocity winds made an engineless goods train run for about a kilometre here yesterday (3 July). The goods train, consisting of 29 empty wagons and standing at the Ferozepore city railway station yard, started moving by the sheer force of the wind and later on picked up speed. Attempts to stop it by putting stones on the track proved futile. The engineless train also crossed two open railway crossings in the thickly populated areas of the city before coming to a halt. No casualty was reported—*Hindustan Times* (Sanjiv Shatma, Ghaziabad)

VARANASI: Exchange of brides, due to the traditional *purdah* is still in vogue in rural areas, but exchange of dead bodies is a rare incident. Such a switch occurred at the cremation *ghat* here yesterday (2 June). A man who brought the dead body of his son from Sasaram, Bihar, for cremation was perplexed to notice the body missing. Utter confusion, which prevailed for quite some time, was finally cleared when it was known that some people who had brought the dead body of their relative picked up the wrong corpse and consigned it to flames. These people, it was stated, were in a drunken state and mistook the corpses because both had similar shrouds. The father of the son, however, could not perform the last rites of his son and returned disappointed—*Northern India Patrika* (Rajneesh Batra, Allahabad)

SIMLA: A fake Member of Parliament accompanying a group of MPs was arrested by the railway staff here today (18 July) at the railway station and fined Rs 140 for travelling without a valid ticket in the rail car. According to a railway spokesman, the imposter, Jagdish Singh, boarded a special rail car

meant for MPs travelling to attend the National Railway Users Conference here and went out of the station posing as an MP. Parliament secretariat officials accompanying the MPs doubted his bona fides when he was boarding a vehicle with his luggage to stay as a state guest and asked for his identity card. It was discovered that he was not an MP—*Indian Express* (S. Balakrishnan, Trichy)

HYDERABAD: Home minister Mr K. Prabhakar Reddy, today had a strange experience when he visited the guest house at Gandipet. The minister was told by the guest house caretaker that all the rooms were occupied and when he checked the register, there was no mention of any of the rooms allotted. When on the instructions of the minister the rooms were opened, they were found to be occupied by two young men and women. As the occupants could not give satisfactory replies as to their identities, they were sent to the nearby Narsingi police station where they were booked under the Immoral Traffic Act—*Deccan Chronicle* (A. George Theodore, Hyderabad)

FATEGARH: Fariukhabad district has been having two chief medical officers for over three weeks. The district magistrate, Mr Subhash Chandra has asked the state headquarters to specify which of the two CMOs should be entrusted with flood relief work. Dr Jagjivan Sahai had relinquished charge of the CMO on 1 June, on promotion as the joint director of medical and health services at Meerut. Dr Gupta from Hathras replaced him as the local CMO. On reaching Meerut, Dr Sahai was informed of the cancellation of his promotion and reversion as the CMO of Fariukhabad. Dr Gupta claims that the director of medical and health services had verbally instructed him to continue as the CMO of Fariukhabad. Meanwhile Dr Sahai is awaiting orders about his new posting—*Times of India* (Md. Aftab Hussam, Gaya)

HYDERABAD: As a result of a wrong figure published in a local daily in connection with the 2nd year intermediate examination a 19-year-old youth, T. Venugopal Reddy, has committed suicide. The student has passed in first class and had even distributed sweets in celebration when he came to know about his success from a newspaper office. But the youth's joy turned into deep disappointment as his roll number did not appear anywhere in the list published in the newspaper. He ended his life by consuming poison at his residence. It was later found that Venugopal Reddy's number appeared under the Warangal district list due to an error.—*Indian Express* (Ms Kulwant Hora, Secunderabad)

The government is planning a civil war in Assam—Nurul Hussain, AASU vice-president

I enjoyed the blessings of Mrs Gandhi and I trust I continue to enjoy it—Jagannath Pahadia

I do not believe in a coalition with any other party—Morarji Desai
Let the Congress(U) be dissolved and then we will decide on merit about the admission of its leaders to the Congress(I)—Kalpnath Rai, AICC(I) general secretary

The Congress(I) in Jammu and Kashmir is no match for chief minister Sheikh Abdullah—Rajiv Gandhi

I don't agree with this discrimination between all those who stood behind Mrs Gandhi during her dark days and all those who joined her later—A. R. Antulay, Maharashtra CM in Bombay

The PL-480 days now threaten to be back, the spineless Congress(I) government in Delhi is out with a begging bowl to the USA. We cannot remain mute observers to this outrage—A. B. Vajpayee, BJP president

The important thing is not to win elections—but to have them—Spanish socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez
Adolf Hitler is my hero. He was right. He would have won the war, but he had stomach trouble—A skinhead quoted in *Guardian*

I am surprised and pained to discover that of all the jolly, fat people I know it should be Ploot (Mody) who has gone down under the weight of the malicious propaganda that fat is ugly—Khushwant Singh
Flippant youths change lovers all the time. Others lose control of their sluice gates of passion soon after engagement, prematurely overstepping the bounds of pre-marital relations—*Peking Daily* on the wave of sexual permissiveness sweeping the young

I want to try to see if people can forget who I am. I like being left alone like everyone else—John McEnroe

We love your adherence to democratic principles and to the democratic process, and we will not leave you in isolation—George Bush, US vice-president to Ferdinand Marcos, Philippines President in *Time*
The course of freedom around the world depends so greatly on the leadership of the United States—Malcolm Fraser, Australian President

Wash your hands with soap before you take your meal, even after responding to nature's call—West Bengal government ad educating people on how to avoid cholera

Beginning 2 August

By **AMRITLAL**



ARIES (15 April—14 May) This, unfortunately is not a good week for you and the trouble may come from an elderly female relative. Those in business may find themselves differing with their partners but they are advised to settle these differences amicably. Those in service will face delays and obstacles. Do not take things for granted, especially where property matters are concerned. Take care of your health. **Good dates:** 2, 4 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June) Not a very good week as far as legal matters are concerned. Do not be guided by your impulses but take counsel from level-headed people. But things will be different on the personal front; those not in love are likely to make a happy acquaintance. And your relatives and friends will appreciate your choice. You might not gain financially but let this not dishearten you. **Good dates:** 2, 4 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 4. **Favourable direction:** South.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July) A pleasant week is ahead of you and you will gain financially be it through a business deal or a promotion. Some of your major family problems will be sorted out. One word of caution: do not mix business with pleasure, particularly while travelling. You will be encouraged by your friends to take up new ventures. **Good dates:** 3, 6 and 8. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 7 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and South.



CANCER (15 July—14 August) This is going to be an excellent week for you. Luck will smile on you in more ways than one. You are likely to gain financially. All those troublesome relations will finally rally round to help you. Do not make a sudden change in your career. An important journey in the near future is likely and you could come to know about this journey this week. If you are an artist, writer or an ad man then this is the week for bright ideas. **Good dates:** 5 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



LEO (15 August—14 September) This is going to be a good week for you. Family problems are not likely to bother you much. Those with pending lawsuits or debt burdens will find the situation easing a little. You will get a lot of praise from your friends and relatives. A good week for the romantic who should take the initiative. Those of you in service may get transfer orders but should not accept them before taking proper advice. **Good dates:** 2, 4 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and South-west.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October) A somewhat rough week is ahead of you on the personal front. Be on your guard; a friend may deceive you. But professionally things will be better. Those in service may look forward to promotion and those in business better returns. Do not precipitate matters at home. A little patience in dealing with relatives will not go unrewarded. **Good dates:** 5, 6 and 8. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November) This unfortunately is not an auspicious week for you. Play safe. Be on your guard against wrong advice. Your efforts are unlikely to be successful but do not get disheartened for no major loss is indicated unless you take risks. Personal problems will continue to worry you. Letters will not bring you good news. Stay away from gambling and speculations. Try to concentrate on your work. **Good dates:** 4 and 8. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) This will be a good week for you provided you do not get carried away and become extravagant because of your good fortune. Elderly relatives and friends may come forward and help you sort out your problems. Pay some attention to them. You are likely to make a lasting friend. Give your work all possible attention as that will pay rich dividends. **Good dates:** 1, 2, 5 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 7. **Favourable directions:** West and South.



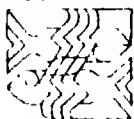
SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) Your stars smile upon you this week. Those in service may get a promotion. But one word of caution for those in business: Do not give into temptation just for the sake of making quick money. Keep an eye on your health. But your good fortune might not last the whole week. Get ready for an important journey in the near future. **Good dates:** 2, 3 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 7. **Favourable directions:** West and North-west.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) This is not a particularly good week for you. Those in business are advised not to take hasty decisions. On the personal front, be on your guard; a friend may let you down. Keep your temper under control and do not lose faith in everyone. Try to get away by going on a journey. It might be rewarding in the long run. **Good dates:** 3, 6 and 8. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) Luck is on your side this week. Take up risky ventures. On the personal front this is a good week for romantic overtures. If you have any marriage plans, pursue them. Your relatives will side with you. Your superiors will have reasons to be pleased with you. You may look forward to a promotion. So go all out to impress them. But check extravagance and use tact and patience. They will be your guardian angels this week. **Good dates:** 5, 6 and 8. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 4 and 8. **Favourable direction:** East.



PISCES (15 March—14 April) Be on your guard this week. Exercise tact and patience, particularly with your superiors; do not lose your temper. Pending law suits and debts will be a source of anxiety. Think twice before getting emotionally involved with someone. Look after the health of your family members; otherwise they might cause you a lot of anxiety. Do not take any big decision without advice from your superiors. **Good dates:** 1, 3 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-east.

For those born between 15 July and 14 August: During this year Cancerites will gain mostly through their brothers; some might even inherit their brothers' property. But they will not have the disposition to spend what they inherit. While brothers may bring good fortune, they may also prove to be bad company. But relationship with mothers will definitely not be a bed of roses, although mothers will continue to exercise a strong influence.

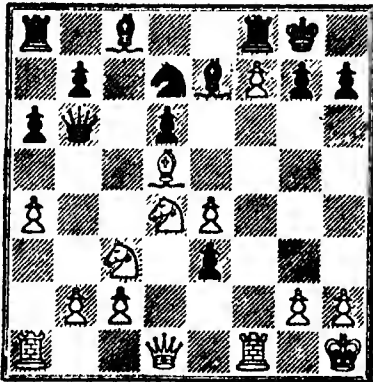
Cancerites now aged between 33 and 42, who dream of having their own houses, will see their dreams come true. With a house will come prestige and recognition in their work-situation.

Friends will also prove very helpful, so new friends should be made and old friendships revived. Most will have no difficulty in keeping themselves occupied in their spare time. Some who are interested in the occult will get a chance to read about it and dabble in its mysteries.

Cancerite women will see at least one of their children achieve fame and money. But this will not help them much as they will have to fend for themselves, maybe take up a job. A word of caution: women should take extra care about their health. Outdoor exercises are recommended.

chess

Ribli (Black)



Van der Wiel (White) to move

Game of the Month: The Sicilian King's Gambit. Nothing to do with Sicilian kings, merely the most descriptive name I could think up for an unusual pawn sacrifice whose acceptance leads Black to an unusually sticky end. Of course when playing the white side of the Sicilian it is sometimes necessary to sacrifice a pawn to keep the initiative, but the KBP? Never. Well, almost never.

In the following game however White's ingenious play leads to a sacrificial attack highly characteristic of the King's gambit.

In particular, note the enormous power of the queen in the latter stages. Normally the combined forces of a rook and two minor pieces are far superior but in this case they are never given the opportunity to come into the game. White: Van der Wiel (Holland) Black: Ribli (Hungary) Amsterdam 1980.

Sicilian Defence, Najdorf Variation
 1. P-K4, P-QB4; 2. N-KB3, P-Q3; 3. P-Q4, P x P; 4. N x P, N-KB3; 5. N-QB3, P-QR3; 6. P-B4, P-K4; 7. N-B3, O-N-Q2; 8. P-QR4, B-K2; Some would prefer 8. Q-B2 to prevent the development of White's KB on QB4, others would rather not waste the time. A matter of taste.
 9. B-QB4, O-O; 10. O-O, Q-N3 + A sharp continuation winning a pawn.
 11. K-R1, P x P; 12. B-Q5? A curious move but a good one. If instead White recaptures 12. B x BP he does not clearly have sufficient compensation after 12. Q x P, 13. Q-Q2, Q-N3.
 12. N-N5. Overlooking White's 15th move.
 13. N-Q4, N-K6; 14. B x N, P x B;

DIAGRAM

15. R x P!! Pure King's Gambit. The ensuing continuation is all forced.
 15... R x R; 16. B x R + K x B; 17. Q-R5 + K-N1;
 18. Q-K8 + B-B1; 19. N-Q5! The point of the whole exercise. White sacrifices a second piece.
 19... Q x N; 20. N-K7 + K-R1; 21. R-KB1

Black is left with only one way to avert mate.
 21... Q-B3; 22. R x Q, P x R; 23. K-N1. The passed pawn must be stopped! 23. N x B?? P-K7 would be unfortunate.

A convenient moment to take stock of events. Black has a rook and two bishops for his queen and a passed pawn on the sixth rank, but he is totally paralysed. There follows some rather cruel cat and mouse play in which the poor mouse has nowhere to run.

23... K-N2, 24. N-B5 + K-N1; 25. N x OP, K-N2; 26. Q-B7 + K-R1; 27. N-K8, P-KR3; 28. N-B7! Not 28. N x P, N x N. 29. Q x B + N-N1!

28... B-B4. The last trick. 29. N x R?? P-K7 + Black cannot play 28. R-N1 because 29. N-K8 wins.

29. K-B1, N-B1 but Black resigned without waiting for 29. N x R, or indeed 29. N-K8, N-K3, 30. N x P forcing mate on R7 or N8.

TROUBLE ON THE QB FILE

White: Ree Black: Duckstein

Queen's Gambit Irregular Defence

1. P-Q4, P-Q4; 2. P-QB4, N-QB3; 3. N-QB3, N-B3; 4. N-B3, B-B4; 5. Q-R4, Q-Q2; 6. P-K3, P-QR3; 7. P x P, N(KB3) x P; 8. N x N, Q x N; 9. B-Q2, P-QN4; 10. Q-N3, P-K3; 11. R-B1, Q x Q; 12. P x Q, K-Q2; 13. P-N3, B-K5; 14. B-N2, B-Q4; 15. O-O, P-B4; 16. N-N5, N-Q1; 17. P-K4, P x P; 18. B x P, P-B3; 19. B x B, BP x B; 20. B-R5, N-B3; 21. R x N, K x R; 22. R-B1A, K-N2; 23. N-B7, R-KN1; 24. R-B7 + K-N1; 25. N-K5. Resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



A style of caricature reminiscent of the cigarette-pictures of the 1920s has been used for a new series of Australian stamps honouring sporting celebrities. The 35-cent stamp features Victor Trumper, the New South Wales and Australia cricketer, who partnered A Sims in the record eighth wicket stand of 433 at Christchurch, New Zealand, in 1914, the year before his death. Other stamps portray Walter Lindrum, who retired in 1950 as the undefeated world billiards champion, Sir Norman Brookes, who won the Wimbledon singles, men's doubles and mixed doubles in 1907 and was later president of the Australian Lawn Tennis Association, and Darby Munro, one of Australia's most successful jockeys, who won the Melbourne Cup three times. The designs are the work of a Sydney artist, Tony Ratty.

A poll taken recently for the Australian Post Office revealed that about one million Australians over the age of 14 collect stamps. Their preferences are for designs featuring birds, animals and flowers. Least popular are issues devoted to conferences, royalty and community welfare.

C. W. HILL

bridge

This deal from the match between Finland and Colombia in the Olympiad was featured because of the success of a psychic bid and the poor defence that followed but there were hidden beauties.

Dealer, South	E-W vulnerable	
♠ Q 7 6 5 4 3 2		
♥ J 9		
♦ 8 4		
♣ 9 3		
♠ —	N	♠ J
♥ 8 4 3 2	W	♥ A K Q 10 6
♦ K J 10 7 3	E	♦ A 9 5 2
♣ A 7 6 5	S	♣ Q 8 7
		♠ A K 10 9 8
		♥ 7 5
		♦ Q 6
		♣ K J 10 4

When Colombia was North-South the bidding went

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1 ♠	No	2 ♦ (!)	2 ♥
2 ♠	3 ♥	No (!)	4 ♥
No	No	4 ♠	No
No	No		

Having been outbid, the Finns found a way to present South with the contract (which at the other table was two down). After making two

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What is an eccentric ring structure?
2. What does an insulin shock therapy mean?
3. Which is the driest place on earth?
4. Who was America's first best-selling novelist?
5. *Limeight* was Charles Chaplin's last film made in the US. Which year was it?

appeared to popular tastes. 5 1952.

hearts East tried a low club. South played low. West won with the Ace and returned a club! (A diamond cannot lose because if East has ♠ K he will always make it.)

The reporter in the Bulletin remarked that East West had 12 easy tricks in hearts or diamonds. In hearts, yes, but not in diamonds, where the spade is ruffed in the long trump hand. The declarer draws trumps and ruffs the hearts, reaching this position:

♠ Q 7 6			
♥ —			
♦ —			
♣ 9 3			
♠ —	N	♠ —	
♥ —	W	♥ —	
♦ J 10	E	♦ 9 5	
♣ A 7 6	S	♣ Q 8 2	
		♠ 10	
		♥ —	
		♦ —	
		♣ K J 10 4	

A diamond is led to the 10 and South, to avoid a sure end-play, must discard his spade. Now if a low club is led North can save his side by inserting ♠ 9. Instead West must make the remarkable play of leading his last trump. This involves South in the famous one-suit squeeze. He cannot safely retain ♠ K J 10 and ♣ K J 4 is no better.

TERENCE REESE

Her Charlotte Temple published in 1791
 4. A woman, Susanna Haswell Rowson

Chile.

3. Calama, in the Atacama desert in

orders

the treatment of certain psychotic dis-

followed by administration of glucose, in

sulin to induce hypoglycemic coma,

2. Administration of large doses of in-

well of the outer one at one point.

other, with the inner crater touching the



consisting of two craters, one inside the

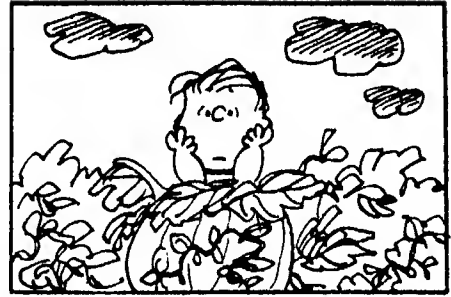
1. A formation on the moon's surface

ANSWERS

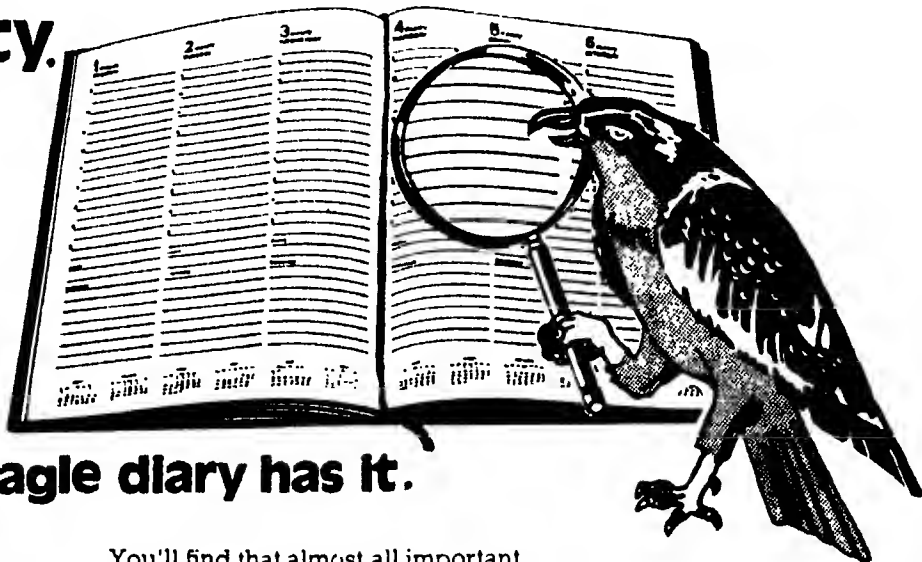
PEANUTS

featuring
 "Good ol'
 Charlie Brown"
 by SCHULZ

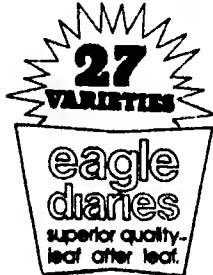
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	27	28	29	30		



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V. P. SINGH ALWAYS FINDS A SCAPEGOAT

AN important change took place in the UP administration on 7 July; not to the cabinet changes which have been widely reported but one in the bureaucracy. Mr J. P. Singh, who was secretary to the chief minister, was unceremoniously shunted out from that prestigious post to the local self-government department as secretary in charge of urban planning. As Mr J. P. Singh had earned the reputation of being the conscience-keeper of chief minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh, his transfer raised many eyebrows. But it has been a pattern with Mr V. P. Singh to sack his favourites whenever he himself is under pressure. After the Moradabad riots, the then chief secretary, Mr Ram Bahadur Saxena, was shunted out to an insignificant public undertaking. After the Behma massacre by the Phoolan Devi gang, the then IGP, Mr Mahendra Singh, was removed from his post. This time it is the countermanded Garhwal poll which has upset the UP CM. And to add fuel to the fire, a group of Congress (I) MLAs from Basti district have complained to the Prime Minister about the way the site for a spinning mill in their district, which had been decided upon after consultations with them, had been unilaterally changed by a diktat from the CM's office. The blame for this has fallen on Mr J. P.



V. P. Singh, risky to work with?

Singh, and he has had to go.

But this may not be the end of Mr V. P. Singh's troubles. So far the principal dissenter in the state was Mr Kamalapati Tripathi's son, Mr Lokpati Tripathi. Now, another powerful dissenting group, led by another Minister, Mr Vri Bahadur Singh, has emerged. Both the new ministers taken in on 7 July, Mr Bachcha Pathak of Balha and Mr Ram Naresh Shukla, belong to Mr Vri Bahadur Singh's camp. Mr Bachcha Pathak's inclusion was desired by New Delhi because he is expected to counterbalance one of Mr V. P. Singh's favourite ministers, Mr Kashinath Mishra, in UP politics. Mr Kashinath Mishra was in charge of Mr V. P. Singh's election campaign in the Tindwari constituency.

BHOLA PANDEY RIDES AGAIN

MR Bhola Pandey, Congress(I) MLA from Ballia and a "strongman" of UP Youth Cong(I), is in the news again. In December 1978 he hijacked an Indian Airlines plane, now he has forcibly occupied a flat—no A-3 in the Park Road colony area of Lucknow. The flat was vacated by Mr Dinesh Chandra, additional district and session judge, after his transfer from Lucknow and it was allotted to Mr R. C. Rastogi, a deputy secretary in the labour department, on 19 June. Mr Rastogi was living in the upper storey flat, no. A-7, but his doctors had advised him not to climb stairs and he had sought and obtained the lower storey flat. On 7 July when the flat was being vacated by Mr Dinesh Chandra and Mrs Rastogi and her daughters were there to take possession, Mr Bhola Pandey suddenly arrived with five men, gave them orders to occupy the flat forcibly, and left.

These Youth Congress(I) activ-

ists had brought two cots with them on which they sat inside the flat where Mr Dinesh Chandra's household goods were still lying. When Mrs Rastogi showed them the allotment order, the Youth Congress(I) activists told her, "This flat now belongs to Bhola Pandey." When she tried to argue, they pushed her aside and told her, "We have taken possession of the flat and nobody can evict us."

One reason why Mr Pandey may be keen on this flat is because the neighbouring flat, no. A-2, is occupied by his second wife, Ms Sumanlata Dixit, Congress(I) MLA from Kanpur and a close confidante of Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad, president of the Youth Congress(I). It is not as if Mr Pandey has no place to stay. At present he is occupying a large flat in the B block of the Darulshafa legislators' hostel. It may be recalled that he took possession of that flat also forcibly with the help of Youth Congress(I) men.

VICTIM OF ITS OWN PLOY

FOR sometime we have not heard anything about the progress of the CBI investigations into the leakage of information on the Thal Vaishet project. Readers may recall that at one stage the principal preoccupation of the CBI (before it became busy with the Makalu affair) was the "Petroleum Ministry leakage case" (SUNDAY, 26 April 1981) in which it was trying to ascertain how secret files of the department of fertiliser regarding the grant of contract for the ammonia-based fertiliser plants at Thal Vaishet were leaked out to certain opposition MPs, who raised the issue in the Lok Sabha. During the course of investigations, while questioning officers in the Parliament section of the petroleum ministry, the CBI found a clerk who admitted leaking the documents to a foreign firm. But when the foreign firm's name was made known, the sleuths were red-faced. It was the firm that had finally bagged the contract! The contract, in the initial stages, had been slipping out of the hands of this firm which had masterminded the leakage. But, ultimately, the photostats of the documents landed in the hands of C. F. Braun of the USA, who were denied the contracts after initial selection. It was they who passed them on to selected MPs to expose the deal.

MP WON'T QUIT STATE MINISTRY

KRISHNA Prasad Tiwari, a minister of state in UP, who was recently elected to the Lok Sabha from Allahabad in the by-elections, seems to be out to set a unique record. According to the rules, after he has been declared elected to the Lok Sabha, he has to either resign his Vidhan Sabha seat or refuse to enter the Lok Sabha. He cannot hold on to both. So, Mr Tiwari resigned his Vidhan Sabha seat on 27 June. But he did not quit the ministerial gaddi. When newsmen asked him if he intended leaving the ministry following his election to the Lok Sabha, he replied that as he could remain a minister for six months without being a legislator, he would consider the question later. So, now UP has a minister who is an MP—an all-time record in the parliamentary history of the country.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

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**MEET
FRONT
CINEMA**

**Sharon Frenhakar
in M.S. Sathyu's
"Kahan Kahan se
Guzar Gaya"**

**The
Rabindranath
that Bengalis
hate**

personality is Hypnotic or Electrifying

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HYPNOTIQUE
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Rabindranath Tagore has been deified and is virtually worshipped by Bengalis today. But this is something he himself did not want and he had many caustic things to say about the Bengali character Maitreyi Chatterjee presents an altogether different "Gurudev" whom the average Bengali is likely to hate. **Page 6**

Nurse Norma Robin Singh was found hanging in her room in Ranchi on 29 May. While the post-mortem report says she died due to "hanging" her parents and many others are sure she was killed. Tirthankar Ghosh investigates. **Page 10**

Some 800 families of workers and labourers in Jaipur are squatting on land owned by VIPs and all efforts by the police to evict them have failed so far. Madhu Jain and Sanjay Mitra visited the "Mazdoor Nagar." **Page 16**



West Bengal's Left Front government has been spending money lavishly on filmmaking. But will this in any way revive the state's dying film industry? And why has it not done the necessary spadework to ensure distribution of its films? Malabika Bhattacharya does a spot report. **Page 24**

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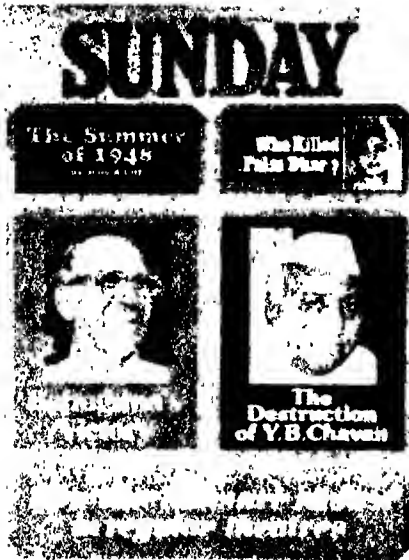
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Serves Chavan right

Congratulations for *The destruction of Y. B. Chavan* (5 July). Nobody but Y. B. Chavan himself is to blame for his destruction. I am a staunch Indira-hater, though, this time, I cannot but praise her. She has paid him back in the same coin. Chavan ditched Mrs Gandhi not once, but twice and when, against all odds, she emerged victorious, he wants to join her bandwagon.

Anand R. Deshpande, Solapur

While he is between the devil and the deep sea, Mr Chavan would do well to emulate genuine and selfless young politicians like A. K. Antony, compared to whom he is a senior politician but is far inferior in strength of will and sincerity.

Mathew Thomas Pookamala, Gopalpur-on-Sea (Orissa)

Yashwantrao Chavan has shown how low a politician can stoop in his greed for power, to the extent that he loses his self-respect.

Husain E. Beguwalla, Bombay

Aya Rams and Gaya Rams like Y. B. Chavan are self-seeking politicians who will never do any good to the people or the country. The sooner the people discard such opportunists, the better.

Nazir Ahmed, Bangalore

The unenviable state of Mr Chavan is aptly summed by the Hindi saying, *Dhobi ka kutta, na ghar ka, na ghat ka* (the washerman's dog belongs neither to his house nor to the washing-ghat).

Ashok Saini, Loharu (Haryana)

Your cover story says that Y. B. Chavan was not invited to joint the Congress(1) but he resigned from the Congress(U) and sought Congress(1) membership. How can this act be construed as Mr Chavan being "power-hungry?" I wish the readers were given a better analysis.

Anis Mohiuddin, Bombay

Garhwal: a national shame

Thank you SUNDAY for the brilliant story, *Bahuguna's victory* (5 July).

Ahrar Hussain, A. M. U., Aligarh

The hooth-capturing and the consequent order for repoll by the election commission at Garhwal have indeed been a blessing in disguise for Mr H. N. Bahuguna, as they have restored his credibility. Even though the Congress(1) stooped so low, it has failed to conquer.

A. Jayathilak, Trivandrum

Instead of apologising to the people of Garhwal and the election commission, Mrs Gandhi and her partymen have had the audacity to question the chief election commissioner's verdict. It is a matter of shame that such incidents should happen in India, the largest democracy in the world.

Subir Mullick, Calcutta

It seems that corruption and hooliganism in politics have reached an extreme.

Pramod Kr Singh, Sasaram (Bihar)

Your extensively-documented report clearly suggests that holding a free and fair election was not the aim of the ruling party at Garhwal.

Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan

If Mr Bahuguna has acquired a larger-than-life image the fault is entirely the Congress(1)'s.

Arun Sarkar, Shillong

It is definite that Mr Bahuguna would not have got through with the valid votes polled, despite the booth-capturing indulged in by both sides. Bahuguna's goondaism is just as contemptible as anyone else's.

Sabiha Ansari, Hyderabad

Flogging a dead Sanjay

People did not go to Shantivana (5 July) out of their love for their departed leader, Sanjay Gandhi, but only to please his mother who happens to be the Prime Minister. But, it was gratifying to see that SUNDAY had not forgotten the late Captain Subhash Saxena.

Nazir Ahmed, Bangalore

Madhu Jain shows how the death anniversary of Sanjay Gandhi was used by his mother for political propoganda

and by others to show sycophancy. She does not forget Captain Saxena's family and yet, the entire issue does not carry a mention of the late President V. V. Giri who too died on the same day.

P. V. Siva Kumar, Hyderabad

The *tamashas* organised in Delhi and other places and the statements issued by many politicians on 23 June were nothing but instances of unalloyed *cham-chagiri*.

S. K. Mishra, Calcutta

CPI(M)'s intentions

Mr Barun Sengupta says (28 June) that in anticipation of being thrown out of power in West Bengal, the CPI(M) had "started strengthening their underground machinery and began to get ready for a political war with the centre and a more physical war with Congress(1) supporters in West Bengal." If CPI(M) had such an attitude its supporters would have taken revenge after the March 1977 polls for the violent repression they had suffered during 1975-77. But they did not

do so. If Mrs Gandhi were to dismiss the Left Front government, the CPI(M), instead of being vengeful, would first protest and then start strengthening its organisation.

Suddhasattwa Sarkar, Jalpaiguri

It is hard to believe that Mrs Gandhi has any desire to topple any state government. Her intentions are above board.

Wajid Ali, Bilaspur

Don't go wild

SUNDAY enjoys enormous popularity because it is highly readable and also inexpensive. But now because of the frequent use of nude pictures it cannot any more be called a family magazine.

Md Moinuddin, Calcutta

I guess you are publishing a lot of pictures of nudes (and semi-nudes) because you are worried that after the recent increase in its price, SUNDAY's circulation might drop. Don't worry on that score. We will buy SUNDAY even without the nudes.

R. Rajeshwar Rao, Mulug (A.P.)

Thank you for the nude pictures of Bombay's latest film heroines in *Who's afraid of stripping* (28 June).

Md Motiur Rahman, Chaksapur Dhuliyan (W.B)

"Who's afraid of stripping?" is the right retort for those holy readers who plead "No nudes please."

M. E. Nagi, Silchar

Since I regard SUNDAY as a family magazine I would rather you avoided the vulgar display of nude pictures.

Parashuram, Calcutta

Readers' opinion saying, "No nudes please" co-exist in the same issue with the *Sunday special* on stripping. Is that your idea of respecting readers wishes?

Manoj Kr Bag, Calcutta

Since vulgarity is a matter of personal taste, what right or wisdom have the self-appointed censors to prejudice and dictate the taste of others?

J. S. Acharya, Hyderabad

Can we trust Beijing?

Can one short visit by Mr Huang Hua (28 June) signify one giant leap from the days of Hindi-Chini bye bye?

Sandip Mukherjee, Calcutta

Mr Huang recently visited India to improve Sino-Indian relations. So did the late Zhou Enlai in 1960. Can we, then, anticipate another round of Sino-Indian war in the winter of 1983?

Malay Nath, Barrackpore

One hopes that after Mr Huang Hua's visit, India-China relations will not be like Hwang Ho, the sorrow of China, which brings misery by often changing course

B Narayan Sahoo, Goudgan (Orissa)

Facts on Amritsar

The news story 'Ban tobacco in Amritsar' (14 June) is incorrect. I know because I was in Amritsar during the time of the movement. The facts are: the movement was started by the All India Sikh Students' Federation, a religious and missionary organisation which works in association with Dal Khalsa, Guru Gobind Singh Study Circle, Sant Bhindranwale Jatha and so on. Sikhs and arms are inseparable because a kirpan is part of the five kakars that a true Sikh must have. Which is why most of the processionists had their kirpans with them. The 50,000-strong procession—as reported by the local press—chanted just two slogans: *Amritsar pavittar shahar* (Amritsar is a holy city) and *Tambaku sab dharmaan layee jahar* (tobacco is poison for all religions). No other slogan was heard. Even though the atmosphere was marred by the supporters of tobacco, the 31 May processionists maintained a high degree of peace and harmony as was reported by PTL, Hind Samachar and the local press. They were not provoked even though stones and acid bulbs were thrown at them. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale never took refuge in the Golden Temple. Anyone can see him at the Mehta Chowk headquarters or preaching in far-off villages. A Sikh like him has no fear of the state or central government.

Gurcharan Singh, ex-president, All India Sikh Students' Federation (Calcutta)

Not manifest

How does Khushwant Singh describe Iqbal's *Shikwa* (14 June) as "A manifesto of the two-nation theory" when it is a dialogue between the poet and God and not between a Muslim League leader and the British ruler?

Khalid Azam, Aligarh

Khushwant Singh's translation of *Shikwa* is a masterpiece. More than a mere translation, it is an accurate introduction in English for the present generation to Allama Iqbal's philosophy.

Md Idris, Dhori (Bihar)

Ration-card holds the key

With regard to Mr Kuldip Nayar's *Exclusive* on police verification (14 June), let me relate my own experience of this farcical bureaucratic formality which has caused me great frustration and distress, not to mention monetary loss. I am a medical graduate. In April 1980, I sat for the examination for recruitment to the central government health service and was declared selected in December. Since then, I've been waiting in vain for my posting orders which cannot be issued because I haven't yet got the police clearance of my "character and antecedents" from my home state, Andhra Pradesh. I have had a middle-class upbringing and my only political activity so far has been to regularly read the papers. Do the authorities suspect that I may have committed a few crimes as part of my extra-curricular activities? How can a casual visit by a policeman to my home check details that I have already vouched for in my application? But, thank you, Mr Nayar, I'll be ready with my ration-card.

Dr Suchitra Vasudevan, New Delhi

How unfortunate that Major Gen. Mohoni (*Exclusive* 5 July) was demoted and then retired for opposing the sale of the tank spares. For this "devotion to duty, display of patriotism and a sense of responsibility" he ought to have been promoted and given PVSM.

R. Singh, New Delhi

Of late the quality of Mr Kuldip Nayar's writing has deteriorated. I suggest you publish his column only once a month, so that it can have some substance and not just gossip.

N. Kumar, Rourkela

It is worth investigating what hap

Brilliant news

The *Good News* item, 'Tools-up strike' (5 July) mentions that telecom workers at Indore had gone on a week's 'work more' agitation. As a matter of fact, at the call of the Bharatiya Telcommunication Technicians' Union (BTTU), this programme was implemented throughout the country including Calcutta.

Sadhan Kr Adhikary, Circle Secretary, BTTU, West Bengal state branch, Calcutta

Punish the guilty

The reasons attributed for the Bagmati train disaster (21 June), possibly the ghastliest ever, are contradictory. Coming from responsible men in responsible positions, this is highly regrettable. The nation has a right to know how and why the accident occurred. If it was a human failure, the guilty must be punished.

N. Chandramohan Naidu, Solapur

Incorrect

With reference to *Who killed Palm Dhar?* (5 July) please note that Mr George David is not an Anglo-Indian. He is an Armenian. This sort of irresponsible statement is a slur on a disciplined minority community.

L. J. Baker, Madhupur, Santhal Parganas

pened to the crores of rupees (*Exclusive* 21 June) collected from the public years ago for the Kasturba Memorial Fund.

A. N. Chatterjee, Patna

In his *Exclusive* on 'The Army's promotion grievances' (7 June) Mr Nayar has compared the promotion prospects of army officers with those of BSF, CRP, IAS, etc. and concluded that they are at a disadvantage. I would request him to study the promotion prospects of the officers of the Central Engineering Services Class I, especially those working in MES. These officers are no less educated than those in the other services and they too are selected through a competitive examination conducted by the UPSC. Engineering officers of the MES have to work in almost identical conditions as the army officers but their promotion prospects are much worse. They become SEs after about 25 years of service and most of them retire at that stage. An SE is equivalent to only a major in the army in pay, allowances and other perks. And yet, Mr Nayar has not focussed on their plight.

Manjit Singh, Ludhiana

Mr Nayar has compared the ranks in the army with those in the IPS and the BSF according to badges. But, the fact is that badges have nothing to do with ranks. A brigadier in the army is not equivalent to a DIG of police. According to the Gazette of India, the DIG is a rank above lieutenant-colonel but below a colonel.

Pawan Singh, Ranchi

Undiplomatic Morarji

It is surprising how Morarji Desai as Prime Minister, using a businessman as his contact, invited Moshe Dayan, then foreign minister of Israel, to secretly visit India when we have no diplomatic relations with the Israelis.

Gangadhar Nayak, Rourkela

Gen. Dayan's secret confabulations with various heads of states show how deep the conspiracy of the CIA-backed Zionists is.

Tariq Ahmed Shah, Sopore (J&K)

The extracts from Gen Dayan's autobiography, *Breakthrough* unveiled the forbidding countenances of several Indian leaders who, behind the false slogans of Indo-Arab friendship, indulged in the crime of turning our cordial relations with the Arab countries into hatred and animosity.

Sharjeel Qaisar, Biharsharif

I await the day when India and Israel will join hands for mutual welfare.

P. Kishore Rao, Mangalore

Last letter

Although there is no energy in West Bengal, the state has produced an energy minister for the centre.

Kanak Bagchi, Ballarpur

The Rabindranath that Bengalis hate

When did real tragedy strike a great man like Rabindranath Tagore? If we study the various episodes in his life, we find that, contrary to the belief circulated by a few so-called radical intellectuals, his life was not a bed of roses. True, he had all the trappings of one born with a silver spoon, studded with gems, in his mouth. But to say that he lived an ivory-towered existence, out of touch with the common milieu of Bengalis, is to falsely categorise him. His emergence as a writer was not easily accepted by the existing establishment. He had to face his share of taunts, abuse and character assassination. But being grossly misunderstood was a fact Tagore had taught himself to accept. The personal losses that he suffered (the untimely death of children, and of his favourite grandson) he bore with remarkable fortitude. For him all these were not tragedies but an enrichment of life through experience.

The real tragedy in his life lay elsewhere. When universal recognition came to him via the west, it was unfortunate but not unexpected for when was the prophet ever honoured in his own land? In their new enthusiasm (arising perhaps out of a sense of guilt) the Bengali population suddenly elevated him to the position of 'Gurudev.' For Tagore there was now no going back. He was firmly put on a pedestal and was expected to stay there. The moment of real tragedy had inexorably started blocking all escape routes for the person who again and again, in all his writings, had pleaded the virtue of solitude and quiet withdrawal of the soul for self-searching.

The Bengali finds it convenient to worship an idol rather than cherish ideals. This trait is transparent in the attempt to deify Tagore without caring very deeply for the ideals that he believed in and stood up for. Today, forty years after his death, Tagore's comment on the Bengalis is still cent per cent valid. Tagore's introspection and self-criticism has not prodded the Bengali to examine himself, acknowledge and admit his faults and make attempts to get over the drawbacks mentioned by the thinker-poet.

Being "educated" in the truest sense of the word, Rabindranath achieved an objective quality of vision that made him see the faults of his

This week Bengalis will once again go on a "Gurudev binge" (the death anniversary of Tagore falls on 7 August). MAITREYI CHATTERJEE, a well-known admirer of Rabindranath and music critic, uses the opportunity to ask some embarrassing questions.



fellowmen clearly, without malice and prejudice. His anguished cry that Mother Bengal had created seven crores of Bengalis but not human beings (*Bangamata*) was not said out of sarcasm or a sanctimonious holier-than-thou feeling. It was uttered in pain at the colossal human waste that the Bengali was (and still is).

Tagore's dream of a real human being was not an impossible one. He did not visualise the ideal Bengali as perfect. He was only averse to a race that was weak, mean, heartless, lethargic, vain and argumentative (*Chaaritrapuja*). Was it too much to expect that his Bengali contemporaries would be divested of, if not all, at least some of the above-mentioned human imperfections? His clarity made him point out that we (Bengalis) start something, but do not care to complete it. We make a show of work without putting in real work. What we practise we do not believe in, on the contrary, we lack the courage of conviction to act on our beliefs. We impress with words, words and more words, but balk at the thought of the smallest self-sacrifice. We are complacently arrogant, and not sincere enough to acquire the virtues we boast of (*Chaaritrapuja*). Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, to whom was dedicated the essay where these ideas were enunciated, was the exact opposite of all the smallness that engulfed his fellowmen, and, according to Tagore, remained a loner facing abstractions throughout his life. A fact that Tagore regretted but was not surprised about because to him Vidyasagar, with his courage, simplicity and truthfulness was closer to a simple Santhal ("Manush") than the contemporary Bengali ("Baangaali"). Rabindranath differentiates again between a "Manush" and a "Baangaali" when he hails the phenomenon of Iswarchandra being not a "Baangaali" but a "Manush" in a land where God has created crores of Bengalis who forfeited the term "Manush;" the "Baangaali" never wanted to be the conventional good boy ("Subodhchhele"), whose spiritless existence was limited to passing examinations, getting a job and a wife with a fat dowry. (Has the situation changed very much?)

Tagore's incessant self-questioning and analysis threw up in bold relief

Rabindranath was deified

inherent training and lack of discipline that the Bengali possessed. He admitted that his fellow men were endowed with a sharp cleverness that was good for splitting hairs but useless in solving knotty problems. This sharpness, like a thoroughbred passing the winning post, won arguments but was unable to move the wheels of action (*Chaaritrapuja*). Tagore was frank about the average Bengali intellect being only good for minute arguments and not meant for practical use. It had the sharpness of a thin blade of grass, but not the strength of a weapon (*Europejatrur Diary*).

The true worth of a person lies in what he has achieved through hard work and intellect, and not in the glorious past of his ancestors. Rabindranath had observed the Bengali's preoccupation and vanity regarding his past. His comments on the Bengali staying put within the four walls of his house and boasting of the courageous deeds of his forefathers, and of the valiant Aryan streak (*Duranta Asha*) in him are rather apt and still valid. In *Bangabir* he castigates this attitude: *Mokshamuller bolechhe arya, Sei sune sab chherechi kary. Ke balite chare mora nahi bi. Praman je taat tavechhe gabh Purba purush chhunniter bee. Sakshi Vedovyas*

Ever since Max Muller found the Aryans we have given up work. And who has the audacity to call it. We should remember that Tagore

Tagore was only averse to a race (Bengalis) that was weak, mean, heartless, lethargic, vain and argumentative

as has mentioned our ancestors to be 'excellent archers!')

The "democratic Bengali" does not believe in the equality of the races and has continued over the years to believe unhesitatingly in the absolute superiority of the Bengali over others. Tagore locates the root of this 'superiority complex' to ignorance and a smallness of mind (*Chithipatra*) that makes him shut his eyes to realities and regard himself as greater and better than others. The typical Bengali contempt for the "ignorance" of others comes through in Tagore's lines, again from *Bangabir*.

*Murkha jahara kichhu parenai
Tara eto katha bujhibe ki chha.
Han karia thake, kobhu tole ha.
Buk phethe jai momo
Ha ashikshito abhaga swadesh
Lajjaye mukh dhako*
(We wince at the colossal ignorance of our fellow countrymen and hide our faces in shame.)

Strewn throughout his writings are his laments and his shame of the Bengali bragging, of their involvement in petty politics, their groupism, their

inertia. The quality that enabled people to unite easily was lacking in the Bengali (*Patrabali*), he says. A weak race is unable to trust others. This lack of unity has been responsible for many problems. A Bengali did not know how to get along with his fellowmen (*Patrabali*). Tagore thinks that malaria is the right disease for a race crippled by poverty of character, lack of perseverance and mental inertia (*Malaria*).

According to him, we (Bengalis) are ever eager to provide unwanted advice. We are equally adroit in finding faults in others and in establishing our superiority over them (*Sahitya*). In *Alasya-o-Sahitya* he writes that so far none had the courage to say that a Bengali was hardworking. He felt that his compatriots were extremely mistrustful. The Bengali's habit of not seeing beyond his own small sphere of interest (the predictably charted route to office and promotion) is also criticised by Tagore in the same essay.

He has also pointed out the gap between the Bengali *Bhadralok* and people from the lower strata of society. To Tagore, education embraced all sections of society and was not confined to the *Bhadralok* for whom the illiterate underprivileged were (and still are) *Chhotolok* (*Palliseva*). The mind of the educated class was not rooted to the soil. It had the characteristic pathological contempt for the illiterate, and it was difficult for the *Bhadralok* to overcome class-barriers with real respect and affection (*Palliseva*).

Young boys at the grave of Rabindranath's samadhi at Nimtolla, Calcutta



**On the birth anniversary of
Acharya P.C. Ray we reaffirm our pledge
to uphold the spirit of
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unnati). It was impossible for the Bengali *Bhadralok* to forget that his education made him superior, and obeisance from the underprivileged was taken for granted. That is why the village farmer did not trust the *Bhadralok* (in spite of 'political consciousness' and big talk of rural awareness this attitude is still prevalent).

Tagore chastises Bengalis for an excess of emotion that, instead of converting itself into a vital creative force, remained a luxury (*Bangabhasa-o-sahitya*). The Bengali was a dreamer of dreams that did not galvanise him into action, but led on to lethargy. Tagore draws a picture of the daily existence of an average Bengali with remarkable accuracy. A day in the life of a *Bhadralok* went like this: the earlier part of the morning was spent in sombre silence with the *hookah* (cigarette and tea today); the second part of the day was earmarked for office; the evenings were spent at games of cards. The Bengali was untouched by the surge of events around him. This isolation was, according to Tagore, due to the dichotomy of our education in relation to society, our ideals and actual character, intention and action. This dichotomy prevented us from assimilating ourselves with our surroundings. That is why a Bengali could rattle off tales of heroism and courage, but remain a coward in real life. He knew the latest trends in aesthetics but was unable to create beauty in any form in his own life (*Bangla Jatiyo Sahitya*).

In his novels Rabindranath's ideal characters were introspective and sensitive (Nikhilesh in *Gharebair*, Pareshbabu in *Gora*), of tremendous character and free of dogma (Jathamasaya in *Chaturanga*); they were men of vigorous action and perception (*Gora* in *Gora*). His women rose above their circumstances to achieve a broadness of vision (Anandamayee and Sucharita in *Gora* and Ella in *Charadhaya*), possessing a delicate sensitivity (Kumu in *Jogajog*), courage and understanding (Damini in *Chaturanga*), and a rare dignity (Labanya in *Shesherkabita*). Through their creation, Tagore perhaps felt a sense of fulfilment that he did not get from real characters around him. Often he wished that there would be more Bengalis with courage, liberal humanism, with a striving for greatness and a sense of duty towards that which was worthwhile (*Chithipatra*). Perhaps this prompted him to moot the idea of Shantiniketan, where not only would young minds be unfettered in the freedom of natural surroundings, they would also develop a liberal humanism

Tagore's anguished cry that mother Bengal had created seven crores of Bengalis but not human beings, was uttered in pain at the colossal human waste that the Bengali was (and still is)



Honoured abroad first: Rabindranath in Germany

Room where Rabindranath died



that would narrow the gap between man and man (*Vishwabharati*).

Unfortunately, his ideal of liberal humanism has not even been followed in the place of his dreams. Regretfully Shantiniketan has produced less men like Nikhilesh and Jathamasaya and *Gora* ("Manush") and more men "Baan gaali" who fit his description of "*Bara bara chhotolokdiger chokhe aanka gaudi*" (Big little men with closed visions), which he wrote in *Chithipatra*. If the Bengalis had really admired him and understood him then they would have remembered him through his works and his ideals and not through a mass display of feelings that he was so averse to (*Charitrapuja*). Forty years after his death, we Bengalis have not qualified for the term "Manush". We remember Tagore with what he termed as "*baroyari kolahol*" (mass hysteria). The kind of remembrance that he found meaningless, empty and shameful (*Charitrapuja*). Yet, every year, between May and August the Bengali will continue to remember him noisily through rituals that have lost all significance. Had we not elevated him to *Gurudev*, then he would have lived on maybe in fewer hearts but as a meaningful farce. Perhaps it is convenient for the Bengali to turn Tagore into an idol, for a true appraisal of reality as Tagore himself pointed out again and again, is far away from the Bengali character. Even today, ■

The "democratic Bengali" does not believe in equality, and unhesitatingly believes in the absolute superiority of the Bengali over others. Tagore locates the root of this "superiority complex" to ignorance and a smallness of mind

Why did Norma Robin Singh die?

Pretty, 23-year-old Norma Robin Singh was found hanging in her room in the Ranchi Medical College nurses' hostel. The post-mortem report states she died by "hanging" but her parents believe that she was killed. Her "crime" was that she came to know of a racket involving many of the other nurses. TIRTHANKAR GHOSH went to Ranchi to find out.



Jolly John and Hirmani Sancha, both trainee first year nurses of the Rajendra Medical College and Hospital, Ranchi walked up to their third floor room, no 14, at about 7.45 pm on 29 May 1981. They were both tired, having just finished a stint of four-hour duty in the wards. Just as they reached their room, at the end of a corridor, they were amazed to find the door closed and the light off in the room. That did not, however, seem unusual to the two young girls. Perhaps, they thought, Norma Robin Singh, another trainee nurse and their roommate, was taking a rest. She had complained of a stomach ache at four in the afternoon and had not gone for duty. The door was slightly ajar so Jolly decided to call her from outside. "Norma," she called. There was no reply. "Norma," she called again, a little louder this time. Murmuring to herself, "What's Norma up to now?" she knocked on the door. Again there was no reply. Exasperated, Jolly pushed the door open. Perhaps, Norma was hiding somewhere inside the room, playing the fool, thought Jolly. "Enough!" she cried. "Norma, come out and put on the light," she said. Waiting for a few seconds, Jolly fumbled for the light switch and put on the light. By then her friend, Hiramani, was beside her.

But where was Norma? Suddenly, the girls in the hostel heard a piercing shriek. Norma was hanging from the ceiling by a nylon sari, an end of which was tied to the hook of the ceiling fan. Shivering with fright, Jolly and Hiramani rushed to the ground floor dining room where many of the girls were eating. Breathlessly they blurted out the news, "Norma has hung herself." The initial reaction was one of total disbelief. When both persisted, everyone including the housekeeper, Mrs Pramanik, rushed up to room no 14.

Seeing Mrs Pramanik the girls asked her if they could take Norma's body down and try to revive her. "No," command Mrs Pramanik. "No one is to enter the room." The watchman of the hostel, Domna Oraon, was sent to find the matron, Mrs S. Soren. Mrs Soren, who lives with her family on the ground floor of the same hostel build-

ing had gone to reach some of her relatives to the scooter stand, about 10 minutes walk through the hospital complex from the nurses' hostel. On her way back to the hostel, Mrs Soren met Dr V. Bhagat, the deputy superintendent of the hospital and brought him along.

Dr Bhagat walked in with the matron, felt Norma's pulse and declared that the 23-year-old pretty nurse had been dead for well over two hours. According to the matron, rigor mortis had already set in. He had no stethoscope to check Norma's heartbeat. Soon after, one of the nurses, (by this time many of the girls had entered the room), found a slip of paper sticking out from under the pillow of the bed on which Norma was hanging. It was a suicide note, apparently written by Norma. According to her mother the letter was written under duress.

Dr Bhagat then informed the Bariatu police station, a short distance from the hospital. The time was about 8.45 pm. The police came after 9.30 and took custody of the room. It was sealed. The body was not removed for post-mortem because the police could not make arrangements for a photographer, and it was left to hang for 12 hours, till the next morning when the photographer arrived.

Meanwhile, the matron sent a message to Norma's parents who live in the Bariatu Housing Colony, about 2½ kms from the hospital. Strangely, though a number of nurses and the matron knew Norma's house, the news reached her parents at 3.00 am in the morning of 30 May. Mrs Irish Robin Singh, Norma's mother, a teacher in the local Chandmal Bal Vidyalaya, was told that her daughter's condition was serious and that she should see her immediately. Later on in the morning, after she had seen her daughter's dead body, Mrs Singh received a note written by Dr Bhagat at 10.30 pm dated 29 May: "I am sorry to inform you that your daughter, Miss Norma Robin Singh, student nurse of RMCH died today by hanging herself from a ceiling fan."

The police did not react till the next day. By then everyone who had seen the body was definite that Norma had

not committed suicide. She had been killed and left to hang to confuse the police. For, Norma was found hanging in the strangest position: she was almost kneeling on her bed. Neither were there any visual contortions on her face: her eyes had not bulged out, nor was her tongue sticking out. Recalling the scene, one of her friends said: "I remember last year during Christmas, Norma had acted as Mary in a Nativity play. She had looked so beautiful and calm in her blue sari... Here too, her face was so serene and calm as she hung. It looked as if she was sleeping and would wake up any moment."

The sari which was tied around her neck had three or four knots and there were no signs of struggle for survival in the last moments, as is usual in such cases. Neither was the bed on which she was "kneeling" disturbed. Inches away from her body was a chair with arms. It had apparently been used by Norma to tie the sari to the fan's hook. Any flailing of arms or legs would definitely have shifted the chair. In fact, the police were quite certain that Norma's was an unusual death. But that was before the post-mortem report.

Was it possible for Norma to tie the sari to the ceiling fan hook? She was just over five feet tall. And the distance from the bed to the fan's hook, according to the police, was more than 10 ft. Even if the chair was used, Norma would have to put her feet on the arms of the chair and raise herself on her toe. Even then a margin of about two inches remains.

The loop of the sari around her neck was not taut, according to eyewitnesses. Neither were there any ligation marks around her neck. Perhaps, what enforces the theory of homicide is the fact that blood was found oozing out of her vagina. Many policemen believe she was sexually assaulted before being killed.

Norma had also washed her clothes after she returned from her earlier duty at 2.00 pm. If she was indeed going to commit suicide, would she have bothered to wash her clothes and string them up carefully to dry? Before

her two roommates had left for their duty, she had told them that she would prepare a vegetable curry for their evening meals, which she did. (Although there is a canteen for the nurses, the food is so bad that most of the nurses only take the rice from the canteen. They prepare their own vegetables in their rooms.) Would she have done so had she decided to kill herself?

Norma was found wearing a night gown and no underclothes. A set of her undergarments were found missing when the police took an inventory of her belongings. Norma's mother and several eyewitnesses mentioned that the nurse's body had blue and red patches. Further, Mrs Singh also pointed out two injection prick marks to the police. But the police did not bother to investigate these curious factors.

Amidst controversy, the body was sent for post-mortem to the forensic department of the hospital. Dr R. S. Prasad, the head of the forensic department, who performed the post-mortem was confident that Norma had died by "hanging" I told him that Norma's mother and a host of other people, including members of the press, thought that the post-mortem was wrong. In fact, Mrs Singh had moved the court for a fresh post-mortem. Her reasons: the post mortem had been done hastily; only the abdominal and chest cavities had been opened and not the cranial as is done normally; a magistrate was not present during the post-mortem as he should have been in case of a controversial death.

But, Dr Prasad is definite that Norma died due to hanging. According to him there were ligature marks around the neck. He had not found evidence of strangulation or suffocation. But why weren't Norma's eyes open? Quoting from N. J. Modi's book on medical jurisprudence and toxicology, Dr Prasad said: "The eyes are closed or partly open...the tongue is drawn in caught between the teeth." In Norma's case, her eyelids were open (a fact which is disputed by her mother who was one of the first persons to see the body) and her tongue was touching the teeth of her slightly open mouth (this too is not acceptable to the eyewitnesses)."

Norma was buried on 30 May. As days went by, Norma's parents talked to more and more people and were convinced that their daughter had not died due to hanging. When the police did not move, Mrs Singh filed a complaint before the sub-divisional magistrate on 20 June requesting that "in the interest of justice it has become desirable that the dead body of the deceased be disinterred and examined by a doctor other than the one who is in government employment and the viscera of the deceased be sent for chemical examination in order to ascertain whether the death was by poisoning."

Accordingly, on 5 July in the presence of the magistrate, Dr Ajit Tirkey

of St Barnabas Hospital, took out the viscera of Norma from the exhumed body. The viscera was sealed in the presence of the magistrate and sent to Calcutta's Central Forensic Research Laboratory. Till the report comes, and it might take weeks, the controversy regarding the death will continue.

When the news of Norma's death was published in the local Hindi press, the editor of the *Ranchi Express*, received an anonymous letter from the nurses of the hospital. The letter said: "...Hum logon ke stithi vaishayon se bhi kharab ho gayi hai (Our condition is worse than a prostitute's)." The letter also said that many of the nurses had been threatened by the authorities: if they said anything they would suffer Norma's fate. What, then, was Norma involved in? The answer came from Mrs Irish Singh herself. "My Baby (that was Norma's nickname) did not hide anything from me. A week after she joined the course, she told me that many nurses, especially trainees, were sent out for immoral purposes in Ranchi town. Most were sent to satisfy visiting politicians and doctors. So I told her to leave the course. My Baby was a brave girl and she told me, 'Ma, don't worry. I am a Rajput. No one will lay a finger on me.'"

The nurses had been banned from speaking to the press. It was apparent, however, that the nurses were apprehensive. But I met a nurse (who wished to remain anonymous) who mentioned how the matron had one day forced her to go out with a man. She had been told to go and nurse the man's wife. On the way, the man started fondling her. She protested and with the help of the rickshaw-

Norma "hanging" on her bed



puller returned to the hostel, I asked Mrs Soren about the nurses being forced to go out. She denied everything and said: "How can people speak like this about me. I have two daughters of marriageable age and do you expect me to do such a thing?"

The nurses can do little to protect themselves if pressure is applied on them by those in authority. One nurse, a trainee, Lakshmi Nag, showed that she could do something against such people. She had an interesting tale to narrate. She said: "I was given only 10 marks out of a total of 50 in the oral examinations by Dr Prasad, a professor of medicine, although I had secured about 60% marks in the theory papers. On 22 May, I received a letter informing me that I had been transferred to Bhagalpur. Since it would be difficult for me to move out of Ranchi, I met the doctor. The doctor promised me that he would settle everything if I met him at the Sainik Theatre (a cinema hall) on Sunday 20 June. The rendezvous was later changed to the Ranchi overbridge. But I had informed some local political workers of this and asked them to follow me.

"At the appointed time, the doctor came and picked me up on his motorcycle, to take me to his nursing home in Harmu. We were followed by the people I had informed, who were also on motorcycles and a Marador van. On reaching the house, I cried out. The party workers rushed in and found that Dr Prasad was trying to molest me. He was beaten up." Dr Prasad, who has been relieved of teaching medicine to the nurses, however, denies the incident and says that he had nothing to do with it. According to him, the nurse was trying to take advantage of his sympathies.

What can a poor nurse do if she is pressurised? Nothing much. Most come from lower middle-class families and it is imperative for them to complete the four-year course to provide for their families. They are paid little; a stipend that ranges from Rs 206 to Rs 208 per month out of which Rs 100 is deducted for food. Again, the interns or house surgeons take full advantage of the young girls. Many who believe that Norma committed suicide say that she did so because of a broken love affair with a house surgeon, Dr Birender Kumar Prasad. Dr Prasad was away from the hospital when Norma died. He returned for a few days only to disappear again. The police have not, till the time of writing, even tried to trace him.

A senior doctor I talked to said: "Something like this was going to happen. I have seen nurses, especially trainees, frequenting the interns' hostel. As for their hostel, there is no security at all. Men come and go anytime they want and nobody is there to protest. Do you think the authorities do not know about this?" Only after Norma's death, has some sort of security been enforced in the hostel: outsiders are questioned. Even then, I walked in at about 1.00 in the afternoon, without anyone stopping me. ■

“Whoever killed the Nirankari Baba did the right thing”

Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale told Anil Saari in an exclusive interview

In a little more than five years a comparatively lesser known Sikh order, the Bhindranwale taksal (order), has begun to command national attention. Its members are a band of puritanical, para-military teachers of the Sikh religion. From 1975-76 the Bhindranwale taksal has been involved in a series of confrontations. During the Emergency, the then leader of

the order, Sant Kartar Singh, declared that the sterilisation programme was a direct interference with the Sikh religion because the operation necessitated the cutting of public hair, and the cutting of hair is forbidden to the Sikhs. In 1976, the Bhindranwale extremists also reacted sharply to Hindu-Sikh confrontations in Amritsar.

Believing that the Sikh teacher must, like Guru Gobind Singh, be ready to use his wits and his arms, the Bhindranwale taksal came into a headlong collision with the Nirankaris about the same time. The present head of the order, 34-year-old Sant Jarnail Singh, has inherited that war from his predecessor. In his time the Nirankaris lost their leader, Baba Gurbachan Singh (on 24 April 1980). The CBI is apparently convinced that the Bhindranwale taksal is involved in the murder.

Operating from its headquarters at the Gurudwara Gurdarshan Prakash, Mehta Chowk, about 40 kms from Amritsar on the road to Batala, the Bhindranwale taksal is a mobile university run by militant extremists. An eight-acre estate, which is like a mini-fortress, lies off the main road behind a stretch of rich farmland. Barbed wire runs along the walls on three sides. At the back entrance of the Gurudwara is

Sant Jarnail Singh
Bhindranwale

Lesson on gunmanship on the lawns



a cluster of village houses. Since Sant Jamail Singh Bhindranwale is suspicious of both the CBI and the Nirankaris, when this correspondent visited Mehta Chowk on 30 June, armed guards patrolled the premises, many of them carrying sophisticated, self-loading rifles. A group of gunmen and others carrying kirpans (knives) were observed standing guard outside the Sant's room. Within the premises, as many as seven gunmen always accompany the Sant when he moves from one section to another. At the evening kirtan on 30 June this correspondent observed another seven gunmen spread across the lawns keeping guard.

Sant Jamail Singh has a wry sense of humour and probably loves practical jokes: he seems to enjoy the outsider's discomfiture in his presence. He told SUNDAY of an earlier visit by another journalist to Mehta Chowk in June. "His knees were trembling as he came towards me. I asked him why he was afraid. He replied that he had heard that Bhindranwale does not allow people to go back alive. Tell me, I asked him, do I look like a murderer to you."

Later, on 30 June, during his interview with SUNDAY, Bhindranwale kept telling this correspondent, "Don't be afraid, ask whatever you want to ask," looking across at the same time to the half-dozen gunmen who kept getting in and out of his room. A two-storey hostel of 24 rooms, 12 on each floor, runs close to the front wall of the headquarters. Bhindranwale's first floor room offers a panoramic view of nearly 100 acres of farmland. Five to six cots can be accommodated in each room, these have lights and fans. There were rifles at the corner of many of these rooms. There are also a number of small children at the Bhindranwale headquarters, some as young as nine or ten, who learn the basic precepts of the Sikh religion and how to sing and play musical instruments. Many of the youngsters are training to eventually take over the running of gurudwaras when they grow up.

Constantly touring Punjab and as far off places as Bombay, Calcutta, Patna, Bhopal, Durgapur and Bhillai, the Bhindranwale militants have two buses, one truck, a jeep and a Fiat car at their disposal.

As soon as Sant Jamail Singh was nominated head of the order, he left his wife and two sons and is allowed by the group's conventions to visit his house only for a single night in a year. Other members of the order are permitted to divide their time between their families and service to Sikhism. This is the only worldly indulgence permitted to the Bhindranwale disciples for they eat no meat, consume no intoxicants and live a spartan life.

The Bhindranwale taksal traces its origin back to Bhai Mani Singh and Baba Deep Singh who were appointed by Guru Gobind Singh to explain the meanings of the Guru Granth Sahib. The taksal took on the name Bhindranwale from the village of Bhindran from which one of its early leaders, Sant Sundar Singh, hailed. The Mehta Chowk headquarters of the order were established only in 1969.

Q : Some people say that your taksal (religious order) provides protection to criminals.

A: We give sharan (shelter) to the poor, not to zaalims (oppressors). We don't give protection to killers. It is not as if somebody commits a crime and then comes to join our order.

Q: But a lot of non-Sikhs say this.

A: This is a lie that is being spread about us. (At this point, Sant Bhindranwale's aide, Amrik Singh, who was also interpreting the Sant's Punjabi dialect, interjected: "This is not Phoolan Devi's organisation for criminals to join!")

Q: Have any of those accused by the CBI of the assassination of the former Nirankari Baba, Gurbachan Singh, come to you for shelter?

A: Who will come to me? They (CBI) are saying that I am the culprit. (Pause) The Sikhs hold those who have committed zyadit (injustice) responsible (for a crime). The Sikh is never offensive, he never commits injustice nor does he love those who commit injustice.

Q: Why are the Sikhs and the Nirankaris confronting each other all the time?

A: You ask them that.

Q: But why are you personally hostile to them?

A: We are fighting because they condemn our religion. They condemn all religions. They encourage the consumption of intoxicants, they encourage immoral behaviour and do not respect the dignity of women as somebody's sister or daughter. They say that their books Avtarvani and Jug-purush are the only books containing truth.

Q: Did the CBI ever question you about the Nirankari Baba's murder? When?

A: Yes, in May 1980.

Q: What did they ask you?

A: Whatever they asked, I answered, just as I am answering all your questions.

Q: Did they accuse you of a direct involvement in the murder?

A: Puchha si (They asked.) I said I was here, at Mehta Chowk.

Q: Do you think that the people who killed the Nirankari Baba did a good thing or a bad thing?

A: Whoever did it did the right thing.

Q: There was a local newspaper report that you have declared that of the new Nirankari Baba, Hardev Singh, comes to Punjab and goes back alive then you will wear bangles. Did you ever say this?

A: This has been twisted by the newspapers and (words) put into my mouth. I had said something different. I know what you are referring to. It happened at Moga in March 1981. I was at Moga when the Narakdharis ('hell-dwellers,' which is how Sant Bhindranwale's followers refer to the Nirankaris) also decided to hold a function there. The sub-divisional

magistrate and the deputy superintendent of police came to me and asked me to cancel our programme. I told them that was not possible. What I actually said was that if they insult our gurus in front of us, we will not tolerate it because we are not wearing bangles.

Q: Would you say that your comment frightened the Nirankaris? Has Hardev Singh come to Punjab after that?

A: Tell me, why do they have policemen when they hold a function? At every five steps there is a policeman. Then there is a protective wall. Is there any other sant (religious head) in the country who has such police protection? Why do they want it? They call their baba God; their God lives under a police watch. If they say they fear some danger, then they obviously mean us. I say there is no danger. They call their leader guru but a guru should not have any fear. Why don't they carry on preaching and why don't they let us carry on preaching, without bothering about the others.

There are no religious organisations that take police support, but the Nirankaris don't hold a single function without police support. A guru is not frightened of worldly dangers. If he calls himself a guru, why does he demand police protection?

Q: Do you think violence is necessary to solve problems today? Don't you think you can preach only with the teachings of your guru?

A: Both have to be used: preachings and the strong, armed hand of power. Guru Gobind Sahib used both the things. In the Zafarnaama Guru

The Sant with his guards and disciples



Photographs of Sant Bhindranwale's headquarters

Gobind Singh told Aurangzeb: "Choodkar aazhama hitte daar gujast Halal ast burdan bashamsir-e-dast."

Q: Suppose the CBI implicates you and starts proceedings against you, what will you do?

A: When they put any charges we will answer them then.

Q: Has Ranjit Singh (one of the principal suspects in the Nirankari Baba assassination case) come to you for protection?

A: Which Ranjit Singh are you asking about? There are so many Ranjit Singhs in the world.

Q: The Ranjit Singh who has been accused of killing the former Nirankari Baba.

A: No, he has not asked for my protection.

Q: There was a newspaper report (in The Hindustan Times) that Ranjit Singh was seen in your entourage at Amritsar during the anti-tobacco movement?

A: He must have been seen by that newspaperman. Indeed, if he had seen Ranjit Singh he should have told the police and had him arrested. Is that newspaperman also involved in protecting Ranjit Singh?

Q: As head of the Bhindranwale taksal (order) what are your duties and responsibilities?

A: To study Gurbani (the words of the Guru) and to teach it and to initiate people and baptise them (amrit shikona).

Q: How does one join your jatha (group)?

A: Any religious man can join us. Our only condition is that he must believe in Sikhism and leave the consumption of intoxicants. We don't even drink tea.

Q: What other duties do you perform as head of the Bhindranwale order?

A: I preach the Gurbani. I go on tours both in the Punjab and outside to preach, in villages, towns and cities. We decide on the tour programme in advance. For instance, we met here from 27 June to 30 June at Mehta Chowk for the salaana jor mela (get-together) in memory of Baba Kartar Singh and have finalised our programme for the next six months. I am mostly on tour. There are two annual occasions when we must be here at Mehta Chowk and we come here 8 to 10 times in a year. For the rest of the year we tour, spending 5 days to a week in a particular area. The local sangat (Sikh community) arranges for food and we stay with the people, only the people we stay with should not be cooking meat in their house or consuming any intoxicants. The eating of meat is not allowed in our taksal.

Q: What do you do when you are on tour?

A: We hold kirtans (music sessions) of the Gurbani in the morning. After kirtan the meaning of the Guru Granth Sahib is explained and interpreted by me, then we have the katha (stories interpreting Sikh history) from one to three hours. In the afternoon we move to another village. There is one condi-

tion in our jatha, everyone must bathe in the morning and we must eat our meals together.

Q: Do you have a military discipline in your taksal?

A: No, we have public discipline, not military discipline. This comes from Sikh traditions. Whoever comes here must study and serve.

Q: What do you mean by serving?

A: I mean serving the gurudwara. Keep the place clean, help run the kitchen, things like that.

Q: Do your disciples also study the use of guns?

A: No comment. (Sant Bhindranwale's aide Amrik Singh says at this point: "We don't have to teach them to use guns, they learn it on their own.")

Principal suspect

Ranjit Singh, the principal suspect in the Nirankari Baba assassination case lived with his widowed mother and elder brother in Jagatpuri, an east Delhi colony across the Jumuna, till he went underground after the assassination on 24 April 1980. A carpenter by profession, 25-year-old Ranjit Singh learnt to shoot on his own. He has lived in Delhi since boyhood.

Ranjit does not have a long history of association with the Bhindranwale taksal, but he is known to have been a vociferous antagonist of the Nirankari movement. He was an active participant in the anti-Nirankari demonstrations organised in Delhi after the Sikh-Nirankari clash on Basakhi Day, 1978, in Amritsar. It is possible that during this period he established contact with Sant Bhindranwale who spearheads the anti-Nirankari forces in Punjab. The police account of the assassination suggests that Ranjit Singh conned the Nirankaris and managed to get into the Nirankari Bhavan at Delhi.

Q: How many people accompany you on tour?

A: There may be 200 disciples with me on tour.

Q: Are all your companions armed?

A: I am accompanied by students, some of whom may be armed. They come with me as students, not for my protection.

Q: What do you teach your students, apart from the Gurbani?

A: Teach them the use of weapons. No, not guns but the mace, the lathi, the spear, the kirpan — the arms that are worshipped by us in our religion.

Q: Some of your supporters carry guns. Do they have a licence?

A: Yes. All our people who have guns have licences for them.

Q: Do you have a licence yourself? If not, why not?

A: No, I don't have a licence. Because that is my wish.

Q: The Punjab government wants everybody to surrender guns for a temporary period. Will you surrender your guns?

A: No, we will not surrender them.

Q: It might lead to a confrontation with the government?

A: It is for the government to decide if it wants a confrontation.

Q: Why are you against the surrender of arms?

A: This is the law of the Gurmukh. We keep our arms to protect the power to protect our religion, for self-defence and for the defence of the country.

Q: You mention self-defence. Are you frightened about your own life?

A: I don't think about my life. Why should one bother about this mortal life! God almighty will take care of it, he cares for everybody's life. I do not worry about this. Whatever God wills is acceptable to me.

Q: How does a person join your jatha?

A: Parents send their children to study. You know, there are people who dedicate their first son to the service of the gurus. Then when we hold get-togethers in different places, many people are inspired by Gurbani to dedicate their sons. In all cases we take a surety from the parents that the children are obedient and not delinquents. Stealing is not tolerated in our taksal. Of course there are people who have lived wrongly but if they repent then we will help them redeem themselves. If a person does not live according to rules, he can be expelled from the order.

Q: How do you get money to run the organisation?

A: Those who have Guru Gobind Singh to look after them, they get their funds from him. It is my responsibility to meet the demands of the jatha. I may have to beg, borrow or steal. It is my responsibility. My supporters don't have to worry about it.

Q: Were you elected head of the Bhindranwale taksal or were you nominated by your predecessor?

A: I was nominated. All the members of the taksal have to listen to me. When my time comes and I nominate somebody (to succeed me) it is possible that there will be one or two people who will not accept him as the head. They can leave this order and start their own jatha. There is no binding among us.

As the head I have to maintain the discipline of the taksal. If one person does wrong to another, I may ask the victim to punish him—say beat him up. It will be my decision but it has to be accepted by the members of the taksal. And if I commit a mistake, then I too can be punished by the members of the taksal.

I want to tell you one thing. When you go back and write this interview, you must quote me exactly as I answered your questions. Don't change a single word, because you think that something I have said might put me into trouble. If you quote exactly what I have said, I will always stand by it.

A unique case for CBI

Sant Bhindranwale's implication in the Nirankari Baba assassination case may make it the most tedious the CBI has undertaken in its history. Though sources in the home ministry suggest that proceedings against the Sant could well be started in the near future, he will not be an easy man for the authorities to touch. Not only because the Sant is protected by a private army of his own, but also because he enjoys the privileged status of a religious head whose followers are to be found all over rural Punjab.

Sant Bhindranwale was "questioned" by a CBI team on 11 May 1980, 17 days after the assassination, because his name had been mentioned as a suspect in the FIR lodged by the Nirankaris. Moreover, sources say that one of the 11 proclaimed offenders in the case, Jagir Singh, 42, is a close relative of Sant Bhindranwale; probably the Sant's elder brother. Sant Bhindranwale himself is one of the 22 persons wanted for questioning. But any police action against the Sant in this connection could well set Punjab afire with yet another of those religious wars the Sikhs have fought with the "kings" of Delhi. Thus, the decision to proceed against the Sant will have to be a political one taken at the highest levels in New Delhi.

The CBI investigation has now moved into a difficult nuts-and-bolts stage. Of the 11 proclaimed offenders, only one, Tarlochan Singh, about 40 years old, has been arrested. He was picked up by the Punjab police from his village home in Uttad, Ferozpur district. As soon as news of Tarlochan Singh's arrest reached Sant Bhindranwale's camp, the Sant went "underground (17 June)." He was to "surface" shortly thereafter and attend the *saalana jhor mela* at Mehta Chowk (40 km off Amritsar) during 27-29 June. When we went to interview Sant Bhindranwale at Mehta Chowk on 30 June, at least three police shadows could be spotted on the main road a kilometre away from the *gurudwara*.

The investigating agency and the Punjab police have a picture of what happened but have not been able to locate the other ten offenders they want to arrest. The average age of the 11 offenders is 29. The wheat-complexioned Ranjit Singh, alleged to be the main link in the conspiracy, is only 25. The youngest is Kabul Singh, 20. The other proclaimed offenders are Gian Singh, 39, Major Singh, 32, Jagir Singh, 42, Gurmukh Singh, 32, Bhola Singh alias Bhalla Singh, 28, Dalbir Singh, 31, Nand Singh, 32, and Thakur Singh, 28. The CBI also has a list of 22 persons wanted for questioning. Taking over the probe on 26 April 1980, the CBI has arrested five of the 22. These are Avtar Singh, Charanjit Singh, Gian Singh (a different person from the proclaimed offender), Lakha Singh alias Lakhbir Singh and Kundan Singh. Police shadows are spread all over Punjab, keeping track of those wanted, at their villages and homes, but to little avail so far.

Most of the "wanted" men are still in India (there was one newspaper report that Ranjit Singh was working as a barber in Bombay) but they have slipped into the sea of the Sikh people. More specifically, there have been reports that some of them are members of Sant Bhindranwale's entourage.

If members of the Bhindranwale *raksal* are indeed involved, the investigators will also face another problem as Bhindranwale's followers are not likely to break down easily during interrogation. Bred along puritanical lines, they see themselves as the defenders of the Sikh faith. The answers that Sant Bhindranwale himself gave last May when the CBI spoke to him were reportedly as elusive then as those he gave SUNDAY on 30 June. At the time the CBI was groping in the dark. Now, with more evidence in its hands and more leads to follow, will the CBI speak to him again? It is possible that Sant Bhindranwale is on the way to becoming one more martyr of a faith which prides itself on the many it has had in the past. Is that his ultimate ambition?

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Jaipur's Marxist basti

It is called Mazdoor Nagar and over 800 families of labourers, factory workers and clerks have built it on land belonging to VIPs in defiance of attempts to evict them. Madhu Jain and Sanjay Mitra visited the basti.

Photographs are by Sondeep Shankar



A view of Mazdoor Nagar

IT was 11 in the morning. The police jeep had just turned the corner towards Mazdoor Nagar, a *basti* in Jaipur. Immediately a bell rang loudly. A moment later hundreds of children, women and men materialised with sticks and stones in their hands—as if from nowhere. Instantly, the *basti* was transformed into an impregnable fortress—the drawbridge was up. The policemen froze where they were, as the children, a formidable army of 500, took up positions in front of the adults, shouting, “Comrade Lal salaam.”

The bell of Mazdoor Nagar only rings for two reasons: fire or police. It tolls more often for the latter as the police have made several attempts to evict the people from this kilometre long stretch of illegally-occupied land which belongs, among others, to Rajasthan's former CM Jagannath Pahadia, Chandanmal Vaid and former CM, B. S. Shekhawat's nephew. In fact, the list of about 20 people who own plots of land in Mazdoor Nagar reads like a political Who's Who of Rajasthan. The ministers and politicians want their land back. But the 800-odd families who occupy it have organised themselves—spontaneously at first and with the help of the CPI(M) later.

It all started in October 1977 when Narain Singh Tamar, a cycle rickshaw puller was thrown out of a rented room because he did not pay the rent on the first of the month. Tamar then built the first mud hut on the unused land of the Urban Improvement Trust. On the same day B. L. Bangalia, a clerk in a government office who had problems with his landlord, and some other workers came to squat on this land. On the first day itself 20 rooms were constructed. It takes about one hour to build the house and costs only Rs 500. Traders usually surface with the necessary materials and workers often sell their women's ornaments to raise money. And Tamar organised other workers to come and settle in Mazdoor Nagar. Gradually the *basti* grew. After a month there was a colony of 100 families. Within three months, there were 600 families, each with a six feet by 13 feet room on a piece of land measuring eight square feet. Tamar is still their leader, but Lenin is their inspiration.

The highly organised community of about 5,000 people is a tightly knit, self-contained little world in which loyalty is fierce and the cooperative spirit a must. No trespassers are allowed. They also have their own system of justice: a panchayat presided over by the president of the *basti* committee and elders of the community. Recently they expelled three auto-rickshaw drivers who had raped a girl.

Necessity certainly seems to be the mother of invention here. And fraternity has helped it along. Since the *basti* is unauthorised, there were initially no water connections, electricity or telephone lines. But among residents of the *basti* were electricians, people working for the public works department and government officials. Enterprising workers re-

trieved broken pipes and faucets and installed their own water connections. They even tapped the main electricity supply and telephone lines. The state government has now given them two water connections, but they still supplement these with their own. There is no dearth of water in Mazdoor Nagar.

Fifty per cent of residents are government employees, and include police constables. Thirty per cent comprise big industry workers, 10 per cent are small scale industry workers, two per cent are petty traders and the remaining eight per cent are labourers—cycle rickshaw pullers, sweepers etc.

Initially, they even set up their own school. This has now been authorised by the government up to the eighth class. When it first started, the *basti* dwellers employed a teacher from the *basti* itself for Rs 200 a month. The CPI(M), the force behind Mazdoor Nagar, also sends some of its members to teach.

Police and government officials are

not the only unwelcome guests in Mazdoor Nagar. The *basti* closes in on itself with the bristliness of a porcupine whenever an outsider appears. Luckily for us, children, no matter how well-trained and organised, are still children. As soon as our jeep stopped in front of Mazdoor Nagar, hordes of children descended upon us with loud salutes of “Comrade Lal salaam” and allowed us into the *basti*. It is only the bell that sets off a Pavlovian reaction. And so, we entered Mazdoor Nagar. There are broad streets between the huts. The goats and buffaloes give the *basti* a rural look. The houses have septic tanks (we were told later that the residents clean their own bathrooms; there are no sweepers for this task). Mazdoor Nagar has two temples (one for Ganesh and one for Ramdevi, a Meena tribe god) and a *gurdwara*. There are also 30 Muslim families. But soon the adults appeared, following us at a distance with sullen faces. The photographer's camera was making them uneasy. Unfortunately, Narain Tamar and the other “leaders” were



The Mazdoor Nagar school which was started by the residents of the *basti*



Chanderjit and other chota leaders outside their office

too busy organising workers elsewhere. Rameshwari, Tamar's wife had just come home after leading a Janwadi Mahila Samithi demonstration against a nearby factory. But she was initially hesitant to speak as we had to see a "leader" first.

The bell, she said, was out of bounds; it was in the custody of the Janwadi Samithi. Could we not at least hear it ring? "No, it will be too dangerous. People will come and you might get hurt. We have told them that the bell will only be rung when there is danger. When it rings, everybody has to leave what they are doing, whether they are lighting the *chulas* or relieving themselves, and start running—even the smallest child..." said Rameshwari.

The children are no less organised than their parents. Mazdoor Nagar has its Janwadi Baccha Sabha. Chanderjit Shekhawat, 12, was elected its president a year ago. He takes the business of being *chota* leader very seriously indeed. He led us quite proudly to his party office. Three large photographs of Lenin and a small one of Marx hung on the walls. Stealing some of Lenin's

thunder was Amitabh Bachchan. Amitabh Bachchan, of course cuts across all party lines. There were also photographs of Chanderjit's parents on the wall and his favourite slogan: "Don't beg, change the world." The Sabha president wants to be Rashtrapati when he grows up. It is from this hut that the study cells are organised. "We learn how to clean the *maidan*, how to protect ourselves and the smaller children from the police, how to form processions, work in the *basti*," said Chanderjit who also keeps a diary in which he lists all the party work. One of the items in it is about making sure that the teachers are good. Said the ambitious young president, "If you pay the teachers more, they teach better..." No Parents-Teachers' Association needed here. Chanderjit obviously practises what he preaches: when the photographer took his picture, Chanderjit insisted that all his "comrades" (only the workers mind you) be photographed too. Their bright red hammer and sickle flag had to be in the picture as well.

How was the *basti* started, we asked Waqar—Ul-Haq, general secret-

ary of the Kacchi Basti Federation in Jaipur. "Some traders and politicians got together and made a society. They gave a *kisan* Rs 4,000 or Rs 5,000 for his land—it is still in the revenue records—and then sold it to these politicians as agricultural land for only Rs 1.25 a square yard. That was in 1955. But they had still not built anything until 1977 because they thought that in the new town plan there would be another Civil Lines. This is very valuable land..." Pride flitted for a moment on the intense face of Haq as he described the *basti*: "There are flush latrines in each hut. Each hut also has its own little garden for vegetables and a tree. They are clean. There is human dignity here. We want all *kacchi bastis* to be like this. Our government has no scheme; but we do. Let them ask us."

Meanwhile, the *basti* continues to grow. "Those politicians may have bought the land; but if they did not build their houses in 1955 when they first got it, they don't really need the land now," says a surly resident. "We do—and we will never leave." *Comrade lal salaam!*



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The opium smugglers of Barabanki

SAUMITRA BANERJEE and SANTOSH BHARTIYA went to this backward district of UP to find out how they ply their trade.



Poppy pods: Barabanki's source of wealth

From a distance Tekra, a village in UP's Barabanki district, about 20 kms from the district headquarters, is like any other village in a backward district of the state: there are no roads, only dirt tracts, there is no electricity, skinny cattle roam in the fields and there is no proper system of irrigation. But it is only on entering the village that a visitor realises the difference between this village and the thousands of other villages that dot UP. For, behind a clump of trees and huts lies a different civilisation: they give way to huge three-storeyed concrete buildings; instead of bullock carts, the houses have cars standing in the portico (in front of one of the houses there were three cars waiting, including a Russian Volga, all belong-

ing to one family); the furnishing is modern—complete with television sets. We found six television sets in the village, all run by tractor batteries.

The source of Tekra's wealth is not far to seek: opium smuggling. Barabanki is the biggest opium-producing district in UP, producing more than half the total opium from UP and a large portion of it finds its way out of the district—not through government agencies but clandestinely smuggled out to the major cities of India from where it reaches the international ports. Tekra, as also its adjoining village, Tiera, are notorious in the district for their ill-gotten wealth.

Though large scale smuggling of opium is a relatively recent phenomenon in Barabanki, its production is not. One of the seven districts of UP

producing opium (the others being Lucknow, Rae Bareilly, Shahjehanpur, Bareilly, Azamgarh and Faizabad), Barabanki has been producing this crop since the days of the British raj under a royal enactment. For the growers of opium, this has always been a lucrative business. As the Gazetteer of Barabanki, 1921 says, "The people generally appreciate the advantages of this crop (opium), for the advances provide them with cash at a season when it is most required."

For the British too it proved to be a profitable business as most of the opium produced was shipped off to China. However, after independence, the production of opium has been reduced and, as before 1947, opium continues to be produced under licence. There are now about 30,000 licensed growers in Barabanki, cultivating an area of about 7,000 hectares, spread over 1,000 villages. But what makes the opium produced in Barabanki distinct from the opium produced in other parts of UP (and accounts for its tremendous demand) is its high percentage of morphine content. Whereas the morphine content in opium produced in other parts of UP ranges from eight to ten per cent, that in the Barabanki opium is 16 to 22 per cent—comparable to the opium produced in the Golden Triangle (Thailand, Burma and Laos). It is also for this reason that Barabanki's opium fetches tremendously high prices in the black market.

The "opium season" begins in September every year, when the growers apply for licences to the Central Bureau of Narcotics. A licence is given only to a person who has in the previous year produced at least 25 kgs of opium per hectare. Once the licence is procured, the seeds are sown. At around the same time, an inspector from the bureau goes to the fields and measures the acreage under production to ensure that excess opium is not produced. A *nambardar* is also appointed for every village to supervise the cultivation of opium. Within three months of the seeds being sown, the opium is ready to be extracted from the opium pods. Slits are made in the pods and 24 hours later, the juice is collected. Once the juice is collected from the pods it coagulates to form opium.

Every day after the opium is collected, the grower takes the consignment to the *nambardar* who weighs it and notes the amount in his register. After this, the grower returns to his house with the opium where it is stored. By the end of April, the collection of opium is over and sold to the narcotics bureau. It is then taken to the opium factory in Ghazipur for processing. The bureau pays about Rs 120 per kg of opium to the growers who produce around 25 to 30 kgs of opium per hectare and Rs 220 to growers who produce 50 to 60 kgs of opium per hectare. The reason: an incentive to farmers not to indulge in smuggling. Though the bureau authorities were tight-lipped about the

amount of opium produced, in 1980, just one of the three divisions in Barabanki produced 58,000 kgs of opium.

But this is only the facade behind which, an entirely different scene operates. To begin with, the amount that reaches the opium factory at Ghazipur, is less than half the quantity that is produced in the district. Every year, at around the time when the opium seeds are sown, a different set of people approach the growers: agents of smugglers based in Lucknow, Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay. They approach the growers, tell them the amount of opium they require (which runs into quintals), select the quality they want and make an advance payment. The amount they pay for the opium is, of course, far more than that paid by the government: Rs 1,000 per kg. The grower assures them that the opium would be delivered.

But how does the grower manage to supply such large consignments of opium to smugglers when they cultivate under licence, and the amount of opium grown is turned over to the narcotics bureau? It is here that the corruption in the bureau comes in. As one cultivator frankly said, "*Jab adhikari log paise lete hain, to sab kuch sambhav hai* (when the authorities take bribes, everything is possible)."

It all begins at the time of granting licences to the cultivator. Even to get a licence (which, for the cultivator, is a passport to wealth) a cultivator has often to bribe the licensing authority. For, a licence can be refused easily enough, as the authorities can always tamper with the books and show that the cultivator had not produced enough opium the previous year to qualify for a licence. Next, and more important, is bribing the inspector who comes to measure the land on which the opium is sown. According to a senior administrative official in Barabanki almost all cultivators grow opium on areas exceeding the limits permitted under the licence: "This is obviously with the connivance of the inspector who goes to measure the land."

Again, the *nambardar* who supervises the cultivation is, more often than not, corrupt. He too takes a slice of the profits when the daily procurement of opium is measured, by entering in his register a lesser amount of opium than which the cultivator has collected. Thus a cultivator, who on record shows that he has cultivated about 25 kgs of opium per hectare, has in fact cultivated double that amount and the balance is sold to smugglers.

But often, in order to avoid paying the *nambardar*, the cultivators themselves store away a portion of their yield without the knowledge of the local narcotics authorities. This is done in two ways. First, at the time of collecting the opium from the pods the entire amount is not taken to the *nambardar* for registering. Some amount of it is kept away. Second, the cultivators take advantage of the fact that the opium, after being measured,

is taken away by them and stored at home. What these cultivators do is to hide the bulk of the opium either in some part of the village where the police are unlikely to look for it or keep it with a relative or friend in another village and then lodge a complaint with the police that the opium has been stolen. The Barabanki police records show that most crimes registered with them occur between the months of March and May—the time of collecting the opium from the pods!

Once the illegal opium has been collected, the next task is to smuggle the opium out of the district, through a network of police checks. Around the end of April and the beginning of May, the agents who had made the initial contacts again visit the cultivators—this time to collect the opium. The balance payment is made and the cultivators hand over the opium to the agents who then prepare to take the opium to three places: Lucknow, Calcutta, and Bombay.



The narrow road leading to Tiera

What is interesting are the ways in which the opium is smuggled out of the district. Most of the opium is taken by road to various destinations—cleverly hidden in cars. The opium is concealed in false roofs, welded in below the engine, kept in extra petrol tanks specially fitted for the purpose, inside tyres and in special attachments inside the seats. The amount of opium which is taken out in cars at one time can be as much as five quintals. Another way of taking opium out of the district is on motor-cycles. This has proved to be very effective as often motor-cycles avoid the metal roads.

A method which is now being commonly used to transport opium is through animals. Opium is neatly packed in polythene packets and

shoved into the anus of bullocks. The animals are then starved and taken out of the district to safety. Besides, there are numerous other methods of smuggling opium, which are normally resorted to by small-time smugglers: small amounts of the stuff are sent through women, who are rarely frisked, in VIP convoys as they are never checked, in dead bodies and in consignments of sarees. Once the opium reaches the cities, their rates go up by as much as six to eight times. One kg of opium, in Lucknow for instance, would cost about Rs 6,000.

But none of the gang-leaders is himself directly involved in the smuggling. The gang leaders remain in the cities while most of the work is done by their agents. Even the cars used for smuggling are not registered in their names. They are registered in the names of people in their pay. They simply gather the profits and organise the smuggling—even on the international level.

The local agents make enough from the deals to live more than comfortably. A person who was a truck-driver in Barabanki six years ago is now the owner of six trucks and has a house of his own. A petty sweetmeat seller, is now the owner of a three-storeyed house. Opium smuggling has obviously become a very lucrative business for the people in the backward district of Barabanki.

What cannot be denied is the connivance, not only of the narcotics authorities, but also of the local police in this smuggling. As a senior government official commented: "It is impossible to smuggle out so much of opium without the knowledge of the police." As a matter of fact, the police and the narcotics officials vie with each other to get a larger share of the profits from smuggling. There have even been cases when policemen have harassed smugglers simply because the pay-offs to narcotics authorities had been greater. Nor is there any effort to take action against the smugglers. In 1977, only four cases of smuggling were registered by the narcotics bureau while in 1979, it rose to a paltry 17. This in spite of the fact that in villages where opium is grown, almost everyone is involved, in some way or the other, in smuggling. Another reason why smugglers get away with their crimes, is the fact that they receive protection from politicians—in return for financing election campaigns.

Though there have been instances of both policemen and narcotics officials being transferred out of Barabanki because of suspected connivance with smugglers, these are only stray cases. In a majority of cases no action is taken against them. From the narcotics bureau, three officials of the rank of inspector have been repeatedly posted to Barabanki, in spite of their being transferred out of Barabanki under a cloud. There are ten sub-inspectors of the bureau who have been in Barabanki for the past ten years. Can one really expect that smuggling will be checked? ■

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**EXCLUSIVE
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BY KULDIP NAYAR

Why Rajneesh could not buy land in Kutch

I had long been curious about why Rajneesh never got the land he wanted to buy in Kutch. That he desperately needed the land was clear. His Ashram at Pune was bursting at the seams with people pouring in from all over the world. He had no dearth of money, his affluent followers from abroad had deposited in a bank much more than what he would require for a large estate. And there was a former Maharaja, who owned land in Kutch, and was keen to sell it. Rajneesh offered him many times more than he could have hoped to get.

But though there were *chelas* (disciples) of Rajneesh among government officials in Ahmedabad, and New Delhi eager to help him the deal fell through. That an apparently harmless property transaction, should have been derailed was so strange that I decided to investigate. I picked up the thread from the reference the Gujarat government made to New Delhi to seek its opinion of the proposed deal.

Rajneesh, with his exhortation to his followers to cast off inhibitions and his message of free love, has always been a controversial figure. But what made the Gujarat government refer the matter to the centre was not the fear that he might spread what many considered his sinful ways round the countryside but because most of his disciples were foreigners. When the proposal went to the defence ministry it was rejected. The "saints" could not be allowed to go marching into Kutch, an area of strategic importance. Among Rajneesh's followers many were considered 'security risks.' I do not know whether the defence ministry had found some of them 'undesirable' on verifying their antecedents or whether the decision was mainly

because, as a rule, foreigners are kept out of border areas.

As usual there were pressures on the defence ministry to drop its objections. But it did not. The file went up to the Prime Minister and she saw no reason to change the decision. Rajneesh could well have expected her to intervene since he was one of the prime drummers for her authoritarian methods during the Emergency. He had often told his followers, even during the Janata regime, that what India needed was a dictator for two decades, and she fitted the bill.

There were several in the Gujarat government who were disappointed with the centre's decision. But what caused a sense of outrage was that the defence ministry in its note mentioned the involvement of two Gujarat ministers in the deal. In fact the ministry named them for good measure. My information is that the state government's only objection was that the ministers were named—not that they were involved in the deal

with the former Maharaja owning the land. No inquiry was instituted into their conduct nor was the allegation brought to their notice formally. The ministers are still in office. Maybe the defence ministry's suspicion of their involvement in Rajneesh's activities or the Maharaja's affairs is not correct. But the matter should have been pursued and dropped after the appropriate agencies had investigated and cleared them. The whole thing is too fishy to be left thus.

After losing the land in Kutch, Rajneesh tried to buy Chail, a hill station in Himachal Pradesh. Chail was once under the Maharaja of Patiala. He had bought it when he was ousted from Simla after having been indiscreet enough to make a pass at the daughter of the then Viceroy. The Maharaja had sworn at that time that he would have a hill station to rival Simla with its lights visible from the Viceroy's summer capital. (On a clear night Chail's lights can be seen in Simla but it is unlikely that this caused any envy.)

Chail became the property of Punjab after the reorganisation of states. When the Punjabi-speaking state was formed, Chail went to Himachal Pradesh. The successors to the Maharaja of Patiala have some personal property in Chail but they did not own the town—a fact that Rajneesh was to know after he had approached the Maharani of Patiala, now a BJP Rajya Sabha Member, with an offer to buy the town. Rajneesh's followers had even planned to have their "experiences" out in the open at the Chail cricket ground, said to be the highest in the world.

Now that Rajneesh has "disappeared"—his followers cannot or will not say where he has gone—one does not know whether he has given up his plan to buy land in India. In God's own country he seems to have found it difficult to get God's little acre.

Rajneesh disciples casting off inhibitions in the Pune ashram



RAJNEESH FOUNDATION

LEFT FRONT CINEMA

The West Bengal government has started what seems to have become an excellent food-for-little-work programme to help a select group of filmmakers. The idea has its merits; the implementation leaves a few things to be desired. Malabika Bhattacharya reports.

Sharon Prabhakar and Anil Kapoor in Sathyu's *Kahan Kahan Se Guzar Gaye*

3 June 1981: an advertisement appears in leading Calcutta dailies. The advertiser: the department of information and cultural affairs, West Bengal government. Wanted: distributors for films produced by the government of West Bengal. The list includes two full length feature films, *Jhor*, directed by Utpal Dutta (made in 1979), and *Nagpash*, directed by Rajen Tarafdar (made in 1980). Also available are four features and two short films for children, all completed in 1980. The 3 June advertisement is not the first, only the latest, and if anything, has written in between its every line the plight of the West Bengal government, fruitlessly searching for distributors for the films on which it has sunk good taxpayers' money.

Since it came to power in May '77 the West Bengal Left Front government has followed a liberal film fi-

nance policy. Other than the films directly produced by it (listed in the 3 June advertisement) it has partly subsidised through grants-in-aid a large number of films which are either still incomplete, or gathering dust in the studios. And the recovery position for the money invested? "Near disastrous," says Mr Swapan Dutta, joint director, films, West Bengal. "In most cases we have failed to get back our money. Out of the Rs 33.24 lakhs released (as loans) only Rs five lakhs have been recovered. Even a director like Mrinal Sen is yet to repay the loan of Rs 80,000 given to him for the Hindi dubbing of his Telugu film *Oka Oori Katha*." In a single financial year (1977-78), the government sanctioned and spent an unprecedented Rs68 lakhs on 11 feature films (of which six are children's films) and a number of documentaries and newsreels.

In comparison to this, there are only two other previous instances of the West Bengal government helping out a filmmaker. And on both occasions the director concerned was Satyajit Ray. In the Fifties, when Ray ran out of money halfway through his maiden film, *Pather Panchali* the then chief minister, Dr B. C. Roy, personally intervened and sanctioned Rs 2.55 lakhs from the PWD budget to help complete the film. Almost 20 years later, in 1974, the state government once again took the initiative through its information minister Mr Subrata Mukherjee and undertook the production of *Sonar Kella*, a children's film by Ray.

Why has the Left Front government entered into commitments on this scale in films? When the government came to power the Bengal film industry was in a shambles, the studios and the technicians were gasping, and what seemed worse was that the little work that they had was wasted on the Bengali melodrama that had become the hallmark of the West Bengal film industry. Acutely conscious of this situation, the government entered the film scene with the ambitious programme of producing films, giving financial assistance to new and talented filmmakers, and helping the total Bengal film industry.

The government has produced 11 films so far: all of them have been completed, but only three of the 11 have reached the theatres. They are: Satyajit Ray's *Hirak Rajar Deshe* (A sequel to the earlier *Goopi Gaven Bagha Bayen*), Tarun Majumdar's *Ganadevata* and Mrinal Sen's *Para-*





Mamata Shankar

shuram The others are lying in cold storage: the distribution-exhibition bottleneck has successfully frustrated the politicians' efforts.

The distributors in West Bengal have, traditionally, controlled the exhibition system. And the distributors, inevitably, have shown more faith in the lucrative Hindi fantasies and the insipid Bengali melodramas (the latter, in fact, have been slowly going into oblivion under the increasing impact of the former). Only 11 halls out of the 100 in Calcutta screen Bengali films—that too irregularly. The leftist boss of today's film policy, Mr Buddhadev Bhattacharya, the minister for information and cultural affairs, West Bengal, himself admits, that "EIMPA (Eastern India Motion Pictures Association, the producers and distributors guild) represents the most powerful and the most vicious circle in West Bengal."

So, the one point on which filmmakers and government officials seem to agree is that the distribution situation should have been tackled first and then the production programme and financial assistance could have come. After all, what is the point of making films if they can't be shown? They become total losses. Says director Tarun Majumdar, who has several box-office hits to his credit, "To promote good films is fine. But if these films do not reach the audience the whole exercise becomes futile. There is also a time factor about the gap between production and release. If a film like *Jhor* is released two years later, interest wanes, with the publicity buildup around the making of the film lost, and with new films affecting the film scene as a whole."

While most critics of the state government's film policy charge the government with lack of wisdom in plunging into filmmaking before building up an infrastructure to ensure the release of the films, Mr Buddhadev Bhattacharya, the state information minister has a ready answer: "It's not true

to say that we didn't have any perspective planning. In July 1979 we had drafted the distribution bill to guarantee the compulsory screening of Bengali films in every theatre in the state for 12 weeks in a year. And we do have our priorities fixed. We have initiated several infrastructural activities already. For example, a colour lab, an art theatre, a plan for a string of new theatres, in the cities and in the rural areas and more modern equipments for filmmaking.

There has been a spurt in infrastructural activities very recently, most probably out of the sense of frustration created by the heavy stock of films in cans. The state has now launched a programme in collaboration with the NFDC (National Film Development Corporation) for the construction of new cinema halls. Two plots of land have already been acquired by the government under this scheme, one in north Calcutta and another in the south. One of the properties, however, seems to be involved in litigation. Official sources themselves admitted that it will take a minimum of two years to have at least two halls in Calcutta alone. It is well known that Bengali films still get most of their returns from theatres outside Calcutta, and particularly the ones in the district towns. Obviously just two new theatres in Calcutta two years hence will not make much of a change in the overall situation. It will, however, be a start, providing Bengali cinema eventually with a chain of theatres beyond the dubious machinations of the distributor-exhibitor. However, the present mess in the film policy can hardly be excused. Money is still being spent on new productions, films are piling up; which means losses are piling up.

What is worse is that some favoured filmmakers are using this film policy to earn easy cash. The government offers grants-in-aid—straight subsidies, not loans, ranging from Rs one to two lakhs for black and white films to Rs 1.5 lakhs to 3 lakhs for colour films. This is the scheme which has come under the severest criticisms. With little control over the quality, the government cannot always justify a grant on grounds of support to artistic work. "There are instances galore," says Mr Subrata Sen Sharma, the general secretary of the Federation of Film Technicians and Workers in eastern India, "when the government has given money to people who are not good filmmakers. A person can be a good Marxist or a progressive, but it doesn't follow that he is also a good filmmaker." The previous film advisory board had been too casual in choosing people for grants and loans. No criteria had been set out, even to judge the potentiality of the filmmaker, and this explains why most of the subsidised films were rotten. Besides, some "progressives" have simply not bothered to make films with the money they have got from the government—preferring to build houses for themselves with public money.

Actually, most of Bengal's filmmak-



A shot from *A Seventh Man*

A Seventh Man.

The Left Front government clearly believes that documentaries can be a powerful medium for social comments. One such attempt is Anwar Rasheed Khan's *A Seventh Man (Common Destiny)*, a 40-minute colour documentary on Calcutta's Muslim population. The film takes its title and inspiration from John Berger's book on immigrant workers in Europe.

Muslims constitute 14.6 per cent of Calcutta's population. "So every seventh man in the city is a Muslim," says the director. "The film deals with the seventh man's continued presence, his historical link with the city, how he has contributed enormously to the life of the city and how his fate is indivisibly linked with the other six."

The entire film has been shot on location and has, therefore, achieved a high degree of authenticity: nothing has been recreated or arranged. And the film also delves into history to discover how the Muslim community dug roots in Calcutta. The paintings of Attkins, Doyley, Daniel and Zofany add a visual richness to the historical narration. Rasheed Khan's musical talents are well known. He did a fine TV documentary on the classical singer Amir Khan and gave music direction in the award winning film *Dootatwa*. He has lived up to this reputation in the music created for this documentary. Particularly powerful are the compositions that accompany the intercuts, that switch from the past to the present.

The message is that real integration between the seventh man and the other six is possible only at the work place. And any hope of betterment for the seventh man lies in the chances of a general betterment.

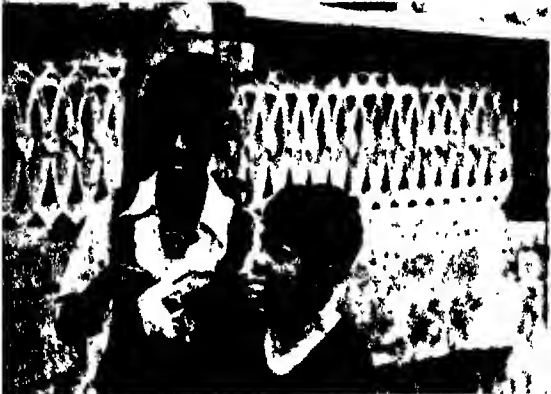


Sandhya Roy in Rajen Tarafdar's Nagpash



A love scene in Moina Tandanta

A still from Megher Khela



Pradip Mukherjee in Dooratwa



ers still have to go for their funds to the all powerful distributors. Says director Tarun Majumder: 'I don't know how far the filmmakers are being helped under the system but I'm sure that the distributors have gained a lot.' If the filmmaker has to go back to the distributor for two-thirds of the money, the one-third from the government just makes no difference. In fact, the distributors are quite happy with the government's grants policy. For the four lakhs per film that they would have had to spend earlier they are now spending just three lakhs.

The Left Front government has, commendably, risen above narrow pro-

vincial and sectarian considerations, and also financed a few good filmmakers from other states who were interested in making films in West Bengal about West Bengal's problems. While director Shyam Benegal has been given Rs 14.5 lakhs to make a film on the plight of the sharecroppers, M. S. Sathyu of Garam Hawa fame has been given a grant of Rs 3 lakhs to make his Kahan Kahan Se Guzar Gaya.

While Benegal and Sathyu's filmmaking in West Bengal has made big news in Calcutta and in the rest of India, the technicians here are not quite happy over this piece of benevo-

"We need quality, not quantity"

Q: Since the Left Front government came to power in West Bengal it has been taking a keen interest in the development of the Bengal film industry as well as in the promotion of good films. Has it been successful?

A: I believe that the Left Front government has done more than any other government in the past to save the life of the Bengal film industry and at the same time has been striving to improve the quality of the films. This, indeed, is commendable. But what I find confusing is that the present government is taking up the job of giving incentive to the commercial film industry and promoting the cause of the socially relevant cinema simultaneously. This will defeat the purpose of the government. Why not come out openly and stand by good cinema alone?

Q: Is it essential for the government to produce films by Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen and Shyam Benegal? Firstly they have producers eager to finance their films anyway and secondly they would make good films for any producer, be it the government or any private producer since they are just incapable of making bad films.

A: True, it is more important for the government to promote new filmmakers rather than invite the established directors to make films. The money spent on the veterans could certainly be used to groom new talents. But then the government is doing that too. For instance the three-in-one package being directed by three new directors. All this is highly stimulating and in Indian context absolutely new.

Q: Do you think the government is handling the whole show amateurishly?

A: I wouldn't say amateurish: I would prefer to call it over-enthusiasm and over-enthusiasm often leads to adventurism, rather mis-adventurism. The subsidy of Rs one lakh or Rs 1.5 lakhs is by any conceivable standard absolutely meaningless. Perhaps the government will have the satisfaction of giving subsidies to a large number

Mrinal Sen tells Malabika Bhattacharya

of filmmakers. The policymakers should realise that what we need is quality and not quantity. Besides as far as I know most of the filmmakers who have been given subsidies have failed to complete their films. I also do not understand why the government is consistently encouraging big budget films. In West Bengal except in very special cases the budget must not exceed Rs eight lakhs and for black and white it should be less. There should be an aesthetic approach to filmmaking. It's important to prove that filmmaking is not an expensive affair as the movie moghals think it to be and that it is nobody's monopoly. So a low budget film is not only economically viable, it is also morally and aesthetically right. If someone wants to make a film with big money let him go to a private producer. Surprisingly the commercial producers in West Bengal rarely spend so much money on a single film as the government has been doing. I think the government is setting a very bad example.

Q: Do you think the government is doling out money to people without judging their merits? Are they trying to please a certain section of people?

A: Perhaps. I know a lot of people who have got the government money about whom I don't feel safe at all. I really don't know why they were given money. What I feel is that the government should take a partisan stand and stand by good cinema. Let them give financial assistance to a smaller number of films but good films.

Q: The Left Front government has taken the second step before taking the first. Wouldn't it have been better for the industry if the government had gone into the in-

lence on the part of the state government. Mr Sen Sharma takes up the issue of the technicians when he says, "We are very much against this policy. Shyam Benegal and Sathyu have brought over their whole shooting unit with them, including the actors for all the major roles. They have not taken any of our technicians, not even a production manager." If commercial producers can impose even reasonable conditions on filmmakers one sees no reason why the government could not have insisted on this condition, that the technicians from the state should be employed on all the projects financed or subsidised by the govern-

ment. Answering complaints that a Benegal film would have found a producer anytime anywhere and did not need the patronage of the government of West Bengal, Mr Swapan Dutta said: "The kind of film Benegal wanted to make could only be made under this government. I doubt if any other producer would have been interested in this kind of films."

The newly constituted film development board seems to be aware of such problems, and it has been trying to formulate a more rational policy that will take account of the grievances, demands, and suggestions that come from the industry.

infrastructural activities first before going into productions and financial assistance?

A: If I were given a choice I would have gone into the infrastructural activities first. The infrastructure has been totally ignored. The desire to make good films is already in the air and so the good films would have been made even without the government's financial support. So it would have been much more constructive if the government had zeroed in on the infrastructure. For instance, a large number of halls have to be constructed, the studios have to be provided with modern equipments. Ultimately you have to widen your market and for that you need to make films which are technically good. The government has been planning to set up a colour lab for the last three years but nothing has materialised so far.

Q: Your Parashuram couldn't get a release for a long time. Did you face any distribution problem?

A: True, not many distributors are interested in my kinds of films. So there might have been some problem in finding a distributor. But it is difficult for me to accept that there was no distributor at all. Anyway the distributor who finally came forward and obtained the distribution right of the film from the

government was hopeless: he was most reluctant to spend money even on prints. He released the first print which in addition to technical irregularities was severely damaged for reasons known only to the government. I have a feeling the government is not bothered to get good distributors for their own productions. The government is rather callous or maybe they do not have enough efficient people

Q: Do you believe that the newly constituted film development board will have the last say? Or will it be the government which will ultimately take the decision?

A: The government, simply because the committee can only recommend. And what is true of the state governments is also true of the central government.

Q: Do you have any plan to make a film with the government in the near future?

A: No, not in the near future. I strongly feel that the less the state government or the central government thinks of us, the better. Let them leave us alone.

Q: The Left Front is operating within parliamentary democracy. It is difficult for them to pursue any long term policy. Don't you think they are basically interested in the image build-up and also to pay dividends to the loyalists who have served the interest of the parties?

A: I don't think so. The government is pretty serious about films. You are of course free to debate its stand on various issues but that is a different matter. I have been in disagreement with the government on certain issues but I am not a fool to claim that I am infallible. And the loyalists you are talking about are always prepared to stand by the party in power and out of power. If a rapport is built up between the government and a certain individual who serves the interest of the government, the government can very well feel, 'Well, why not him? Give him a chance to make a film.' And that's that. Image build-up? Well, if I continue to make good films I build an image of my own. If the government continues to perform well an image is justifiably built up. What's wrong with it as long as the intentions are good?



Mamata Shankar in Gautam Ghosh's Amma



Still from Shyam Benegal's new film

NEMAI GHOSH





YOU KNOW, FATHER, MAJESTIX REALLY DID ACT IN A MANNER WORTHY OF A CHIEF!

ALL THINGS CONSIDERED, I MUST ADMIT HE CARRIED IT OFF IN STYLE!



WE'LL GET THEM THIS TIME, ASTERIX!!!

NO, OBELIX! IT COULD PUT MAJESTIX AND HIS WARRIORS IN DANGER!



A LITTLE LATER...

DON'T WORRY, MELODRAMA! IF MY FATHER WILL AGREE, WE'LL ORGANIZE A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ROMANS TO FREE OUR FELLOW VILLAGERS!

WE MUST DO SOMETHING, HISTRIONIX!

I CERTAINLY AGREE! MAJESTIX MAY BE MY OPPONENT, BUT I DON'T WANT HIM USING HIS SACRIFICE AS AN ARGUMENT AT THE POLLS!



WAIT A MOMENT! I'VE GOT A BETTER IDEA!



THE ROMANS OF THESE PARTS DON'T KNOW GETAFIX, OBELIX AND ME. WE'LL GO TO THE ROMAN CAMP ON OUR OWN. IF IT'S SLAVES THEY WANT, WE'LL APPLY FOR THE JOB, AND SET THE PRISONERS FREE!

AN EXCELLENT IDEA, ASTERIX!

OOH, YES! GOODY, GOODY, GOODY! A CHANCE TO SAMPLE THE LOCAL ROMANS AT LAST...



... THUMPING ROMANS IS LIKE HAVING DINNER: IT'S NICE TO EAT OUT FOR A CHANGE!

IN THE ROMAN CAMP...

WE WILL NEVER BE YOUR SLAVES, ROMAN!

DO YOU KNOW THE PENALTIES FOR A SLAVES' REVOLT? YOU'D BETTER STOP AND THINK, UNLESS YOU WANT TO MAKE THE LIONS IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS AT ROME A SQUARE MEAL!

AND WHILE THEY'RE THINKING, CHAIN THEM ALL UP WELL!!!

CAN I HAVE THOSE THREE SENTRY DUTIES BACK? THE ONES YOU SWAPPED FOR MY COOKHOUSE FATIGUE!

PRICES HAVE RISEN... IT'LL BE FOUR SENTRY DUTIES NOW!

MEANWHILE...

GOOD LUCK, FRIENDS!

DON'T WORRY, MELODRAMA! THANKS TO GETAFIX'S KNOW-HOW, OBELIX'S STRENGTH, DOGMATIX'S NOSE AND MY CUNNING, WE'LL SOON HAVE YOUR FATHER HOME!

FUNNY HOW SURE OF THEMSELVES CLEVERDIX'S ALLIES SEEM! I'LL FOLLOW THE AT A SAFE DISTANCE!

DOGMATIX HAS BEEN SNIFFING ABOUT EVER SINCE WE LEFT! I THINK HE'S PICKED UP THE SCENT OF A BOAR!

NO, NO, IT'S JUST A RED HERRING.

IF SO, IT'S BEEN TAKING CODLIVER OIL!

RIGHT, YOU GET THE IDEA, OBELIX? WE'RE HUMBLE SLAVES, SO NO THUMPING THE ROMANS!

LISTEN, ASTERIX...

...IS THERE SUCH A THING AS A SLAVE-DOG?

The Government

Shankaranand: next Karnataka CM?

The Karnataka chief minister, Mr Gundu Rao, may soon be out of his job. Among the names being mentioned as likely successor are those of Mr C.K. Jaffer Sharief, minister of state for railways, and Mr B. Bangarappa, who has been an old adversary of Mr Gundu Rao. But the dark horse who may eventually

get the CM's chair—is Mr B. Shankaranand, union health minister. That he is a harijan may prove an added qualification; particularly after the departure of Mr Jagannath Pahadia who was the only harijan chief minister. According to reliable sources, Mr Shankaranand has already been sounded.

Advice is free

There are as many as 41 aspirants for the post of chief economic advisor to the union finance ministry. The panel of names has been drawn up at the instance of the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC). The post has been lying vacant since Dr Hanover retired in December 1980 and hardly any effort has been made to fill it. But this is not the first time that such a thing has happened in the finance ministry. The post of secretary to the finance ministry was lying vacant since March this year when Mr Ramachandran quit to become the executive director of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). It has been filled only recently. If the government is so casual about filling top vacancies in the finance ministry then how can it be taken seriously when it claims to be making all-out efforts to improve the economic situation.

Backwards left behind in public sector

A recent in-depth study by the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) has revealed that the government's policy of providing adequate representation to members of scheduled castes and tribes in public sector undertakings has failed miserably. The reason given for this is that there aren't enough backward candidates to fill the quota of posts reserved for them. Result: "a huge backlog in group C and also in groups A and B posts which are

mainly filled by promotions." The study further says that this a "common problem in almost all major public sector enterprises" which came into being by the early Seventies. The actual reason, according to the study, is that recruitment to these enterprises was made mostly before the presidential directive extending the reservation policy to public sector enterprises came into effect. So now there is a shortage of backwards to be promoted.

Big price rises ahead

If you think the recent oil price rise was bad then this is what may be coming. There will probably be a flat increase of Rs 50 a tonne in the price of all categories of steel. This is intended to generate funds of about Rs 36 crores to pay engineering exporters the difference between the stockyard and international prices of steel. The reimbursement is because of the decision to supply steel to exporters at international prices which are now lower than prices in the country. Similarly, the rise in the prices of furnace oil and calcined petroleum coke will raise the aluminium industry's production costs and aluminium based products will be dearer. Then, a huge increase in the cement retention prices is due, for which, ultimately, the consumer will have to pay. But inflation is already down, the Prime Minister has said, and will go down further.

Public sector profiteering

Though the Cotton Corporation of India's role is confined to price support operations it is making huge profits on its sale of cotton to National Textile Corporation. The CCI's accounts show that its profits last year were about Rs 20 crores and by all indications they may go up further this year. What is more, at times poor quality cotton is

thrust on the NTC mills, which have no option but to accept it as the NTC is under an obligation to meet the bulk of its requirements from the CCI. Worse, the CCI often sells cotton to the NTC at rates higher than those prevailing in the open market. Consequently, while the CCI is showing handsome profits, the NTC is struggling.

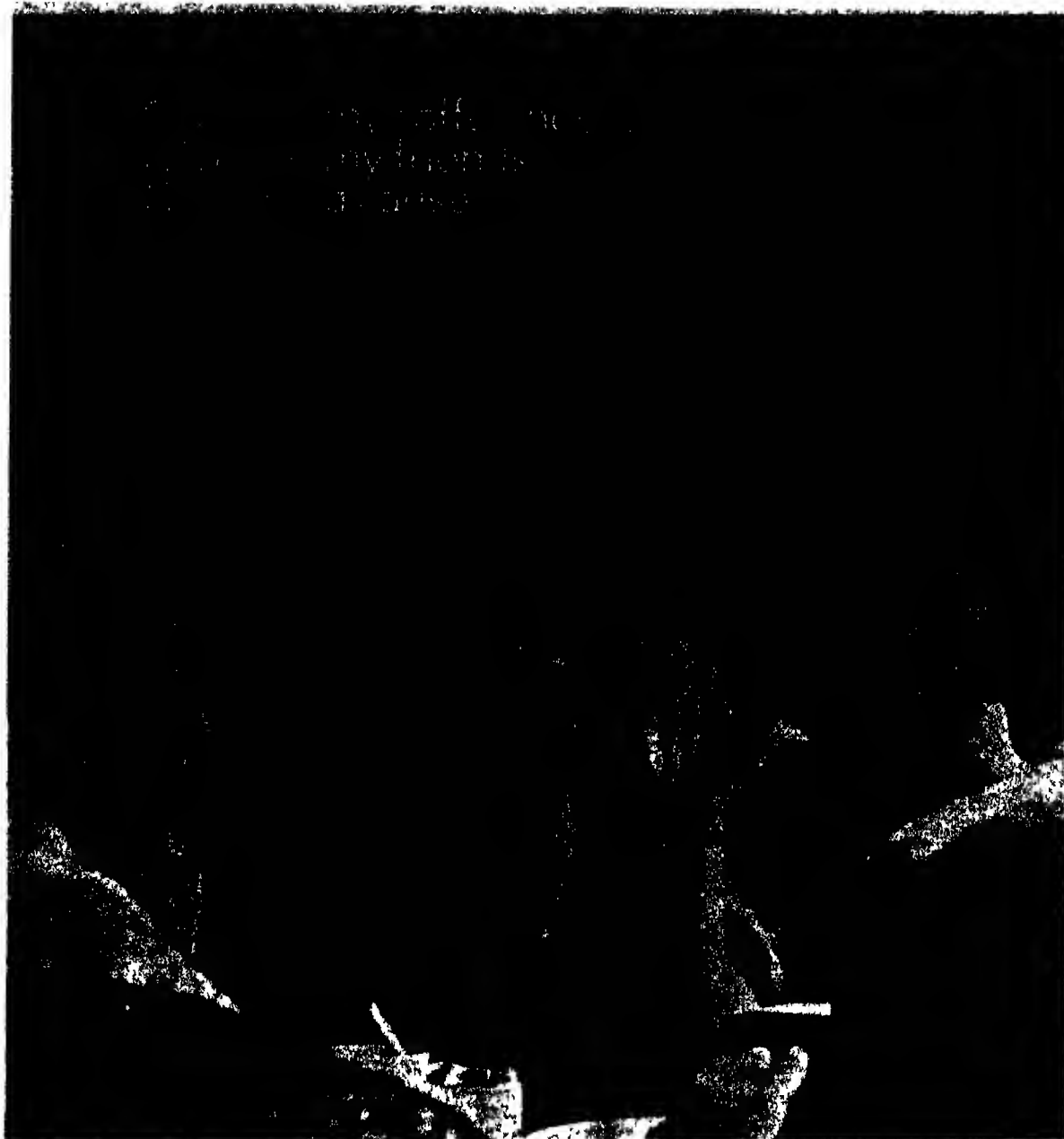
War by cinema

The Indian government is planning to pay back foreigners in their own coin: there are plans to send an Indian filmmaking unit from Bombay to Western Europe and America to capture the "seamier" side of occidental life. While Benaras's burning ghats and lepers and beggars in Indian cities make up the Indian image abroad, India will

send its own Katherine Mayo to write the "drain inspector's report" (as Gandhiji once referred to Mayo's book, *Mother India*) on the West. We can expect the Indian unit to bring back in its cans shots of the drunks of Bowery, the hookers, the drug addicts and Harlem. This do-unto-others-as-they-do-unto-you will cost Rs eight lakhs.



...THE FACE THAT LAUNCHED A THOUSAND SHIPS...



And give me the taste
of toasted tobacco.

Toasted taste made milder
That's the way I like it



Discover the taste of toasted
tobacco enjoyed by millions the world
over Now made milder and captured
for your smoking pleasure in
Charminar Filter

CHARMINAR



STATUTORY WARNING: CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH

Main Dealer: Shripada Narasimhan Bros Ltd Secunderabad

Contract-CF-4AC

The Sexual Customs of Hippies

They are usually promiscuous and can be classified into four groups: heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual and polysexual. In the following extract from *Hippies—A study of their drug habits and sexual customs* (Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, price Rs 75) Tribhuvan Kapur discusses the case histories of promiscuous lesbian and bisexual hippies.



EXTRACT

Promiscuous lesbian hippies

CASE 1 Women can only love women, Emma 27, Prussian; Ethel, 23, British

Emma is five feet, four inches, has brown eyes, short hair, is robustly built. She wears trousers and a shirt. She has large breasts and hips and a manly voice and expression. Ethel is short, just over five feet and is weak and thin, frail, but pretty. She tends to depend on Emma totally to the extent of taking her overt sanction before answering any question. Emma talks about their relationship in a casual, masculine fashion, sometimes patting Ethel on her thighs:

"Take it from me, cat, women can only love women... that's where it's really at. Who needs a long dick to love, eh? Not me, I'll tell you. Let me get something across to you... most men are stupid animals, and know next to nothing about turning a woman on... yeah, sure, you gimme a baby who says she comes ten times with her cat, and sure enough I'll make her come 20 times in half the time. Men have no-love-technique, man, none at all... as I said, women can only love women..."

"You hate men, Emma?"

"Hate men? You gotta be kidding! Hate them for what? For being as stupid as they are? I'd have to be crazy to be a man-hater... but can't you see the point? The point is that men don't know a damn thing about women... how their chemistry works... did you know that the inner thigh is where a lot of women like to be caressed and kissed, eh? You didn't, I bet, and that's where the point is... guys don't know anything... ask Ethel!"

"Ethel, what do you have to say about this matter?"

"... Well, I love Emma, lemme tell ya... really love her... not like my friend, or sister, or someone like my father... no, no, not that kinda love, not at all... but she's simply the best lay I've ever had... man, she makes me cry with pleasure... I just come and come when she gets going on me... never was it like that with Fritz, for instance... he used to shove it in and... well, if you want to jerk off, man, then don't come in my li'l twat, eh, not there, if you please..."

"Emma, have you ever made it with a man?"

"Sure, but it was no good... I want it to be nice, easy, slow and, yeah, it's got to be vigorous at times... but this fella, three years younger than me... jerk off... it's madness, they dunno the first thing..."

"What do you use, to make it better for you?"

"Grass is great, we love it... but occasionally pills, uppers, downers... all have their thing... but grass is gentle, man, really lets you come in peace... zoom off into your baby's arms and tits, right?"

"What do you especially like to do?"

"Come on, man, you just seem to be doing the talking for the sake of it! What do you think we like to do, eh? Well, whatever there is to do, man, and no holds barred... when you love, ask Ethel, baby then there's no hassle, no bring-me-down, no screw up... I just do what I like to with my honey-child and she just loves it... (Ethel smiles and nods), and so do I... lemme tell ya that we never do the same thing twice and if I were to ever write a love cookbook, lemme tell ya it would leave all them *Persian Gardens* and *Kama Sstras* far behind... just beat hollow."

"Could you be a little specific?"

"Well, we kiss each other all over the place, lick each other, stick the stick (dildo) into each other. We beat and burn each other... ha, ha, ha, ha... by God, oh, do we have fun..."

"How many lovers have each of you had?"

"Grrr, men are so insensitive... Ethel's had five or six and she says that they weren't so great... I must've been

through twelve or so... got to have some practice before you become a master at the holy art, eh?"

"When was your first sexual experience, Emma?"

"Oh, it was very, very classical... my teacher, who taught us art in school asked me to stay back one evening after school and we began almost as if we understood. She was obviously so good at it and so gentle that we did it almost three times a week, till I left school... wow! What a time I had those days... I never let anyone know. Then it was a friend of mine... you know the more the merrier, but you got to choose..."

"And you, Ethel?"

"... Well, I always seemed to attract women more than men... and ever since I was a girl, older girls used to pull up my skirt and play with me... and I thought it natural... my first lover was a Belgian, and she was lovely. But Emma's the greatest... she loves me as much as I love her... real love, you know... just so beautiful."

"How many times do you make it in a week?"

"All depends on the mood... at times we do it all day for days on end... and sometimes a few days go by, just without a thing having happened... but there again (looks knowingly at Ethel) you have to ask these questions... they prove my point... togetherness is a thing, baby, you don't have to lay all the time... Sure, sure, we do it a lot of the time... a lot of the time..."

"Are you jealous of each other's past?"

"... I wish that I had been Ethel's first lover... she's so lovely... but then that's all wishful thinking... I would never have been so good at doing her up... slowly, gently..."

CASE 2 The island of Lesbos as heaven. Ursula, 25, Swedish; Anna, 25, American

Ursula is five feet, four inches, has long, wavy, brown hair, and golden-brown eyes. She has beautiful breasts, a slim waist, and wears a thin printed cotton sari, with chappals. She has dozens of bangles on her hands and beads around her neck. Anna is two inches taller than Ursula, has prominent breasts, a stocky waistline, and long, greasy brown hair. She wears a Bhutia dress she picked up in Nepal. Her face is rough and shows signs of a tiny stubble. Ursula talks:

"Honey, get one thing straight, just get it right into your head... I'm one of those darlings who lived in heaven... on the island of Lesbos, where women loved women, madly, totally, wholly... and I must confess that even if the most handsome man on earth was naked in front of me with the most magnificent erection on the greatest of penises, I wouldn't feel a thing stirring between my thighs... they wouldn't even get a trickle of wetness... some of us were made to get back to Lesbos... and when I die, that's where I'll go..."

"And you, Anna?"

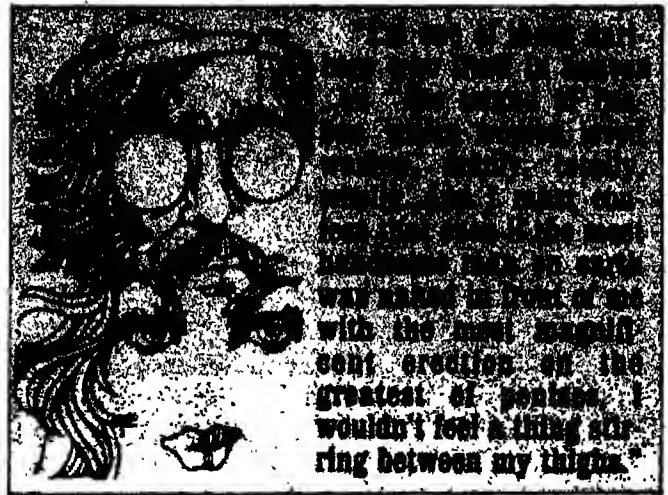
"Yeah... but what Ursula didn't tell ya, what's real important, is that you put a woman in front of her, naked or not, and she feels her love-juices operate on her... that's how it was on Lesbos, you know... and if she's a beautiful woman, man, Ursu would go and proposition her rightaway... and you won't believe how many straight women she's had on a one-night stand..."

"How many partners have both of you had?"

"I've had over 30, baby, and Anna must've been through over ten... but the real thing is when you find someone who really does complement you in every goddamn way... then you found a person who was born on Lesbos in some past age, and it gets you right back to heaven then and there."

"What do you really like to do to each other?"

"Let me tell you something which you get into your head, honey... just get it straight into your head... we're not just another of *them* couples who do it to each other and claim to love each other and all that clap-trap. We're beings straight from Lesbos... and so we do only those things that were done on Lesbos... before we make it, we worship Lesbos with incense, and since we don't discriminate between religions we go ahead and worship all them Indian gurus like Krishna and Rama, and then we begin... what do



"I've had over 30, baby, and Anna must've been through over ten... but the real thing is when you find someone who really does complement you in every goddamn way... then you found a person who was born on Lesbos in some past age, and it gets you right back to heaven then and there."

we do? Touch each other, bite each other, throw up on each other, shit, piss, all is all in love and do as shall is the golden rule..."

"When did your first sexual experiences occur?"

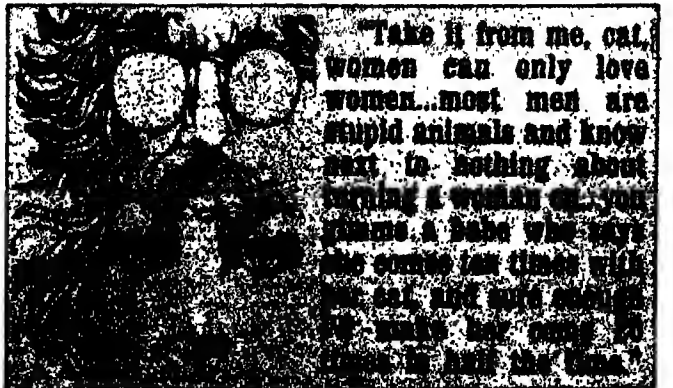
"Well, honey, for me the greatest thing happened... that was when I realised I was a girl from Lesbos, was when I read a book about the whole thing and surprisingly it happened to me the same time. We had been to a movie when a woman who was sitting next to me put her hands on my thighs and began pressing them... I found it alarming at first but then it became very enjoyable. After the movie she offered to drop me home in her car... I must've been about 13 at the time and I agreed... we stopped on the way and she told me that she was from the island of Lesbos which is another name for heaven and she said she would reveal all to me and she did... since then I've been irresistible and any girl I've wanted I've been able to get..."

"Anna, how did it begin for you?"

"In a kind of negative way I had always realised that I didn't like men at all... in the ranch where I was brought up I saw the men pissing around and saw their big cocks and I couldn't imagine how anyone could care for such an ugly thing... all gnarled and warped like an old root. So I remained reclusive, not going out with guys... an aunt of mine had come to stay with us and she talked with me and since I liked her I told her of my problem and then... it all worked out... we kissed and hugged... and on later evenings when my folks were going out I would say that I was unwell and my aunt would stay back to look after me... the best 'illness' that I ever had, I bet..."

"Do you feel jealous about each other's past sexual life?"

"Isn't jealousy part of love, baby? If I didn't feel jealous about Anna's past do you think I would really love her... to love is to possess the other person completely and fully, Yeah? Sure, I feel jealous about her past lovers and I make no bones about it... I'm not one of those hypocrites who doesn't do or say what she feels like, right? And Anna feels the same way... we've spent nights in each other's arms telling each other about our past lovers and the times we had with them... it's one way to catch up with a situation,



"Take it from me, cat, women can only love women... most men are stupid animals and know next to nothing about turning a woman on... you gonna be a babe who says she comes ten times with me, cat, and sure enough, I'll make her come ten times in all the time."

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ATTACHMENTS

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right... jealousy is okay with me, it gives me better time in bed..."

"Ever thought of getting married to each other?"

"Are you trying to put us on? Well, even if you are, marriage is out, man. The point is to live together and move on... it's impractical to stay with a single person all your life... God, you want a change all the time and the people from Lesbos make that clear from the start we gotta move on, we gotta see the world... we gotta have a great deal of adventure... marriage is a dead-end... it's out, right out."

As the case examples of this category of hippies indicate, the kind of concerns that move a homosexual hippie in search of promiscuous sex within his or her chosen frame is exclusive to his or her sexuality. In search of this sexuality and in justification of it, he or she is forced to create a series of rationalisations which, though they seem somewhat impossible to relate to from the outside are, in fact, very sensible and real to the person forwarding them, and make complete sense to one inside that frame of reference.

Promiscuous bisexual hippies

CASE 3 Bisexuality breaks inter-sex barriers. Gladys, 25, American

Gladys is five feet, seven inches, with a slightly stooped figure, which is nevertheless well-endowed in all respects. She has long brown hair; her skin is blotched with the after-effects of an illness she is just recovering from. She wears a cotton sari and goes about barefoot. She is travelling across India in a van with eight other hippies. She speaks about her preferred mode of sexuality in a soft accent:

"I was always a very shy girl...and it didn't occur to me, as it is obvious to me now, that this shyness stemmed from a lack of knowledge about both my own and the other sex...and it appeared to me that both men and women were beautiful...but it took me some finding out..."

"How did you find out, Gladys?"

"I began in the usual way, going out with guys when I had just left school; I enjoyed it, but then in the middle of a dance I would see a beautiful girl and I would enjoy her company as well..."

"But you were still unsure?"

"That was just a kind of indecision...I wanted to be a real normal chick, and that made matters real heavy...no one is normal, cause that's just some fella's idea about it all...I got into heavy necking and petting with a few fellas who had these crushes on me and went bouncing around, digging life, smoking pot-marijuana, shooting junk, all very carefully, for I didn't want to get hooked on anything...I had those hang-ups those days...but I noticed that when I was with a beautiful girl I often felt as stirred sexually as with a guy..."

"When was it clear to you?"

"Not till my first experience with a chick...I'd made it with several guys and it was great, just great...but then it happened with a chick as well, and it changed my life...but then, not till I got on the road did I have a real chance to blow my mind..."

"How many partners have you had?"

"Well, maybe between 15 and 20 guys and the same number of girls...it happens that way...you don't get a guy, you get his gal as well...when you come down to it, all of us are pretty and beautiful, see?"

"What is your trip?"

"Well, well, well...I'm funny, see, nowadays when we do it in a group, I just like to kiss everyone everywhere...before that I went around hitting them softly...it's exciting...but I've come to this after I've done it all; the combinations are pretty few and I've been through all that a woman can do with a man or with another woman...in the end, you find that the hang-up was only in your mind...no difference between men and women, essentially speaking."

"How long do you make it with another couple?"



"What does bisexuality mean to you?"

"It means a way to be free of all one's hassles. You love only women, you gonna have problems with women. You love men, like the homos, you gonna end up hating women. But you love both men and women, you end up free to love the world and live in peace."

"Depends on me and Y---(her boyfriend); sometimes just a night or two; once we went on for three months with a group; and we've been with this one for that much time...it's a matter of Vibes, you see, the vibes must notch the right thing...and then you can go on forever...but it seems that the longest we've been with another group is about three months."

"Any orgies you attended?"

"Bisex is a continuous orgy, man, endless..."

CASE 4 The true Aryan is bisexual. Adolf, 27, German

Adolf is six feet, three inches, and handsome. He has long, wavy blonde hair which comes down to his shoulders. He has a healthy suntanned Nordic complexion and a strong set of teeth which show when he smiles and that is often. His jeans are relatively clean although patched and he wears a khadi kurta over them. On his feet are thick, rubber-soled sandals. He carries a shoulder-bag and is smoking a reefer, which he offers to several other hippies, both male and female, who listen intently to what he says. His voice is soft and studied; he is obviously held in high veneration in the group that he is currently living with. He speaks confidently about his bisexuality:

"I want your attention, pal, for I'm not wasting my time for nothing, is that right (smiles)? But you give me your attention and I'll tell you what it's all about. The first thing is that the true Aryan is bisexual. You should know that...because Aryans are the most developed race...and if they don't show the right way to the world...who goddamn will..."

"What does bisexuality mean to you?"

"It means a way to be free of all one's hassles...you love only women, you gonna have problems with women...you love men only, like the homos, you gonna end up hating women...but you love both men and women, you end up free to love the world and live in peace...that's what my experience has taught me...you gotta give love to everyone...everyone..."

"Without discrimination?"

"Don't talk about discrimination, man, that's just one of those stupid Russian words...socialism, discrimination, all that...what's all that got to do with love, free love, bisexual Aryan love?"

"When did you realise you were bisexually oriented, Adolf?"

"Man, man, cool down, man. You don't realise you are bisexual...you didn't get my point...all of us are bisexual if we are free...so the point is freedom, not anything else...the day you become free you become bisexual, right? So for me when I woke up, you know I realised that I couldn't claim to be loving the world if I didn't love men, too...and women, for them it's the same."

"When did your first sexual/bisexual experiences occur?"

"I used to go to the whorehouse in Berlin, where I've spent time and, man, it was there that I learnt from the real connoisseurs that the fun is not where most people think it

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Sometimes, Cadbury's can say it.

is...fun is to have a man in one arm and a woman in the other...Aryan pastime cat, dig it? It's too much!"

"Does venereal disease ever infect you?"

"Claptrap, man, it's a matter of willpower...even if you catch the clap, you just will it to vanish, man. I've done it many times; it works!"

"How long do your bisexual relationships last?"

"For an Aryan, anything and everything lasts as long as he wants it to...but I like to change things in my life and I don't care to have a baby hanging around me more than a couple of months...Aryans don't marry, you savvy? And then I change around; I've been with dear J--(his girlfriend) now for a month...another month to go, I think...and as regards other couples, I know people hang around almost forever, three-four months, but for me another couple lasts a month...guess I'm too choosy and if you look at me you'll get what I mean...I can get any guy or babe that I want and that makes me very, very choosy... Adolf is pure Aryan!"

"What do you like to do within a sexual relationship?"

"That's an interesting question...and it shows that we bisexuals have got the world wondering as to what the whole thing is all about. Well, we do the usual things that a man can do with a man and woman with a woman...only the word perversion doesn't come into our dictionary...you know that it's something Freud and his group of cronies invented and now, with our revolution, Freud has been completely buried...all he said was before the acid revolution, man, and now it's all very meaningless...you got to tune in to the new language and the new way of life...the nuclear bomb and acid, which is the nuclear bomb of the mind, have changed it all. Everything anyone said before our time is hokumpokum and junkum-bunkum." (Group surrounding him, laughs.)

"You attended bisexual orgies?"

"Hah, look who's he asking that question to, folks? Man, I've organised over a dozen of them in my own lifetime, hah! It's fantastic to see so many guys laying each other and women's mouths glued to each other and all things are put here and there...everyone's had his hit of this or that, and you're kissing a man while your thingummy is in a woman and then someone suddenly comes and whips you... someone pisses, and all around you are the sounds of people moaning in sheer pleasure... life is that, man, that's what is all about!"

CASE 5 Bisexuality as a philosophical syndrome. Stoj, 21, Swedish

Stoj is five feet, five inches and has a creamy complexion. Her breasts sag a bit and her belly protrudes slightly. She is three months pregnant, wears loose bell-bottoms, and a shirt. Her hair is long and dirty, and looks brownish. She wears rubber chappals and carries an handbag. Her boyfriend Y-- hangs around while she talks:

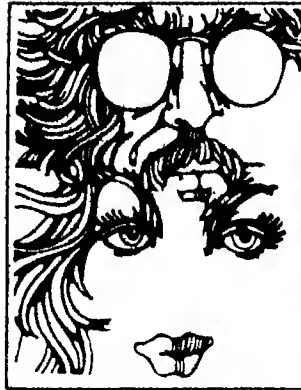
"I've lived with sex possibly from the time I was born...in our simple little country, sex is really the in thing and everyone who hasn't made it with seven to ten guys is really considered abnormal. We love sex, and I just went a little further...so many opportunities...I just got involved with women, you understand, involved with them...in my heart of hearts, I am a woman and women make my life worthwhile...but then men are great, too, without one of them (smiles cynically) this (points to the slight bulge in her stomach) couldn't have happened. You might think I am cynical or bitter, but forget that idea...I'm going to have Andrea, just to show the world that I don't care...I know he'll be a boy, and that he will love me."

"Your first experiences were heterosexual?"

"Yeah, yeah, but then the first experience just fades out, man, the present is what is important, and right now I'm available to any cool cat. You dig that, I used the word, "cool;" here, in India, you get so many people coming up to you and saying, "Missy, I give money for just one kiss..." Now, that's what I call *not* being cool, man, that's hardly any way to go about a thing like that...but get me a cool cat and I'm ready for it, whether the cat is a guy or a chick...that's where I'm at, baby, really!"

"How many bisexual partners have you had?"

"Easily over 30 couples...my father is a movie director



"In my heart of hearts, I am a woman and women make my life worthwhile. But then men are great too. Right now I am available to any cool cat. Get me a cool cat and I'm ready for it, whether the cat is a guy or a chick. That's where I'm at, baby, really."

and I was hip long before I left Sweden and, dig it, that when I get back sometime I'm gonna be right back into the hot-shot movie scene...partly why I split the scene was that I couldn't be loose enough...they had given me a part in a movie where I had to strip partly; man, I was too hung up to do that...not now, man, not now."

"How many times do you make it in a week?"

"Oh, it depends on the situation...I like to do it as often as the chance comes around. I believe that bisexuality is the true philosophy because in that men and women have to behave like equals...and that's completely the way it is; all right, you said that it appears only hippie women have to use contraception, but do you know that many times a hippie male supports a female economically, like Y-- is doing for me right now? But it's not that hard to understand...you know the saying that no one who has not taken acid can ever know what it is like? Well, in the same sense no person who is not a bisexual can ever understand the philosophy of the bisexual...it is a philosophy of true freedom...of absolute dignity."

"How do you make contact with other hippie bisexuals?"

"Like I told you, if you are one you can recognise one...another without a hitch...just like if you are a human being in the true sense of the term you can easily tell who is another human being, right? It is a matter of belonging to the same species of being, but then you can formalise it and say, 'We love you, and would like to make love to you.' And if they aren't leaving in the next day or two they agree because we all believe that you should give someone what he or she wants..."

"How did you get pregnant?"

"Goddammit, I wish I knew how, but as far as my thing has got loose or something...and the way it part is I'm not even sure who did it, and I often wonder when men that you've been laying can get you simultaneously pregnant, a little bit of each...maybe that's how it happened, all the guys I did it with left a little bit of themselves until it got too big..."

"You'll go back to Sweden with it?"

"Maybe, man, maybe, who knows about such things...life is uncertain and one shouldn't worry...tomorrow I may be in the mood to have the damn thing taken out of me and I wouldn't think twice about doing so."

While the method of justification is clear, in the cases presented, as comprising a logic that maintains that bisexuality is more normal than any other variant of sexual preference, a few observations regarding bisexual activity will bear noting:

i) Bisexual hippies consider that they are superior to the homosexual as well as the heterosexual hippies because, to them, their mode of sexual behaviour is far more sexually exclusive than either of the other two.

ii) They consider themselves to be the harbingers of a new world, some of them even having extremely serious notions of radically transforming present cultures, this hope, however, is counterbalanced by society's concern that hippies be somehow 'pulled back' into the mainstream of life.

iii) Most of them claimed that they were bisexual by instinct and that this was their real mode of sexual expression.

iv) Sexual jealousy was almost missing in this group; this might be attributed to the fact that they had the opportunity to indulge themselves fully on many occasions. ■

OPPOSITION

Old boys' reunion

And Hanuman Raj Narain gets his latest 'Ram'



SONDEEP SHANKAR

Raj Narain, H. N. Bahuguna, Banarsi Das and Mani Ram Bagri at the press conference where they announced the merger of the opposition parties

New Delhi: A sincere effort by the Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, to bring together the opposition parties on a common platform to discuss electoral reforms managed to unite three splinter groups and "Hanuman," Mr Raj Narain, found a new "Ram" in Mr Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna. That is how the opposition parties' meeting on 17 July can be best summed up. Mr Bahuguna is known for pulling off surprises. He had surprised everyone by masterminding the formation of the Congress for Democracy (CFD) in February 1977 on the eve of the Lok Sabha elections. He had again surprised everyone by suddenly rejoining Mrs Indira Gandhi's party, in November 1979. However, he surprised no one by abruptly quitting the Congress(I) when he found himself to be a fish out of water in that party. Later, he did penance by resigning the Lok Sabha seat he had won on Mrs Gandhi's party ticket.

Mr Bahuguna became the symbol for the entire opposition when the Lok Sabha by-election in Garhwal was countermanded after Mr Bahuguna's charges of rigging were found to be substantially true, by the chief election commissioner. Mr Chandra Shekhar took the opportunity of the opposition's symbolic victory in Garhwal to convene a meeting of all opposition parties in New Delhi on 17 July to discuss electoral reforms.

The main significance of the 17 July meeting was not that political parties were putting their heads together to discuss the election system, but the fact that for the first time since the decimation of the Janata Party, all the splinter groups of the old Janata were being brought to a conference table along with other opposition parties. The scene at the Vishwa Yuvak Kendra, the venue of the meeting, on the 17th morning was that of an old boys' reunion. Mr Chandra Shekhar along with his general secretaries, Mr R. K. Hegde, Mrs Sarojini Mahishi, Mr Ravindra Varma, Mr Shahbuddin and Mr Bapu Kaldate, were the first to reach the venue, as hosts to receive the other participants. Mr Chandra Shekhar, who has continued to head the Janata Party through fair and foul weather, had sent out the invitations for the meeting in early July.

The meeting was to begin at 10.30 am. Apart from the CPI, who had refused to participate on the ground that the Bharatiya Janata Party (the successor to the Jana Sangh) was attending and the Anna DMK, which had not responded to Mr Chandra Shekhar's invitation, all other opposition parties attended the meeting. The BJP, which was the sore point with some of the participants as well, was represented by Mr Lal Krishna Advani. The CPI(M) had sent theoretician

Mr M. Basavapunniah along with Mr Jaipal Singh. The Lok Dal's Mr Madhu Limaye and Mr Biju Patnaik were there. The Janwadi Party chief, Mr Chandrajit Yadav, also attended. The Congress(U) president Mr Devaraj Urs, came with two of his general secretaries, Mrs Ambika Soni and Mr Banka Behari Das. The Akali Dal's Mr Prakash Singh Badal came with Mr Balwant Singh. Jammu and Kashmir's ruling National Conference was represented by the Sheikh's son, Dr Farooq Abdullah and Mr Mubarak Shah. Two partners of West Bengal's ruling Left Front, the Forward Bloc and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, were represented by Mr Chitta Basu and Mr Tridib Choudhury, respectively. Mr Raj Narain, who till then was in the Socialist Party of his own, came with his principal lieutenant, Mr Maniram Bagri. The Democratic Socialist Front team comprised, besides Mr Bahuguna, Mr Harikesh Bahadur and Mr Raghunath Reddy. Mr Bahuguna and Mr Raj Narain reached the conference room together. Perhaps, the unification deal had been struck between Mr Raj Narain and Mr Bahuguna before the meeting itself. For, during the meeting, right from the beginning till the end, the two were acting in unison and at the end both refused to be associated with the panel on electoral reforms which was formed by Mr Chandra Shekhar, with Mr Ravindra Varma as its convenor and Mr Madhu Limaye, Mr L. K. Advani, Mr Banka Behari Das, Mr Balwant Singh, Mr Chitta Basu, Mr P. Ramamurti and Mr Banarasi Das as members (Mr Das was nominated as member of Mr Chandrajit Yadav's party).

Mr Bahuguna and Mr Raj Narain certainly stole the limelight on the 17th morning. Everyone complimented Mr Bahuguna for being the sole reason for the meeting. And Mr Raj Narain's red headgear (which has replaced his earlier green one after Mrs Gandhi returned to power) was the subject of amused queries—it was evident that the erstwhile Janata leaders had not met each other for a long time.

The first disruption in the proceedings took place even before the meeting had begun. Mr Maniram Bagri of the Socialist Party objected to the resolutions and the agenda papers being printed in English. There was a commotion, with many of the leaders trying to pacify Mr Bagri. The crisis came to a humorous end when Mr Biju Patnaik told the chair: "I don't understand what this man is saying. Which language is he speaking in?" Mr Bagri then sat down.

Mr Raj Narain wanted the meeting to pass a resolution demanding the resignation of Mrs Gandhi. He also wanted the participants to organise a *gherao* of Parliament House during the monsoon session in August to press for the resignation. None of the participants were too enthusiastic about such a move. Mr Chandra Shekhar pointed out that the meeting had been called for the limited purpose of dis-

causing electoral reforms and any such exhibitionistic decisions would not show the meeting in good light to the public.

The meeting then continued smoothly, till the last speaker, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, was called. Mr Chandra Shekhar wanted to give Mr Bahuguna the honour of rounding off the discussions. Mr Bahuguna declined to speak and said that Mr Raghunath Reddy would speak on his behalf. This was certainly a slap in the face of Mr Chandra Shekhar. While the microphone was being shifted in front of Mr Raghunath Reddy, Mr Bahuguna said that the meeting was "bogus."

The question of setting up the committee on electoral reforms then came up. Mr Bahuguna immediately said, "My friends will not be joining the committee." Mr Biju Patnaik objected to this, asking Mr Bahuguna to define who his friends were and whether he considered the other leaders assembled there to be his friends or not. Mr Bahuguna clarified that he meant his partymen. He wanted the panel to be set up at the Parliamentary party level and not at the Party level. Mr Raj Narain also joined Mr Bahuguna on the same issue. Mr Manram Bagri went on to say that no such panel could be formed without the participation of "militant" parties like the CPI. To this, Mr Chandra Shekhar sharply retorted that the CPI's militanc-

cy notwithstanding that party had not even attended the meeting. So, the question of their being on the panel, did not arise. The others supported Mr Chandra Shekhar's point of view. The committee was, therefore, formed minus representatives of Mr Bahuguna's and Mr Raj Narain's parties and the next day these two splinter groups, along with a section of the Democratic Party led by Mr Banarsi Das, came together to form the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP).

It remains to be seen how long Mr Raj Narain and Mr Bahuguna can stay together. When SUNDAY spoke to Mr Chandra Shekhar after the meeting on its outcome and the formation of the new party, he was not bitter about the behaviour of the two leaders of the DSP. He said that even Mr Advani had congratulated him about the outcome of the meeting. Considering the effort to bring together the opposition groups on a common platform had begun only in early July, at a wedding reception in the house of Janata Party MP, Mr Dayanand Sahay, where almost all the former Janata leaders were present, it must be said that Mr Chandra Shekhar has succeeded in bringing about a certain amount of polarisation in the opposition ranks. At least, in the next meeting, unwilling people will not have to be invited by Mr Chandra Shekhar.

Our Delhi Correspondent

THAL VAISHET

Indian firm is ignored

New Delhi: The Rashtriya Chemicals and Fertilisers Company's (RCF) projects at Thal Vaishet seem destined to remain controversial. The grant of the consultancy contract for the ammonia-based plants to the Danish firm, Haldor Topsoe (which is 50 per cent owned by the Italian firm Snam Progetti), itself has been a subject of a major debate in Parliament and outside (SUNDAY 26 April). Now the way in which Haldor Topsoe is going about handing out the subcontracts for the various systems may create a fresh set of problems for the project. Haldor Topsoe, as was pointed out by the expert committees set up by the government, does not have any comprehensive technology of its own. So, it has to fall back upon other firms in Europe and the USA for technology transfer. And since it outbid a powerful firm like the C.F. Braun of the USA, the American firm is making life difficult for the Danish firm.

Topsoe is buying everything possible from the European and American markets. The argument put forward by those that as it has to provide a two-year performance guarantee, it would prefer to select carefully and leave nothing to chance. Even in the case of small pressure vessels, which are being successfully manufactured by the public sector Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (BHEL), the Topsoe consultants are going in for imports.

Haldor Topsoe floated an enquiry in the world market for the Thal project's distributed control systems on 20 May and the enquiry closed on 29 June. Only four international firms were subsequently approached by Topsoe—Honeywell, Foxboro and Taylors, and a British firm, George Kent. Of these, Taylors have a tie-up with the Birlas in India and are in control of the valves business. George Kent are collaborators with the public sector Instrumentations Ltd, Kota. The other two firms have no collaborators or experience in India.

But eyebrows are being raised because there is a firm in India, Keltron Controls Ltd, Aroor (Kerala), which is a licensed manufacturer of control systems, and which has a tie-up with a French firm, Bailey SA. Who should get the contract is certainly a technical decision which the Danish consultants of RCF have to take for themselves, but when two firms operating in the country are approached, why is the third one ignored despite the fact that it has got such contracts in power plants, and has even bagged the order for the controls for the Indian Oil's pipeline at Mathura refinery?

Our Delhi Correspondent

RAJASTHAN

Mr Pahadia hopes to become CM again

Jaipur: Exactly after ten years a Rajasthan chief minister had to step down from office although his party had a commanding majority. The first one to do so was Mr Mohanlal Sukhadia, who earned the wrath of Mrs Gandhi for having supported Mr Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's candidature as President, against her wishes. Mr Jagannath Pahadia, on the other hand, had to relinquish his post on charges of non-performance, maladministration and corruption incidentally, like the late Mr Barkatullah Khan who took over after Mr Sukhadia, Mr Shivcharan Mathur who replaces Jagannath Pahadia is one of the four MLAs who had sided with Mrs Gandhi in supporting V. V. Giri against Mr Sanjeeva Reddy.

It is now a well-known fact that the dissidents in Rajasthan could never get Mr Pahadia ousted from chief ministership on the basis of numerical strength. Mr Pahadia who was the sole distributor of party tickets during the last Assembly elections in 1980 had consolidated his position considerably by June when he threw the bait to 50 of his party MLAs in the form of chairmanships of various government corporations, boards and cooperative organisations. The MLAs who swal-

lowed the bait continued to support Mr Pahadia till the end, probably out of fear. They thought they would be divested of their newly-acquired positions by the incoming CM.

If he had to go, Mr Pahadia almost till the time of quitting, tried to ensure that one of his candidates became the CM. Accordingly, he and his supporters wanted the central leadership to accept their candidate as the new CM. At one point they were adamant about fielding their own candidate against the wishes of the party high command. This made the task of the Congress(I) general secretary, Mr G. K. Moopanar, and the minister of state for shipping and transport, Mr Buta Singh, all the more difficult. Expecting trouble, the Congress(I) treasurer Mr Sitaram Kesri rushed to Jaipur to help tackle the problem.

All three Congress(I) functionaries made relentless efforts to persuade Mr Pahadia's group to remove their candidate and elect Mr Mathur. In the end they were successful. However, Mr Pahadia has not given up hope of becoming the CM again. In fact, he told his supporters that according to his horoscope he was definitely going to regain his lost chair.

Milap Chand Dandia

J. B. Patnaik throws out a dissident minister

New Delhi: When Orissa chief minister, Mr Janaki Ballabh Patnaik, left Delhi for Bhubaneswar on the morning of 14 July, nobody could have guessed that he was carrying back with him the clearance from the high command to sack his excise and revenue minister, Mr Kanhu Charan Lenka. The political atmosphere, that Tuesday in New Delhi, was surcharged with Rajasthan politics. So no one thought much about Orissa. Mr Patnaik had, however, convinced Mrs Gandhi that he could run his government better if he was allowed to drop the principal dissident in his cabinet, Mr Lenka. The Rajasthan dissidents had won their battle in ousting Mr Pahadia. Mr Patnaik, on the other hand, was returning to the state capital to nip dissidence in the bud instead of quitting himself.

Mr Patnaik reached Bhubaneswar in the afternoon. At 6.30 pm, Mr Lenka received a telephone call at his Forest Park residence from the chief minister's office, summoning him to the secretariat. The CM did not beat about the bush. He told Mr Lenka that he had discussed the state's affairs with Mrs Gandhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi and he had been advised to make his cabinet more "cohesive." So Mr Patnaik wanted Mr Lenka to resign.

Should he write his resignation letter there, asked Mr Lenka. Mr Patnaik took out a sheet of paper from his drawer and gave it to him. The decision to sack the minister was irrevocable. Mr Lenka, however, did not write the letter there. He said he would send it from home.

Mr Lenka walked towards his office. He was still the revenue and excise minister, till the Governor accepted his resignation. But to his surprise he found that his nameplate had been removed and the room was locked. Totally dazed, he drove back to his residence. Within ten minutes of his returning home, he received another phonecall from the CM's office: why was the resignation letter not yet in? Mr Lenka then wrote out his letter.

Within a short time the Governor, Mr C. M. Poonacha, accepted Mr Lenka's resignation.

Mr Lenka's telephone was disconnected soon after his resignation was accepted. According to the rules, a former minister is allowed to enjoy ministerial facilities for a week after which he ceases to be a minister. But in Mr Lenka's case, the phone was disconnected. He protested, pointing out that he continued to be an MLA. The Posts and Telegraphs department

restored the telephone. But the humiliation had been done.

Mr Lenka and Mr Patnaik had not got along during the Janata days, when Mr Patnaik was the Orissa Pradesh Congress(I) president and Mr Lenka his seniormost general secretary. When the 21 Lok Sabha and the 147 Vidhan Sabha tickets were distributed in Orissa in 1979 and 1980, Mr Patnaik and the then Indian Youth Congress(I) president, Mr Ram Chandra Rath, MP, took half-an-hour each on both occasions to get the Orissa lists okayed by the Parliamentary board. Mr Lenka had found that his share in the cake had been rather small on both occasions. But he did not air his grievances. (Now Mr Rath has fallen out with Mr Patnaik and one of the first persons Mr Lenka met in New Delhi on 17 July was Mr Rath.)

Mr Lenka was the only eyesore for Mr Patnaik in his cabinet. He had to take him in because the high command had so desired. Two months ago a secret government file dealing with mining cess was lost. It was said that Mr Lenka's private secretary had misplaced his suitcase, which contained the file. A police case was filed and the aide was suspended. Soon reports started circulating in Bhubaneswar that the file contained certain papers which showed that the state exchequer had been deprived of revenue worth Rs six crores due to a lapse on the part of the government. Later, the CM's confidants started telling newsmen in Bhubaneswar that the file had been "stolen" by Mr Lenka and handed over to an MP who was opposed to Mr Patnaik. The reference was to Mr Rath, who had become a vocal critic of the CM since February. Mr Patnaik is understood to have told the high command that Mr Lenka, apart from being a dissident, was also trying to leak secret files to defame the government; therefore, his presence in the cabinet was not desirable. This may have been a major reason for Mr Lenka's sacking.

The non-functioning of the party in the state came in for severe criticism by Mr Ram Chandra Rath in a meeting of the Orissa PCC(I) executive on 29 December. In fact, no meeting of the executive has been summoned since. The chief minister also faced heavy weather on 8 February when he called a meeting of the MPs from the state at Bhubaneswar. Here too, the main charge against the government was "non-performance." Mr J. B. Patnaik naturally started looking for a scapegoat. And the missing file case provided him with the best possible solution. The Congress(I), with 122 of the 147 seats in the Vidhan Sabha in its pocket, has the maximum stability in Orissa today since 1961. In the past two decades either the Congress has been out of power or in power with a slender majority. But while the majority may allow the CM to drop dissidents at his will, can the fact that six of the 13 districts have no effective party leadership, be ignored by the Congress(I) high command?

Our Delhi Correspondent

MGR juggles past tax arrears

Madras: Agitated farmers have finally found a new stick with which to beat chief minister M. G. Ramachandran: his income tax arrears. On the eve of the farmers' rally in the city recently, posters were put up by the farmers' association accusing MGR of adopting double standards vis-a-vis tax default. "While MGR waits time to pay off his income tax arrears amounting to Rs seven lakhs and that too in instalments, he does not extend the same facility to farmers to clear their dues. What's more, he takes action against defaulting farmers," the posters screamed.

However, it is not just the arrears that has agitated the farmers, but the fact that MGR has sold one of his houses to clear a part of his arrears. What is more interesting, the house on Arcot Road was sold to none other than Mrs. V.N. Janaki, his own wife. The transaction involved the sale of the house in question by Messrs Emgeeyar Pictures Pvt Ltd, represented by its director, K. Ravindran, MGR's adopted son, in favour

of Mrs. V.N. Janaki for a sum of Rs 2.75 lakhs. It was believed that by going through this transaction, MGR not only generated Rs 2.75 lakhs of white money, but retained possession of the house too.

It may be noted that the Arcot Road house has been used by MGR as his official residence. Sometime ago, MGR claimed rent for the house with retrospective effect from the time he first took over as CM. MGR netted almost Rs one lakh as rent. The chief minister had till then followed the precedent set by his mentor, C.N. Annadurai, of not claiming rent from the government if he resided in his own house. Evidently, MGR found out that the rent could be another source of generating white money.

But even as the chief minister is preparing to pay a part of his income tax arrears, it seems difficult to believe that the income tax department has been taken in by this remarkable exercise in book-keeping jugglery.

Ashok Kamath

Girl students fast for better facilities



Elphinstone college students on fast

Bombay: A group of four slightly built, very young girls of Elphinstone College are on fast outside their college. The first two were Kala Rao and Sheema Sen who started their fast on 6 July. They were whisked away by the police to a hospital on the third day of their fast. In fact, at the time of writing, they are still on fast in the hospital. As soon as they were taken away two other girls, Deepa Balsavar and Sarmistha Ray, took their place.

The fast started when Sheema and Kala received a three-line curt letter from the college authorities that they would not be readmitted in the second year B.A. although they had secured 70% marks. Under the aegis of the militant marxist group called the Vidyarthi Pragati Sanghatana (VPS), the students retaliated. The students felt that the principal of the government-run 125-year-old Elphinstone College, Miss Homai Shroff, was carrying on a vendetta against them accusing them of "spreading terror." All that the students were demanding were improved laboratory, gymkhana facilities and cleaner toilets, among other things. But the fast has also been taken up on behalf of 96 students who had failed in the science and arts sections. In the former, 56 out of 80 had failed while in the latter 40 out of 80 had failed. The failures, according to those who were fasting, were because the college made no attempts to give them coaching in English. Most students had studied with vernacular. Hence, the difficulty in passing the examinations. The VPS also accused the principal of being elitist and said that the closure of the morning college in 1979-80 had closed the doors of

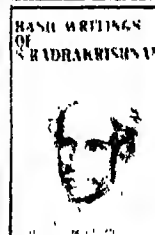
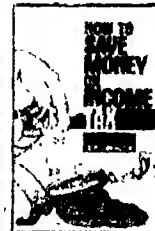
opportunity to lower-middle class students.

Miss Shroff, on the other hand, has accused the girls of being involved in a stabbing incident on 7 March 1981. This, the students dismiss as pure fiction. They said that they, along with some others, had repeatedly complained to the principal about eve-teasers in the college but when she did nothing about it, friends of the girls who were teased got involved in a scuffle with the teasers. And that was, perhaps, where the stabbing took place. Sheema and Kala maintain that they were not on the scene at that time.

The principal, however, seems to have an upper hand at the moment since the VPS has only a handful of members among the students. The recognised student body in the college is the Hamill Sabha whose members have sided with Miss Shroff. They maintain that they had decided last year that the authorities should take "stern action" against the "perpetrators of violence." And violence, they say, had erupted because of a feud between the VPS and the All-India Students Federation (AISF). The VPS is a comparatively new organisation (only two years old). The members organise street plays to educate people about exploitation and how to tackle issues like unemployment and housing which attracts large crowds. The feud between the students and the principal was taken to Court. Meanwhile, as we go the press, reports have come in that the fasting girls have been readmitted at the insistence of the education ministry. Olga Tellis

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Glaxo
a concern for health

Crop insurance in Orissa

From this year's kharif season, the Orissa government will introduce crop insurance on a pilot scale in 15 blocks covering ten of the state's 13 districts. Under the scheme, the General Insurance Corporation and the state government will be co-insurers, with the latter meeting claims to the extent of 25 per cent and sharing the premium income in the same ratio. To finance the scheme, the state government will set up the "Orissa State Crop Insurance Fund". The scheme will be implemented through the central cooperative banks. The government plans to subsidise the premium due from small and marginal farmers to the extent of 50 per cent.

Taxi-driver gets pension

Have you heard of a taxi-driver getting a pension for good services rendered? V. K. Gopalan, 70, a retired and ailing cabbie in Kerala gets a pension for life at the rate of Rs 100 per month. The story goes back to 1957 when a Parsi tourist came to Cochin with his wife and little daughter. He hired a taxi for 19 days to tour Kerala and visit



Merchant: philanthropist

Kanyakumari. At the end of the trip, he gave the driver an excellent testimonial for his courtesy and promptness. Nearly 25 years later, Gopalan—now old, infirm and sickly—received the first money order for Rs 100 along with a letter from the Sir Vithaldas D. Thacker Charitable Trust informing him that no less a person than the cricketer-philanthropist Vijay Merchant had directed the trust to pay the pension. Merchant was that Parsi tourist.

Contact between the two was renewed when, reading about Merchant in a paper, Gopalan wrote to him expressing a desire to see his little daughter whom Gopalan had carried on his shoulders a quarter century ago. Merchant wrote back saying that the little girl had now grown to be an accomplished bharat natyam dancer and would surely look Gopalan up when she visited Cochin. The first pension and the letter from the trust came soon after.

GOOD NEWS

First battery-operated two-wheeler

India's first battery-operated two-wheeler, Electra 24, will hit the road next month. Manufactured by Electromobiles (India), a Bangalore-based joint sector venture, it will cost Rs 8,232. One charge of its two batteries (consuming 3.7 units of electricity) will take the vehicle 80 km. Made of fibre glass, the two-wheeler will start at the press of a button and not require the customary kick. The automobile testing centre at Pune has okayed the two-wheeler and both the automobile industry as well as the government are eagerly waiting to see how the vehicle fares on road because its success might bring about a big change in the country's auto industry.

Doordarshan's exclusive feature films

Doordarshan will soon cease to be entirely dependent on the country's commercial cinema for its quota of weekend feature films. It will screen films specially made for it by young filmmakers like Buddhadeb Dasgupta, Girish Kasarwalli and Kumar Shahani with whom negotiations have been completed. Satyajit Ray has already been commissioned to make a full-length 16 mm feature film based on a story by Munshi Premchand. These films will form the first phase of Doordarshan's new programme to have its own feature films. Doordarshan also plans to sell these films to the international TV circuits.

Dasgupta: TV feature film director



Gauhati University foregoes summer vacation

Gauhati University did not have its annual summer vacation this year. Both teachers and students resolved to forego their annual vacations to try and make up for the academic loss of a year and a half due to the anti-foreigners' agitation in Assam. This decision is all the more praiseworthy as the oldest and the principal university in the state is passing through an acute financial crisis and its staff had not been paid their salary for June till 8 July.

Bio-gas to electrify town

A bio-(gober)-gas plant is being set up with the help of the Rural Electrification Corporation at Kotputli town in Jaipur district of Rajasthan. The plant will cost Rs four lakhs and produce 40 KW of power to be used for domestic lighting and running of pump sets for irrigation. The gas produced from the plant will also take care of the fuel needs of the town.

Chabirani's killers sentenced



Chabirani: posthumous justice

Those who raped and killed Chabirani Mahapatra (SUNDAY 9 November 1980) have been brought to book. On 13 July, Mr K. C. Kar, additional sessions judge, Cuttack, sentenced eight of the 11 accused to life imprisonment. They are the Biridi block Congress(I) chief Dibakar Nayak, local businessman Rajurao Dora, Babaji Mania, Bira Mania, Kelu Das, Surendra Barik, Bagha Tanti and Madhia Tanti. Among the other accused who received lesser terms of imprisonment was Nanda Mohanty, the Youth Congress(I) secretary of the Biridi block. Chabirani's husband, journalist Nabakishore Mahapatra's despatches had aroused the wrath of certain powerful elements in their village, Biridi, including Nayak and Dora, and they had threatened Nabakishore with dire consequences. And so, on 3 October last year, the couple decided to leave Biridi along with their child. It was on this journey that Chabirani was attacked and murdered.

Now that *Deepti Naval's* love for *Gulzar* is an open secret, the actress is being squeezed into any and every film for which *Gulzar* is either the lyricist or the scriptwriter. So, although *Moushumi* is a favourite of *B. Nagi Reddi* productions, the actress had to make way for *Deepti* in a *Nagi Reddi* film. Reason: *Gulzar*, of course. He is the lyricist and scriptwriter of this film which stars *Rakhee* and *Santosh Kumar* in the lead roles.

Shashi Kapoor with his new sexy gray hair near the ears, as he will be seen in films *Basseera* and *Kalyug*, is getting more adulation than he ever did in his younger days. Like wine, he seems to have matured with age.



Deepti Naval: it pays to have friends in high places

The South Indian star, *Kamalahasan*, has created a sensation in Bombay's film industry with his big hit, *Ek Duje Ke Live*. But for all the publicity and praise, the actor has managed to keep his head on his shoulders. Recently, *Kamalahasan* was introduced to a well-known actress at a common location where outdoor scenes of two film units were being shot. *Kamal* reminded the actress rather humbly that they had met earlier. But the star could not remember. So, *Kamalahasan* told her of the film made in Madras some years ago. The actress had done a dance sequence and *Kamalahasan* was the assistant dance director of the film.

Deepti Naval is yet to come to an understanding with her favourite director-boyfriend. She hangs around the sets long after shooting is over only to find that the director has left for home. And what else can the director do? Now that *Deepti* has moved her lodgings to his spacious bungalow it probably makes more sense to him to go home directly rather than linger in the make-up rooms and talk to *Deepti*.



Shashi Kapoor: going grey is not a disadvantage



Poonam Dhillon: more than a friend for a room mate



Gulzar: Deepti's good friend

Poor *Tina Munim* seems never to be out of trouble. Hardly had she recovered from the *Dev* split when there was this tragedy in her 'special' friend *Sunjay Dutt's* life; *Nargis* passed away. Then recently, when she had gone on location shooting with *Dabboo*, there was another fracas. The day happened to be her birthday. A birthday cake was duly brought over while the whole unit cheered her. The hero and director *Ramesh Behl* were on either side of the birth-

day baby and *Dabboo*, with his over-sized ego, naturally expected to be given the first piece of cake. Poor *Tina* unwittingly turned to her left first and gave *Ramesh* a piece of cake. That was enough for *Dabboo* who walked out of the sets and locked himself up in his make-up room. Meanwhile, the unit waited for him to give his shot with *Tina*. When *Tina* realised what had happened, she went into *Dabboo's* room, begged his pardon, and brought him back.

What's going on between *Poonam Dhillon* and director *Ramesh Talwar*? Watch her when she is working on one of *Ramesh's* films. She dilly-dallies in her room long after packing-up, waiting for the director to wind up his work. Not so if the director is someone else. Then of course, it is a different matter. *Ms Dhillon* simply rushes home as soon as she can finish her work. Maybe, the rumours about *Poonam* and *Ramesh* are not without reason, after all.

KHAAS BAAT

“Do they sell a simple thing like coffee in a place like this?” He asked the steward, almost flashing his permit in the 24-hour coffee shop and mistaking the sugar cubes for cheese. That was *Bhagyaraj*, the highly successful writer, director and hero, giving himself an enormous and unusual treat after his *Mauna Geethangal* entered the silver jubilee week in Madras. But the new mogul of the Madras film industry looked rather uncomfortable in the posh surroundings of the ritzy hotel he had ventured into for the very first time. Not long after the coffee incident, Bhagyaraj found himself in the kitchen poking his finger into all the dishes in sight and tasting them. “I am a non-veg,” he said by way of an explanation to the gawking kitchen staff.



Madhavi: not a sex-symbol

One movie released in 1975; four in 1976; 14 in 1977; 20 in 1978; 14 in 1979 and barely six in 1980. The figures make box office pundits almost certain that *Rajnikant's* popularity is on the decline. The star, of course, remains unperturbed. “Who cares?” he replies brashly, “*Thillu Mullu* is doing well. And people will flock (to it. So) there can't be the question of a comeback. I never went out to *Garjani*.” He was referring to the tri-lingual film scheduled for a hurried release in early September. If this film does well at the box office, it would mean a new lease of life for director C. V. Rajendra, who is noted for his series of Tamil flops in the recent past.

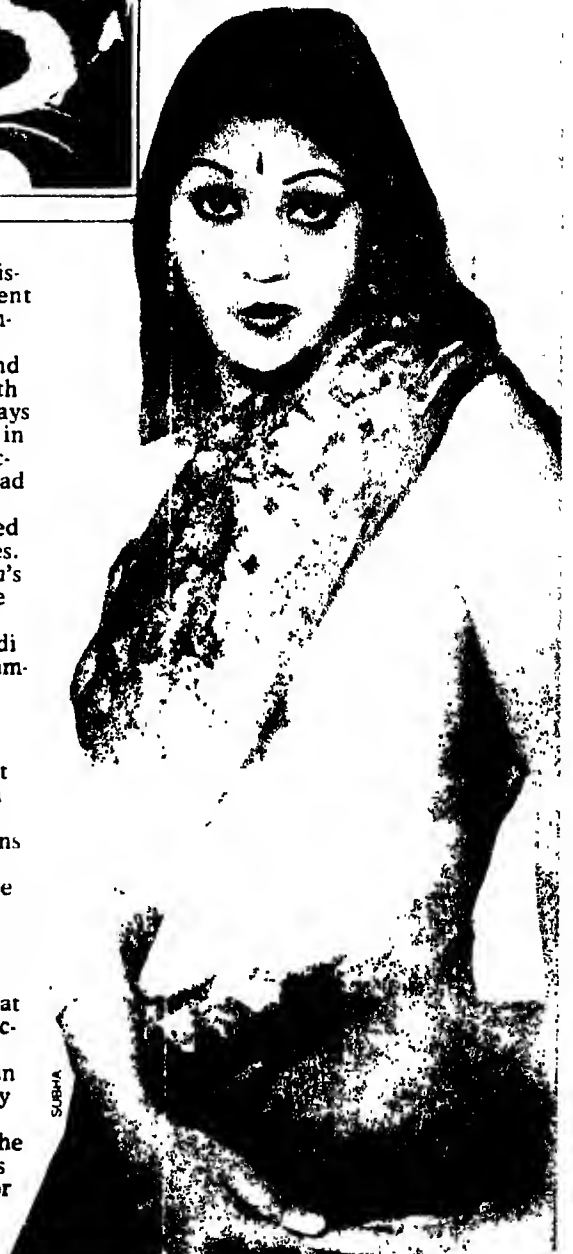
Jaya Gowri: it's my body that counts



Jaya Malini: flabby appeal

“I still love unfaded jeans and tea, and dislike apple juice (the current southern stars' status symbol), bright red, marbles and those lovey-dovey kind of soppy Hindi movies with their over-slick actors,” says *Suhasini* enthusiastically in an effort to prove that success hasn't gone to her head even as her second film *Palaivanacholai* has passed 75 days in Madras theatres. As for uncle *Kamalahasan's* success in Hindi films, she adds, “It's the best thing that has happened to Hindi movies for a long time. Kamal's the handsomest guy going today.”

“And so what if I can't speak Tamil with a typically Tamil accent so long as the proper emotions are there? Besides, isn't everyone supposed to have an individual style?” said *Pratap Pothen* when I bumped into him after a *Sharon Prabhakar* show. The star was all smiles what with four simultaneous successes in the city and a seven out of ten majority in a recent district popularity poll. The star has now decided to take a plunge in the film *Echil Eravukal* and, is being specially coached for the film by its producer.



Beginning 9 August

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May) An excellent week for you. The time is favourable for romance if you are not already in love. Your pending social problems will end very soon. However, it is safe not to take unnecessary risks if you are self-employed. For those in service, dramatic changes are forecast. However, financial problems will continue to bother you for some more time. **Good dates:** 9, 10 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June) Good fortune awaits you this week. You will find yourself in a position to pay back your debts. A big opportunity will come your way this week, so don't waste it. For those who have lawsuits pending, this is the most opportune time to get rid of them. Friends will go out of their way to help you especially in matters regarding your profession. Take good care of your health. **Good dates:** 12, 14 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July) An excellent week. A very favourable time for romance. Opportunities will come your way, so do not waste them. However, a word of caution do not take anything for granted. The early part of the week will bring in a lot of money and you can pay off your pending debts or buy what you have been wanting for a long time. **Good dates:** 9, 10 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** East.



CANCER (15 July—14 August) This is the week for you. Stellar portents favour excellent opportunities. So, utilise them to the utmost. Professional, social and even domestic activities will prove very satisfying to you. Those of you who have children will be happy with their progress in studies. A word of advice, do not be extravagant. Do not hesitate to ask for favours from those in authority. **Good dates:** 10, 12 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North.



LEO (15 August—14 September) A favourable week lies ahead of you. Friends and relatives will make this a busy week for you and add to your share of happiness. The financial front may not be very bright for chances of spectacular gains are low. Do not lose heart. A letter will bring you good news. Legal matters are best postponed for the time being. A word of advice: try to check your impulsiveness. **Good dates:** 9, 11 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 6. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October) This will be a moderately pleasant week. You are likely to gain some property but do not get carried away by your good fortune. Try to curb extravagant tendencies. A secret association or friendship may prove to be particularly beneficial. This is the time to seek and act upon the advice of elders. A good week for romance: capitalise on it. **Good dates:** 10, 14 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Southeast.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November) This, unfortunately, is not a good week for you. Businessmen are advised not to enter into new contracts. Those in service may avoid entering into controversies with your superiors. Not a good time for romance either, so do not pin your hopes on a friendship with a member of the opposite sex. **Good dates:** 11, 13 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) This is going to be a very successful week for you. By dint of your hard work, not only will you be able to overcome your earlier setbacks, but if you try hard enough you might achieve outstanding success. There will be some significant changes on all fronts including your love-life. A word of caution: use tact in your dealings with elders. **Good dates:** 9, 10 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Northeast.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) A moderately good week. Those in service will win the praise of your superiors and those in authority. The financial front looks bright. There will be some gains that will enable you to buy some luxury goods you have been longing for. But be careful, your gains may induce you to be extravagant. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 10, 11 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and Northeast.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) A good week for businessmen to enter into new contracts. A good week for making new friendships too. However a word of caution: elders will prove to be very annoying so keep your temper under control. Try to avoid entering into controversies. Your health may give you some cause for anxiety. A good time for romance. A letter will bring you some good news. **Good dates:** 9, 12 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) This week promises to be excellent for you. So go ahead with your plans. You can afford to take risks for you will lose nothing. Professionally, progress may be painfully slow but do not let that dishearten you. Differences with your colleagues or superiors should be settled immediately and peacefully. **Good dates:** 11, 12 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable directions:** North and South.



PISCES (15 March—14 April) Be confident and courageous in your day to day dealings with those in authority. Persons of the opposite sex will be especially helpful to you this week. There is more good news you will receive a letter which you have been waiting for a long time. Socially, this is going to be a very fruitful week since you will get an opportunity to renew old acquaintances. **Good dates:** 12 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 5. **Favourable directions:** South and Southwest.

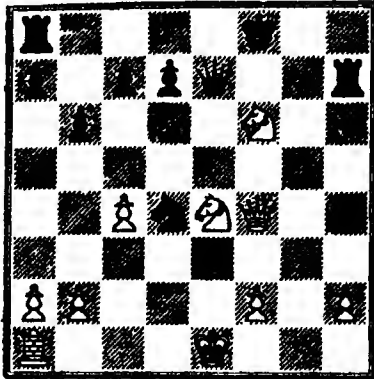
For those born between 15 July and 14 August: The year, unfortunately, is not going to be very good for those still studying. You might face financial problems. However, there is nothing to worry for this is only a passing phase. Those of you who have sons, this year will be especially fortunate for you. Sons will not only do well in studies but will shine in extra-curricular activities too. Sons will also be very helpful familywise.

However, this year is the year to save money. You will be tempted to invest whatever you gain in gambling or the races. So,

a word of caution, whatever might be the temptations do not waste or squander away your gains. This year is also not very good for love or marriage. Most of you will be unable to fall in love. However, there is nothing to worry and next year will not be too late. It will pay you in the long run to take the advice of elders, especially your parents whenever there is a problem. Healthwise there is every possibility of your contracting a serious disease like diabetes, tumour, gallstone or even blood-pressure. So, take very good care of your health throughout the year.

chess

Short (Black) to move



Aekesson (White)
Position after White's 19th move
 Nigel Short's second place in the World Junior Championship in Dortmund last year was, taking the long-term view, one of the most encouraging results for British chess since Tony Miles won that same event back in 1974. Although second in the championship he was effectively first in the tournament, in that there was no way that Gary

Kasparov of the Soviet Union was not going to win the title itself. Kasparov had already established himself as one of the strongest players in the world and his entry into the championship was a clear case of overkill on the part of the Soviet Chess Federation. His victory was as certain as a certainty can be, though no less impressive for that. Nigel's entry, however, was more of a gamble. Lacking a little in experience and a lot in years (at the age of 15 in an under-21 event), he achieved a success that was, if not quite unexpected, by no means assured. His result in Dortmund virtually guarantees that he will one day win the title (he is eligible for the next five years) and it could in fact well be one day this year.

No doubt Nigel was greatly assisted by John Junn's presence as his second, especially as opening theory is not Nigel's forte. I see that they struck a great blow for the Mango ice-cream variation, so christened because I have a wager of two mango ice-creams with Mr H. Golombek that the variation is playable for Black. It is a testimony to Nigel's boldness or perhaps merely my timidity that he is willing to gamble his place in the World Junior Championship on a variation on which I am only willing to gamble my dessert.

White: R. Aekesson. Black: N. Short.
 World Junior Championship, Dortmund 1980
 1. P-Q4, P-K3; 2. P-OB4, P-QN3; 3. P-K4, B-N2; 4. B-Q3, P-KB4; 5. P x P, B x P; 6. Q-R5 + P-N3; 7. P x P, B-N2; 8. P x P + K-B1;

9. N-K2! The move discovered by Walter Browne. Instead 9. P x N=Q+ K x P gives Black a good game. All in all very surprising.
 9... B x R; 10. B-N5, N-KB3; 11. Q-R4, N-B3; 12. N-Q2! In the game Browne-Miles from Amsterdam 1978 White played 12. N-B4 and won crushingly after 12... K-B2?, but 12... N x P or 12... P-K4 are stronger.
 12... P-K4; 13. N-KN3 I think 13. O-O-O makes a better case for Mr Golombek's ice-creams. The move played allows Nigel to demonstrate his taste for tactics.

13... P-K5! 14. B x P, B x B; 15. N(3) x B, R x P; 16. Q-B4, N x P! Choosing the violent way out. After 16... K-B2; 17. N-KB3 threatening N-K5+ White still has strong compensation for his rook.
 17. B x N Better 17. N x N, B x N, 18. B x B, N-K3, 19. B x O, N x O, 20. B x P with good chances to draw.

17... B x B; 18. N x B, Q-K2+ 19. N(2)-K4

DIAGRAM

19... R-R5! Sparkling defensive play. Of course if 20. O x R, N-B6+, but White also cannot maintain his coordination.
 20. N-N4 + Q-B2; 21. Q-N3, R-K1; 22. K-B1 What else?
 22... Q x QBP+ 23. K-N2, N-B4; 24. Q-R3 + P-Q3; 25. Resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



The late Mrs Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel from 1969 to 1974, is portrayed on a new stamp issued in her honour. In common with other Israeli issues, the stamps in the bottom row of the sheet have a decorative tab giving details of the design. British collectors of Israeli stamps are fortunate in having a comprehensive guide in English to help their studies. The *Catalogue of Israel Postage Stamps*, published by Michael H. Bale of Itzcombe (1981 edition, 304 pp., £5.75), illustrates and prices all issues since 1948, including postal stationery, stamp booklets and first day covers. Many issues have paid tribute to the support Israel has received from overseas agencies and among the foreign celebrities honoured by special stamps have been Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, President Truman and A. J. Balfour, who in 1917 promised British support for a Jewish national home.

C. W. HILL

bridge

It is always a pleasant success for a declarer playing on Vu-Graph, to make a play that seems to the spectators to be a mistake but is not so at all. Dick Cummings, of Australia, achieved this in the match against Indonesia in the Olympian.

Dealer: South. E-W vulnerable.

♠ A 10 6 3
 ♥ 6
 ♦ 10 6 2
 ♣ A Q 7 6 2

♠ J 9 7
 ♥ 10
 ♦ Q J 9 8 7
 ♣ K 10 8

N
 W E
 S

♠ 8 5 2
 ♥ K Q 8 5
 ♦ A K 5 4
 ♣ 9 5

♠ K Q 5
 ♥ A J 9 7 4 3 2
 ♦ -
 ♣ J 4 3

After One Heart from South, Two Clubs from North, what should South call? The Indonesian player quite reasonably bid only Two Hearts. His partner passed and ten tricks were made. At the other table Cummings rebid Four Hearts. He ruffed the diamond lead and, being somewhat short of entries to dummy, played Ace of hearts and followed with the Jack, won by East's Queen. East exited with a low spade, won in dummy.

After a diamond ruff the declarer cashed King and Queen of spades, arriving at this position:

♠ 10
 ♥ -
 ♦ -
 ♣ A Q 7 6 2

♠ N
 W E
 S

♠ K 3
 ♥ A K
 ♦ 9 5

♠ -
 ♥ 9 7
 ♦ -
 ♣ 1 1 1

The spectators could see that a club to the Queen, followed by a diamond ruff, would win the contract easily. To everyone's surprise, Cummings played a club to the Ace! This wins even if East holds ♠ K x. The master spade was led from dummy and East, seeing that it could not help to ruff, discarded a club. Then a diamond was ruffed and South exited with ♠ J. Whatever happened to this, the declarer, with ♥ 9 7 remaining, was assured of a tenth trick.

This deal, described by Ron Klingler, the editor of *Australian Bridge*, was entitled Bid Em Up Play Em Up, and won the Bols Brilliance Prize divided between player and writer.

TERENCE REESE

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What is the Frankfurt School?
2. In painting, what is intimism?
3. Psychodrama is a technique in psychotherapy. What is it?
4. What is Vietminh the abbreviation of?
5. What are the Yippies?

5. They are members of the Youth International Party, a fringe organisation of radical educated youth in the USA.

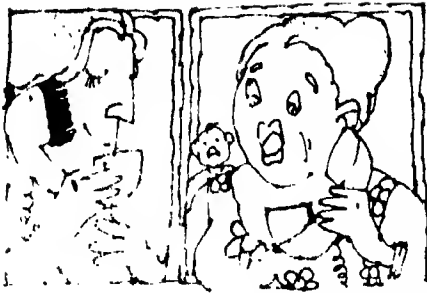
4. Vietnam Duc Lap Dong Minh or the Vietnamese Independence League.

3. Technique in which a patient plays out a role in the dramatic enactment of a particular situation to help him understand his subjective and interpersonal feelings.

2. Term applied to the work of late 19th century painters who concentrated on domestic scenes.

1. Persons and ideas associated with the Institute for Social Research, founded and affiliated to the University of Frankfurt in 1923.

ANSWERS



NEW DELHI: It all started on the telephone. A young man fell in love with a soft husky and sexy girl's voice. The voice was that of a woman diplomat posted as a third secretary in an African embassy. The telephonic romance which had lasted for about a year ended abruptly last night (9 July). The gay Lothario was caught when he went to "date" his sweetheart. His dream was shattered when he saw his dream girl, 40 year-old mother of two teenaged children. She had asked her "lover boy" to drop in for a "love making" session at her luxury south Delhi bungalow. When the thrilled young man turned up in his gleaming new car all dressed up to "kill," he was promptly arrested by the waiting plain girl for a date at a five-star hotel. But she suggested that her home would be more secluded and that they would be undisturbed. The trap was carefully planned and sprung by the woman and her husband, a physician working in the Jayaprakash Narayan Hospital here. For the young man, it would certainly be an experience to remember though not to cherish. Police said he is the sole proprietor of an auto agency in Kashmir Gate and lives in Rajouri Garden with his father, an income-tax officer.—*Hindustan Times* (Ajit Hakhu, Jammu)

KOTTAYAMULI: A 13-year old girl was offered a reward of Rs 12,532 by the local devotees of Lord Shiva for providing the clue, though unwittingly, to the theft of an image of the god Ramani had sold out her exercise books to a hardware merchant at Parsala, her home town. The merchant used pages of these books to wrap an iron bar a man bought from him. This was the man who stole the image from the Ettumanoor Mahadevi temple. The thief had dumped the wrapper and the iron bar into the temple well after he stole the image. Interested officers found those pages which, incidentally, bore the girl's name on them. This led to the arrest of the thief.—*Statesman* (Anandya Sen Gupta, Calcutta)

BOMBAY: Strange are the ways of the Bombay municipal corporation. It has terminated services of 83 peons attached to the educational department

who were recruited illegally. But the officers who allegedly accepted bribes are not touched. Ramesh Joshi and P. K. Kunte, both non councillor members of the education committee today (10 July) demanded that action should be taken against the officer who had allegedly taken bribes from the peons for appointing them out of turn. DMC Vijay Vaidya pointed out that the civic administration was investigating the matter, but Joshi demanded the suspension of officer concerned first before instituting an inquiry. He alleged that the concerned officer would be in a position to destroy the records regarding the illegal appointments.—*Daily (Dr Priti, Maharashtra)*

PUNE: Perhaps first time in history of the court, a youth filed a petition in the sessions court here seeking its intervention halting a girl's moves to seduce him. The 30-year-old rickshaw driver Balakram Bhimaji Moray moved the court that the girl is trying to seduce and marry him with the help of a councillor. He requested the court to forbid the girl from seducing him. However, the additional sessions judge G. H. Sarda dismissed the petition with expenses on Wednesday (8 July). Irked by the court decision the rickshaw driver hurled a stone at him. Luckily the judge escaped unhurt and a complaint has been lodged against Moray.—*Daily (R. Subramanian, Bombay)*

VELLORE: The special officer of the Vellore municipality has adopted a novel method of recruitment of men for appointment as gangmen under the drought relief programme. Against 19 vacancies the employment exchange sent more than 200 candidates all with SSLC and PUC qualifications. To avoid pressure and favouritism, the special officer directed everyone of the candidates to take crowbars and spades and desert a well adjoining the municipal office. One by one dropped out on the sly. A few who remained and carried out the work, were immediately appointed.—*Indian Express* (Raama Kumarasamy, Vellore)

BHOPAL: Transfer of government employees in Madhya Pradesh is described in some quarters as an "industry without investment." Its bounties are manifold. Recently a transfer list was prepared in the irrigation department in Bhopal, involving some 39 superintending engineers, 179 executive engineers and about 400 assistant engineers. Like examination papers the list was leaked out. Cyclostyled copies are said to have been sold by some peons at Rs 50 each to those eager to know the names in advance. The copies were apparently in as much demand as newspaper carrying matriculation results.—*Times of India* (Md. Aftab Hussain, Gaya)

Whatever my husband is, it is due to Allah and Mrs Gandhi—Nargis Antulay, Maharashtra CM A.R. Antulay's wife quoted in *Current*
If the government is tinkering with the Constitution to accommodate foreigners in Assam then there will be no nation—Nibaran Bora, All-Assam Gana Sangram Parishad leader

Somehow the poor in our country think that they can improve their lot not by defying authority but by getting close to it—Kamal Nath in *Onlooker*

Chavan will become neither Rashtrapati nor Chatrapati (Shivaji). He will not even become a senapati in your party. He will just be a jawan—Pitoo Mody to a Congress(I) sympathiser of Y.B. Chavan quoted in *Onlooker*

So far as the BJP is concerned, it has no intention of repeating the Janata experiment—L.K. Advani, BJP general secretary

Power should be kept above politics—Union energy minister A. B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhuri

One or two people were arrested, but the centre had nothing to do with it—Mrs Gandhi commenting on the harassment of newsmen during the Emergency

I enjoyed the blessings of Mrs Gandhi—Jagannath Pahadia, ousted chief minister of Rajasthan.

Time is something that does not seem to matter in this country—Rajiv Gandhi

They (stars) used to be a product of the movie, today the movie is product of the star—Gulzar

Heads of state—including me when I was one—are a dirty bunch—Ahmed Ben Bella deposed President of Algeria

The western industrial nations should be careful in trading with the Soviet Union so they did not provide the marxist system with the rope with which to hang the western world—Alexander Haig, US secretary of state

The veneer of civilisation is very thin. It has to be cherished if it is going to continue—Margaret Thatcher, British PM

I recall telling him that those boots would take him anywhere he wanted to go. Look at how right I was—Pasquale Di Fabrizio, Hollywood bootmaker who made a pair for actor Ronald Reagan

Make love often. Seek to satisfy your partner's needs. Take time to make love—Rev. Frank Cooke, Anglican charity director on what Prince Charles and Lady Diana should do after marriage

The Chinese package deal

By V. K. Madhavan Kutty

The editor was busy writing about the parameters and the multipolar dimensions of the different viewpoints of India and China and their implications in bilateral relations. I went and sat in front of him. He finished writing on how China was trying to balance its relations with neighbouring countries in contrast to the Soviet moves in the same direction and how their long-term perspectives would affect our multilateral relations. Then, he looked up.

"I have an exclusive story," I said.

"On what? Anymore on Sharad Pawar, Chavan, blindings, Gundu Rao, Makwana or MGR, election commission and Garhwal?" He was probably thinking of my next cover story.

"I have the packet," I said.

"What packet?" He took a minute to get back on the rails. He was too preoccupied with his China card. He had forgotten about the package the Chinese foreign minister was supposed to have brought with him.

He lowered his voice and asked, "Where is it? Is it big enough for a

cover? We can use some photographs," he added.

I took out my notebook from my inner pocket.

"Is it the exchange of territory proposal which was packed two decades ago?" asked the impatient editor again.

"No," I said without opening my notebook.

The editor was getting visibly impatient. Now, I thought, I should not hold back. He would probably even threaten me saying that he would ask Subramaniam Swamy about the package.

"The package is on Kailash," I said.

"On Kailash?" He was surprised.

"Actually, the package contains the details of the proposals about opening up of Kailash and Manasarovar for Indian pilgrims," I said.

"Then why didn't he announce it?" the editor asked.

"He was on a probing mission. He wanted to know the Indian reaction. Since he has returned a day earlier than originally planned, he could not complete the probing. In the next round of talks he may place the package according to my usually reliable

China watchers," I added. "But I have some details."

"Like?" The editor sounded uninterested. But I knew he was not.

"The Chinese want to form a Central Kailash Committee on the lines of Central Haj Committee." I started unpacking.

"Interesting..." This was the first positive response from the editor.

So, I continued. "There will be an advisory committee to decide the number of pilgrims and how they should be selected, etc. The quota for each state will be decided. Chinese advisors should be attached to the committee in the interest of continuing the age-old ties."

"How did our South Block circles react?" I was asked.

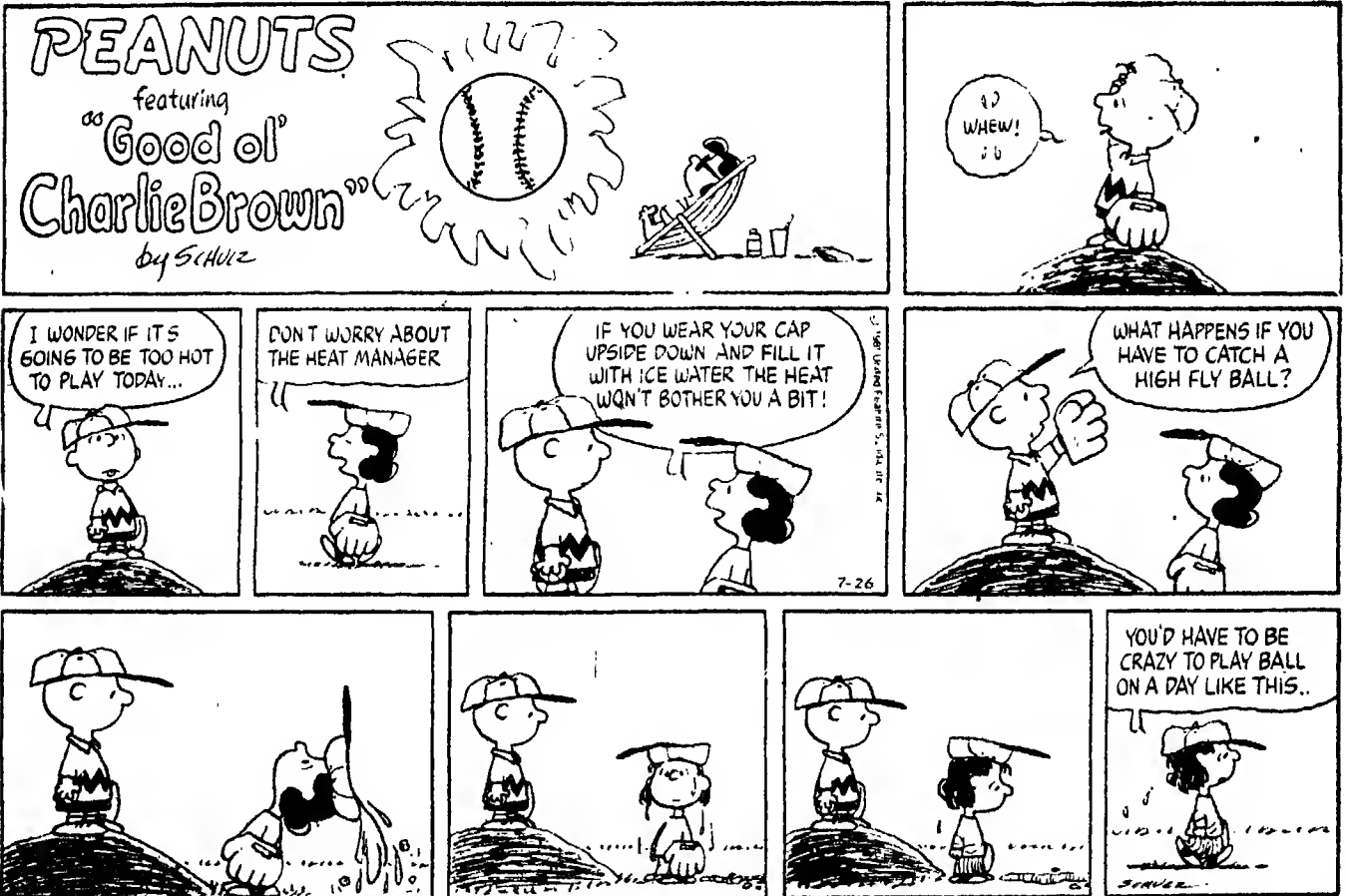
"They feel that it should be a central subject and the states should not have any say on it. If necessary a Friends of China organisation could be set up."

"Is it a breakthrough?" the editor was probing me.

"Yes," he answered himself. "It is an improvement since Vajpayee's visit. On the whole it is a good beginning," the editor said finally.

That reminded me of something. "The Chinese have agreed to give electronic trishuls (tridents) to pilgrims who uphold the traditional friendship after the Ibrahim watch analogy."

The editor was happy at that additional piece of information.



IS CPWD ABDICATING?

THE central public works department (CPWD), which is entrusted with the upkeep of government bungalows in New Delhi, seems to have relaxed its rules. Normally, alterations can be made to the bungalows only by the CPWD. 2, Kushak Road, which has been allotted to the chairman of the railway board, Mr M. S. Gujral, is undergoing a massive renovation. Nothing wrong with that, considering that Mr Gujral is a principal secretary to the government. But why is

the work being undertaken by railway staff? Are they authorised to do such work? Moreover, as railway money is being used for the renovation, will the house become earmarked for subsequent chairmen of the railway board who will follow Mr Gujral? We had reported earlier (2 November 1980) how the bungalow allotted to a woman MP from Himachal Pradesh was being renovated by the Himachal PWD, whose chief engineer was the MP's husband. Is this becoming a routine?

IS NARASIMHA RAO SLIPPING UP?

THINGS are not going too well with the minister for external affairs, Mr Narasimha Rao. He was grilled by members of the parliamentary consultative committee attached to his ministry at its recent meeting in Hyderabad for a particular sentence in the joint communique issued at the end of his trip to Pakistan. The sentence read: "Both sides agreed that each country had the sovereign right to acquire arms, for self-defence." The MPs pointed out that soon after Mr Rao had acknowledged Pakistan's "sovereign right" to buy arms, the Americans stepped up their arms sales to that country. The point, first raised by Mr Chandrajit Yadav, was taken up by almost the entire committee. It is being rumoured that the PM was none too happy about the outcome of Mr Rao's Islamabad visit. That may have been the reason why she kept a close tab on the recent India-China talks. She held as many as three briefings for the Indian negotiating team during Mr Huang Hua's visit and the PM's principal secretary, Mr P. C. Alexander, kept in close touch with Mr Rao during the talks.

EMBARRASSED AT LAST



The Jayaprakash Narayan Smarak Samiti, which is chaired by Mrs Indira Gandhi, met on 30 June. All the important members were present. But Y. B. Chavan was not. He left Delhi at the time of the meeting to avoid the embarrassment of coming face to face with Mrs Gandhi who had not granted him an appointment.

CHAUDHURY AND CHANDRA SHEKHAR COMING CLOSER?

OPPOSITION unity seems to be making some headway. Chaudhury Charan Singh and Mr Chandra Shekhar have definitely moved closer. Some feel the meeting of opposition leaders on 1 July which Mr Dayanand Sahai organised (see News) was not the main event. More important was the one between Mr Chandra Shekhar and Mr Charan Singh which was held later.

It seems that in the beginning the Janata party president was interested only in the Lok Dal and a few leaders of the Congress(U). But he may be onto a big thing. The most surprising move can come from Chaudhury Charan Singh who reportedly is thinking of renouncing power politics and would like to give the new party or group his support and blessings.

INFIGHTING IN RAJIV CAMP

INFIGHTING has started in the Rajiv camp. It is mostly Arun Nehru vs the others. Only a few, like Virbahadur Singh and Sanjay Singh are siding with Mr Nehru but all the other important personalities in the camp are quite allergic to the former multi-national executive. Opposing him are Narinder Singh Bhati, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Shivendra Bahadur Singh and Vijay Dhar of the PM's secretariat. Incidentally, all those angry with Arun Nehru (mainly because of the way he talks) are not very friendly with each other either. Bhati does not like Vijay Dhar. The Youth Congress(I) general secretary Arun Kumar Singh Munna, and Gufran Azam, firebrand Congress(I) MP from Madhya Pradesh, have openly come out against Arun Nehru. But the latest to gang up against Arun Nehru is none other than Mr Kamal Nath, the new entrant into the Rajiv camp.

SHORT-CHANGED

AFTER the recent price rise, with petrol being priced at an odd Rs 6.07, scooterists and other small consumers are losing everytime they buy petrol. A little money is lost irrespective of how much petrol is bought, be it one, two or the maximum three litres. If you buy a litre, from where can you produce a two-paisa coin or the pump attendant a three paisa coin? So, the effective price becomes Rs 6.10. If you buy two litres, the price should be Rs 12.14; the pump attendant has to return you a non-existent one-paisa coin. So effective price: Rs 12.15. If you buy three litres, the price is Rs 18.21; again, because of the non-existent one-paisa coin the effective price is Rs 18.22. Why blame the pump attendants? They are neither responsible for the price increase nor the issuance of currency. It is the bureaucrats in the petroleum ministry doing the fine calculations who are unaware of the virtual disappearance of small coins in the country.

TAILPIECE: One politician who can keep smiling in all seasons is Mr Kalpnath Rai, AICC(I) general secretary. Even photographs taken at the Sanjay *samadhi* function on 23 June show a beaming Mr Rai.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

Rural economy gets
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The initiation of an all-women's co-operative movement that already covers over 20 co-operative societies assembling 62 lakhs worth of Keltron radios.

The development of hundreds of ancillary industries within Kerala to supply material worth crores to Keltron's manufacturing units.

A rehabilitation scheme for the physically handicapped and mentally retarded offering them work opportunities. To produce P.C. Cards for Keltron radios and assemble wire trees for TV sets.

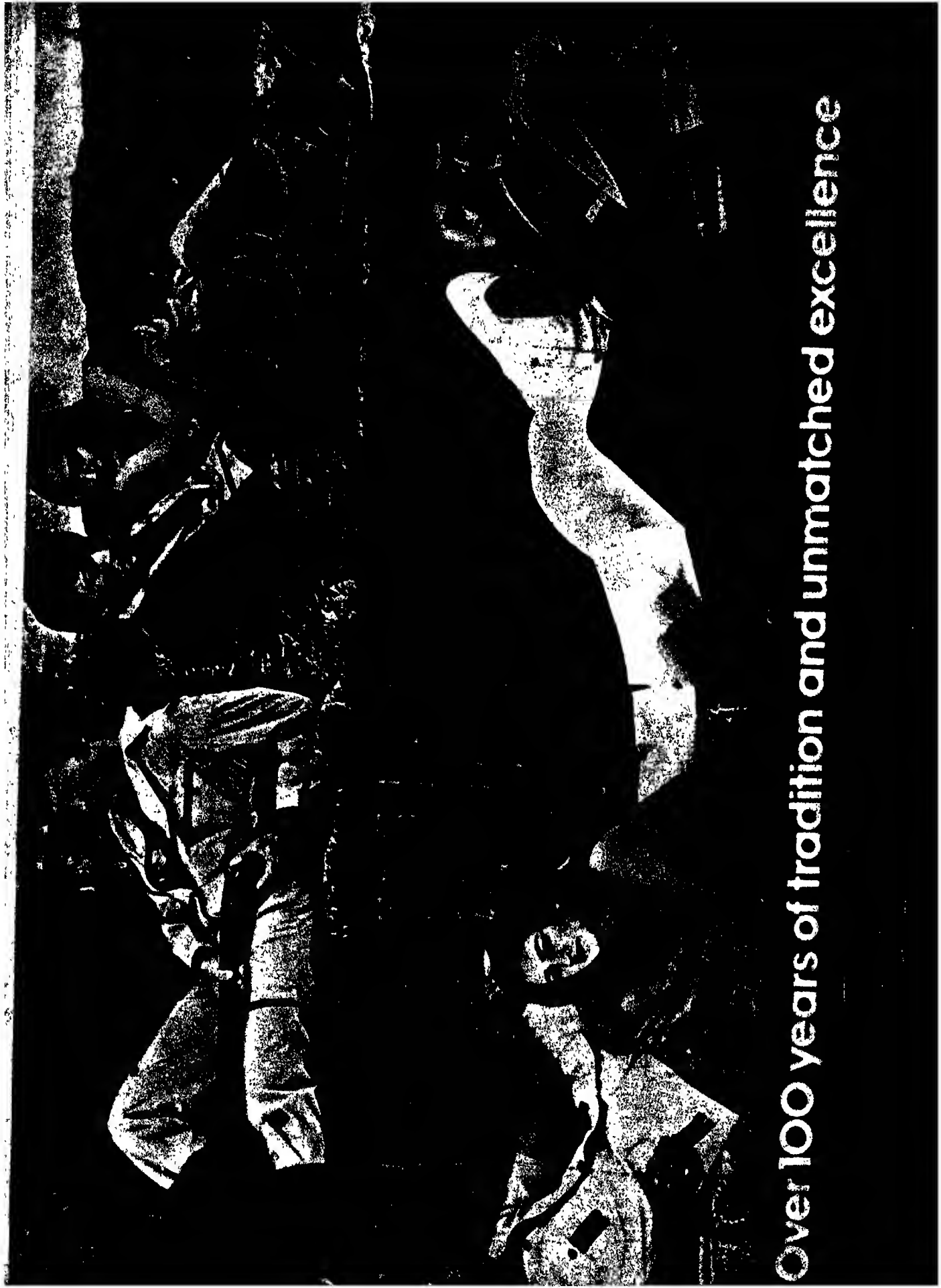
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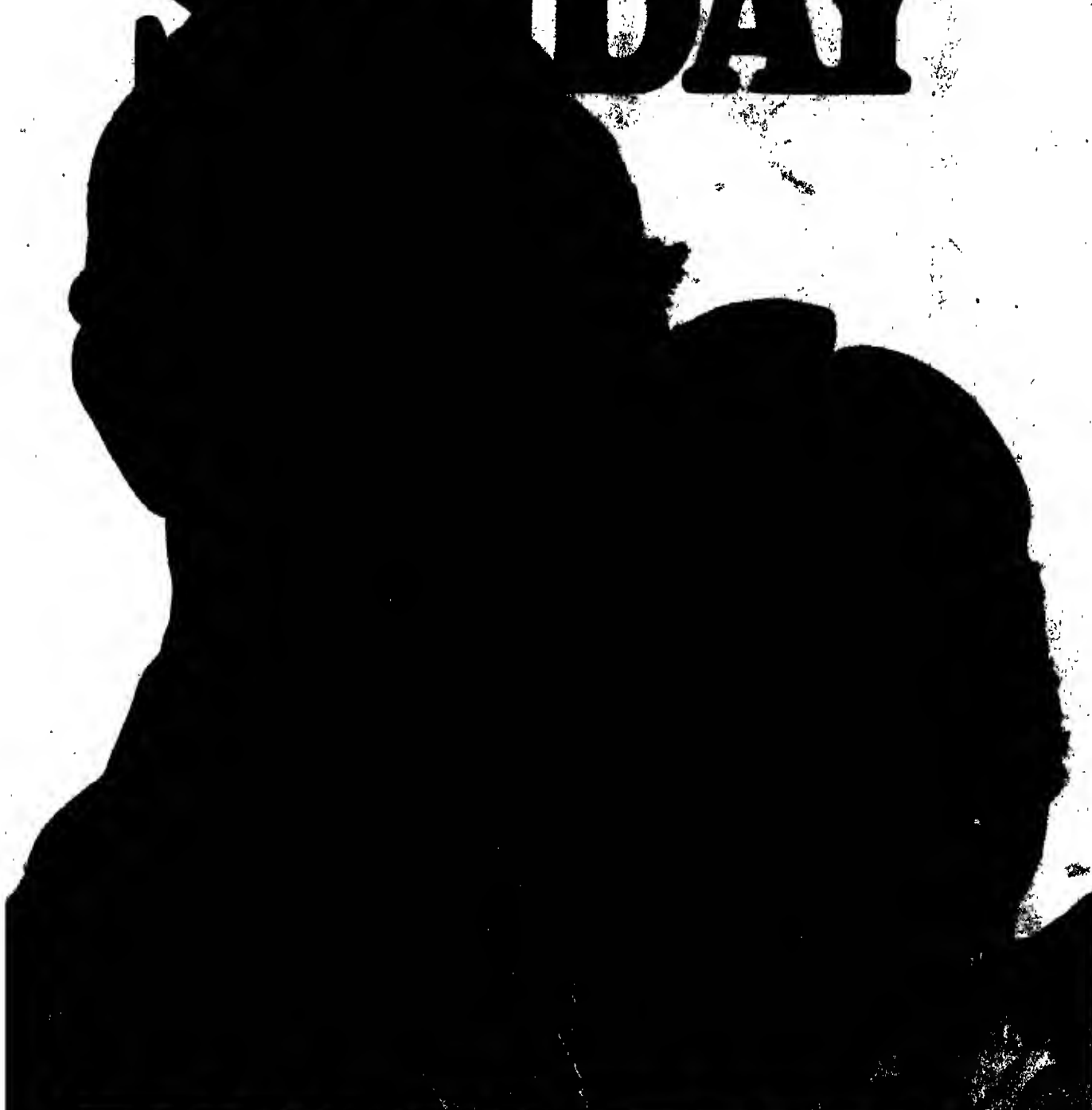
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SUNDAY



FEAR AND JOY IN LONDON

M.J.Akbar reports

Hands that grind masalas,
now skilfully assemble radios...

...as Keltron pioneers the
co-operative movement
for women in Kerala.



From the kitchen to a radio assembly unit. From unpaid housework to paid labour. Keltron is showing the way to women all over Kerala. Making possible their economic self-reliance.

Radio assembly by all-women's co-operatives is, like all brilliant ideas, a simple one. Already over 20 co-operative societies assemble 62 lakhs worth of Keltron radios in a pioneering co-operative movement conceived and implemented by Keltron. A movement that has fired the imagination of the people. And promises to become a mini revolution within the electronics revolution launched by Keltron.

Keltron's commitment to larger societal goals and self-reliance are reflected in several other of its pioneering programmes. For instance—

Rural industrialisation through which Keltron has transformed backward areas in several districts of Kerala into electronic wonderlands. Providing job opportunities to thousands, directly and indirectly.

A rehabilitation scheme for the physically handicapped and mentally retarded—offering them work opportunities. To produce P.C. Cards for Keltron radios and to assemble wire trees for T.V. sets.

The development of hundreds of ancillary industries within Kerala to supply material worth crores to Keltron's manufacturing units.

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What makes Fedders Lloyd Zenith a world class refrigerator?

Confessions of a Zenith owner...4

My aunt from Canada said 'I don't believe it!'



When my little daughter said 'Just press!'

My aunt was excited because she didn't expect a fridge like this in India, while my excited four year old daughter wanted to demonstrate the water cooler on the door.

And you must've enjoyed the scene?

Thoroughly First I thought my aunt was over reacting - she's rather dramatic, but then after that she began asking a string of questions.

Like what?

Well, first she asked whether it was imported. Then whether all Indian fridges were made this way. When I said no to both question she was taken aback.

Did she stop, after that?

No She wanted to know more about Zenith's two-way auto defrost system and the built-in voltage stabilizer.*

She was also very impressed with all the features which make up the 165 litre Zenith. Like the detachable egg racks,

the removable butter and cheese boxes, the tilting bottle rack, the extra ice trays.

She must have been surprised

Yes. More so, when she heard that the water cooler has a capacity of 3.4 litres and holds 20 glasses of water.

You seem to like her very much?

Oh, she's a darling. She's even considering coming back to India to reside.

*Optional



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11-8-81



The whole world joined Britain in joyous merriment at the wedding of Prince Charles. But the whole of the British population was not there at the feast, Britain's recent worst-ever race riots have exposed how grievously divided a nation it is. M J Akbar reports on the wedding and captures the twin moods of joy and frustration of those who came to the wedding feast and those who felt left out. **Page 8**

Between 12 and 17 July, around 40 people died in Hyderabad in communal riots. Though tension had been simmering for sometime the government failed to prevent the carnage. **Page 18**

What is a 'paranoid'? What are the persecutors? And, absurd of all, what on earth are 'persecutionologists'? Kishore Chatterjee has exposed all of them in his book *The Paranoid Dictionary*. **Page 40**

H R NAGRA



Amitabh Bachchan, the superstar of the Seventies, met with hard times at the turn of the decade when a few of his movies flopped, although they had all that went into the making of box-office hits. But remarkably, he is back at the top of the charts again. The fascinating story of how a superstar fought back into stardom in a field where people seldom come back on top. **Page 31**

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Apt exposure

Bravo M J Akbar for the cover story, *The amazing government of Gundu Rao* (12 July). Thanks to SUNDAY, the misdeeds of the Karnataka government are now being echoed in the Indian press. *S. Arunachalam, Calcutta*

I am glad that SUNDAY has called a spade a spade by exposing Gundu Rao and his cronies. *U. S. Iyer, Pune*

Thanks for the cover story. Mrs Gandhi must save the country by getting rid of third-rate politicians. *J. Rath, Cuttack*

SUNDAY deserves to be congratulated for the cover story. It is heartening to know that there is at least one journal in this country which is doing its duty. *A. Mukherjee, Calcutta*

M. J. Akbar's report was very bold. I wonder how people like Gundu Rao, F. M. Khan and C. M. Ibrahim are tolerated by Mrs Gandhi. *N. D. Rajan, Madras*

I hung my head in shame after reading Mr Akbar's revealing cover story. *Yasohanta N. Dhar, Bhubaneswar*

The cover story was informative. We in Karnataka have learnt to live with political depravity and arrogance; could there be a worse tragedy than this? *Sukumavan Menon, Bangalore*

SUNDAY, because of its bold reporting, is the only magazine worth reading. *Markose Teresa, Bombay*

M. J. Akbar's report was honest. Gundu Rao has no right to remain in office. *S. Virupaksha, Bangalore*

The cover story was an example of frank and fearless reporting. Thanks to Mr Akbar. *V. L. Narayana, Howrah*

The cover story read like a dark and shameful chapter of Indian history. *Piyush Nair, Visakhapatnam*

Was the Shourie-Gundu Rao interview ethical? Yes, it was. I would advise Arun Shourie to carry on the good work; he has the support of every sensible citizen and every reader of SUNDAY. *M. S. N. Rao, Madras*

There was nothing unethical about the Shourie-Gundu Rao interview. It was honest and that is what matters. *Sujit Roy, Bansdroni (West Bengal)*

It is clear that Mrs Gandhi prefers loyalty to competence. *R. V. Venkatraman, Trivandrum*

It is surprising that Gundu Rao's 'amazing' government is still in office. *Dilip Kumar Porel, Howrah*

The dynamism of Gundu Rao's government is manifest only in his tirade against the press. *T. K. Abdul Majeed, Madras*

Gundu Rao, F. M. Khan and C. M. Ibrahim have exposed the Congress(I). *Shirish Koyal, Nagpur*

At least Mrs Renuka Rajendran had the decency to resign from Gundu Rao's cabinet after her misdeeds came to light. Do Mr Rao and C. M. Ibrahim have the grace to follow in her footsteps? *S. Narayanaswamy, Bangalore*

It is a pity that M. J. Akbar made no mention of A. K. Subbiah, the MLA who exposed C. M. Ibrahim; was it because Mr Subbiah is a BJP man? *S. P. Bakshi, Patiala*

Shame on M. J. Akbar for his cover story based on reports which appeared in the *Deccan Herald* and the *Indian Express*. *Haseena Bashiruddin, Hyderabad*

Gundu Rao belongs to the Sanjay Gandhi school of politics; his style of functioning is therefore understandable. It is unfortunate that M. J. Akbar chose to highlight only the shortcomings of the chief minister. *K. Govind, Kuttippuram*

Tenacious fighter

World's bravest loser (12 July) was superb. All that Vijay Amritraj needs to win the Wimbledon title is the killer instinct. *Ashok S. Savanur, Solapur*

Ashis Ray's interview with Vijay was very interesting. I hope that by making appropriate changes in his technique he will win the Wimbledon title next year. *Prasanna Kumar Mohanty, Bhubaneswar*

Ashis Ray's was a well-written report on Vijay's brilliant performance. *Radhakrishna Khatavkar, Bangalore*

Congratulations to Vijay on his commendable performance at Wimbledon. *P. K. Viswanath, Bangalore*

Vijay Amritraj has earned a place for himself among the other two giants of Indian sport—Sunil Gavaskar and Prakash Padukone. *Sailesh Kumar Patnaik, Bargarh (Orissa)*

For Vijay the Wimbledon title is like the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. This is because he is a true Indian—too meek to go for the kill when he is

required to. *J. Japam, Hyderabad*

Though the report was excellent, Ashis Ray failed to mention the fact that this year Vijay reached the quarter finals in three events, men's singles, men's doubles and mixed doubles. He is the only Indian player to have achieved this remarkable feat. *Nayanendu Misra, Rourkela*

May I remind Ashis Ray that it was Harry Hopman who spoke about the "ABC" of tennis and not Arthur Ashe. *H. M. Moitra, Calcutta*

The comparisons between Vijay and Ramanathan Krishnan were in very bad taste. *O. P. Nautiyal, Dehra Dun*

I was disappointed to find that SUNDAY had spared only three pages for Vijay; besides, Ashis Ray's lavish compliments were most unpalatable. It is wrong to say that Vijay lived up to his motto: never say die. If he never said die, Vijay would have won the Wimbledon title. *A. Jayathilak, Trivandrum*

Whose fault?

Why a foreign student of IIT committed suicide (*News*, 12 July) was shocking. It would not be wrong to attribute this tragedy to the pseudo-elitist culture represented by the IITs. Their arrogance is appalling. *Ashish K. Ghosh, Calcutta*

As an ex-student of IITs (Kanpur and Madras) I cannot agree with Loy Rego's report. The authorities may not be entirely above board, but the foreign students at the IITs cannot be forgiven. Most of them receive fat sums as scholarships and are assured decent jobs once they get back home. This leads them astray; their attention is diverted from academics to worldly pleasures. *P. R. Patnaik, Hyderabad*

The hue and cry over S. Elankovan's death is strange. If a student commits suicide after failing in an examination, how can the IIT authorities be held responsible? The IITs boast of high academic standards; those who are lacking in temperament and aptitude would do well to stay away from these institutes. *Umesh Naidu, Dhanbad*

Great leader

Saroj Chakrabarty's *How Dr B. C. Roy Solved the 1960 Assam crisis* (12 July) was interesting. It is a pity that we no longer have a politician like Dr Roy. *Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan*

Had Dr B. C. Roy been alive he would have found an amicable solution to the Assam crisis.

Pijush Kanti Chandra, Kharagpur

It was unfair on Mr Chakrabarty's part to accuse "extremists among the Assamese" of violence against Bengalis at Hailakandi; may I remind him that Hailakandi is part of Cachar, a Bengali-dominated district, where it is difficult for the Assamese to instigate violence. *Taufique Mukul, Gauhati*

Utterly perverse

After reading *Bahuguna's victory* (5 July) I cannot help observing that the planned booth capturing during the Garhwal by-elections had the tacit approval of Mrs Gandhi.

Ajoy Kumar Das, 73 RCC, 99 APO

Anil Saari's report was praiseworthy. We can never forget Mr Bahuguna's contribution as chief minister of UP. Now of course he has emerged a true hero, first by resigning from Parliament and then by challenging the corrupt establishment. I pray for his success.

Mohd Shoib Siddiqui, Lucknow

Nothing could have been more blatantly perverse than the incidents at Garhwal. *Animesh Dutta, Calcutta*

Here she is



Piousji's first item under *Khaas Baat* (12 July) was wonderful. But where was the photograph of the 'bulging' Madhavi?

K. Lakshmaiah, Kondogaon (Madhya Pradesh)

Grievances justified

K. R. Bhagat Singh's *Opinion* (5 July) on *The army's promotion grievances* (7 June) deserves a rejoinder. When Mr Singh speaks of the army's "special role" he is obviously referring to warfare. However, we cannot overlook the contribution of our defence personnel in other spheres as well: running trains when the railwaymen went on a nationwide strike; disarming rebel CRP and CISF personnel; controlling riots all over the country; ensuring the flow of oil during the Assam crisis; relief work in drought and flood affected areas. The list would be

endless if one were to recall each instance of defence personnel being employed to solve a problem created by the inefficiency of our bureaucrats. As regards the stagnation in promotions, I do agree with Mr Singh's view that the army "became top-heavy because when the British officers quit in 1947 the vacuum had to be filled by junior officers jumping ranks;" but surely something has to be done about this problem. Kuldeep Nayar should be thanked for throwing light on an issue about which the public was not so far aware.

P. N. S. Rao, Simla

Minister's agony

I was pained and shocked to read the *Delhi Diary* item, *Charge against UP minister* (12 July). Contrary to D. E. Nizamuddin's claim, I have never accused my colleague, minister of state for home affairs Rajendra Tripathi, of being sympathetic to Mr H. N. Bahuguna and of having leaked the documentary evidence against the government which is said to have been produced before the election commission by Mr Bahuguna. *Chandra Mohan Singh Negi, state minister for hill development, Lucknow*

Brave lawyer

Barun Ghosh has taken the liberty of misquoting me in his report, *Who killed Palm Dhar?* (5 July). To set the record right, I had never thought of giving up my client Palm Dhar's case despite a few unfortunate incidents. As regards my conversation with Ms Dhar on 8 June when she complained that she was feeling insecure, it would have been pertinent to mention my advice to her: I told her to come to court so that I could move a petition regarding her security. *Shibsankar Chakraborty, advocate, Calcutta*

The name of the "fourth man" in Barun Sengupta's column, *Power and Politics* (26 July) should have read as "N. D. Tiwari" and not as stated. The error is regretted.

To BBC with facts

The BBC's chief of bureau in New Delhi, Mr Mark Tully's letter (*Opinion*, 21 June) in response to my report, *Is the MP tribals' film a slander?* (*News*, 24 May), was more in the form of a sermon than a contradiction of facts. Thankfully, Mr Tully has agreed with me on one point: that the BBC did shoot inside the *Ghotul*. But, he insists, it was done only under the supervision of a government-appointed liaison officer. Who, may I ask, was this officer? As for Harichand, it may be true that he is not a tribal youth; but he had been working for the BBC unit and was instrumental in exposing his employers. I hope Mr Tully is also aware of the alarm that was created among the unit members by the district collector's decision to come to the spot for inspection; one member of the unit was instructed to remove all the equipment from the *Ghotul* and it was the very same member who, while making a last-minute effort, fell off a tree and fractured his leg. Is it also not true that the unit members were seen moving about the area in cars with a number of tribal youths who were dead drunk? The BBC's conduct in Bastar was criticised by all the local MLAs and MPs; so much so that the chief minister was forced to order an enquiry into the matter. Finally, I would like to assure Mr Tully that it was not my purpose to malign the Muria community; it was merely a humble attempt to show how the poor and illiterate in India are exploited.

M. V. Kher, Raipur

Fair and square

Tamil Nadu's converted harijans (7 June) was informative. But what I cannot understand is why the controversy, why the hue and cry? Ours is a secular country where all are free to preach, practise and embrace any faith. *Ismail Ahmad, Patna*

Goodbye, SUNDAY

We belong to the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu which is reeling under a severe drought due to the failure of the monsoon. We are unable to bear SUNDAY's latest price hike.

D. Bhakthavatsalam, P.C.K. Murthy, village Papperi (Tamil Nadu)

To make ends meet in these hard times, I have shaved off my head to save hair oil, begun using charcoal to clean my teeth and putting off lights at eight every evening, stopped seeing movies, eating out and, of course, buying SUNDAY.

Sardar Manik Singh, New Delhi

Last letter

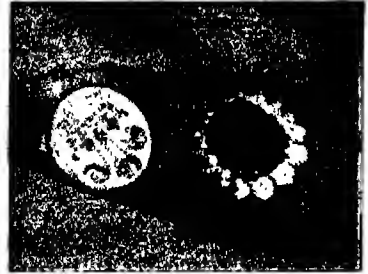
After seeing the prize money offered in an advertisement for the best creative writing of the year, a friend remarked: "The cost of a good typewriter and a good writer are the same these days."

Kumar Raj, Solan

FEAR AND JOY IN LONDON



M. J. AKBAR reports on two new faces of the old empire: violent racism and an euphoric royal wedding



One wondered whether it was a script written by history or Barbara Cartland. With a precision that the British no longer seem to have when making machines, with an energy they only seem to display at football matches or race riots, with a consensus they have only during world wars against Germany, the British put up on 29 July a pageant, a fairy tale that surely has no parallel in this country and is very, very unlikely to be repeated in the future. The King of Britain in the 21st century may not quite be reduced to the status currently enjoyed by the monarch of Liechtenstein, but how long can this display, full of sound and (occasional) fury, signifying nothing, last? It is difficult to imagine, even on a day when the British are dancing in honour of a past, present and future Queen, that the son of Charles and Diana will be married with this amount of glitter. Among other things, the British of isles, seat of monarchs who ruled mighty empires, might become bankrupt by then.

But for about 20 hours, beginning on wedding eve, it was superb theatre, with, as Cecille B. De Mille loved to say, a cast of millions. But of course, there were things that Hollywood could never match. For a start, the princess looked like a princess, and how many manage to do that? And like all great theatre, it required a certain sus-

pension of disbelief. The lakhs who thronged the streets during the night and the day were consciously putting some of the unpleasant aspects of reality away; there was even one demonstration of public anger against the "killjoys" who tried to mar the celebration with questions about the haemophilic economy, the anger against unemployment and indeed the doubtful place of royalty itself. It was as if the nation had taken a day off at a moment when it needed that holiday very badly. The *Guardian's* coverage of the big day reflected the paradox subtly. Terry Coleman reported,

after spending the day with the crowds, that "Lady Diana will be a lasting source of harmless delight." And a cartoon in the same paper shows a British housewife watching the crowds cheering royalty, and the lady comments, "In real life a crowd that size would be attacking the police."

The summer evening on a cloudless day in London is a rare gift from nature. The sun, never harsh at any time, takes a long time going home, smiling lazily at the twittering, restless tourists and Londoners who swarm all over Piccadilly, and down to the rolling expanse of green called Hyde Park. The sun finally sets a little after nine, leaving behind a glowing twilight that lingers till ten. As soon as the offices closed on Tuesday, 28 July, half of London



seemed to start moving towards Hyde Park. Young people came in loud groups, adorning the traditional British colours—red, purple and white, wearing party hats and carrying their liquor to add to the party spirit. There were children everywhere: some had clearly forced reluctant parents to bring them (a little sad to see was the number of single parents). They had all gathered for the ceremony that would mark the official beginning of the festivities—Charles lighting a bonfire, to be followed by what was claimed as the most spectacular fireworks display for 200 years.

Thirty-two kings, queens, princes and princesses still allowed a share of the spotlight in their countries, and five royal persons thrown out by their countrymen came by special buses to watch the show. Twenty-nine other nations had sent high level representatives to honour the British royal family, and they too came, in a myriad national dresses. President Sanjeeva Reddy was there, as were Rajiv and Sonia Gandhi (Rajiv wore a suit, Sonia a heavy *Banarasi* sari with *zari* work). Only the last trace of light was left in the sky when the royal family turned up. Great cheers went up, and soon the bands that had sounded the victories and joys of this 1000-year-old monarchy filled the air. Charlie walked up and lit the long fuse. Within seconds, a flare went up, and the 20th century's technology immediately flashed a traditional signal of good cheer to 101 beacons across the land.

A 300-foot wide castle now came alive: this was the specially constructed facade on which the fireworks had been mounted. The dark sky now became a science fiction battlefield as coloured streaks crossed each other, and stars and birdtails and indescribable patterns burst into life and quickly died. The grand climax was a giant catherine wheel rising into the sky.

The show had started with a bang. Many of those who had come to cheer stayed on to dance through the night so that they could get to the church in time for the marriage in the morning. And the next day, nature once again cooperated. During the wettest summer of the decade, a glorious sun came out on a day when it really mattered. The weathermen had actually forecast light drizzles, but the bookmakers obviously believed in God: they were willing to back up their faith in a rainless ceremony by three to one. The morning also brought the news that 30 children had been lost, three women had miscarried, several people had heart attacks, and 800 people went to hospital because of fireworks display scuffles.

No marriage has had such an audience: 2,500 carefully selected, exquisitely-dressed guests inside the magnificent St Paul's Cathedral, 366 feet high and crowned by the 68,000-tonne dome. The guest list was a difficult mix of essential VIPs and essential personal friends. Diana put her three flatmates who had kept the wedding plans such a good secret.



The Royal Match

The invitation was from Lady Sarah Spencer, whom he was dating then. Would he care to spend a couple of days at her father's estate—fishing and hunting? Of course, he would. And so, on a cold November day in 1977, Prince Charles, the world's most eligible bachelor, arrived at Althrop in Northamptonshire. There in a ploughed field he noticed that his girlfriend's younger sister Diana had grown into a "very amusing and jolly and attractive 16-year-old." What a change since he had seen her first when he was 12, already named Prince of Wales but yet to be invested and she still in her nappies. Since then he had been meeting her quite often, but never did he consider her anything more than a playmate to his younger brothers—Prince Andrew and Prince Edward. She was usually "ganging up" with Prince Andrew, her elder, by one year. But suddenly she seemed a different person altogether. And, for Diana, her prince charming had arrived.

The better part of the next three years saw the dashing bachelor going around in the company of film stars, pop singers, English roses, elder sisters, younger sisters, even divorcees. Like Edward VII when he was the Prince of Wales, Charles was never a stranger to romance, much of it making the headlines, some surrounded by a royal cloak of near-secrecy. Then in the summer of 1980 Diana came to stay at Balmoral, one of the many royal retreats. Prince Charles was there to prove how good he was at angling. She too caught the odd salmon, and more. The Prince was hooked.

When Charles invited Diana back in September, after inundating her £100,000 South Kensington flat which she was sharing with her best friends Caroline Price and Virginia Pittman, with flowers and phone calls, the press finally started to scent right. The couple's visits to polo meetings and race courses were photographed and speculated upon. But no confirmation was forthcoming from Buckingham Palace. "Even I don't know what is going on," said Queen Elizabeth II, when some of her close family members wanted to know more about her son's latest romance. Leaving behind fevered speculations about his friendship with Diana, Charles took off for India on a fortnight's trip in the autumn of 1980. When he returned on 7 December he was a changed person—quiet and contemplative. While in India he had been reflecting on his future and wrestling with some major decision he had to take. But now his mind was made up.

When the royal family gathered as usual at Windsor Castle for the

Christmas party, Prince Charles and his parents began to talk about the possibility of marrying Diana. He knew she was not sure as to what her own reactions would be. To his mother, Charles wanted a few more precious moments with her—of the kind it was hard to arrange discreetly. He set out inviting her to Sandringham for the New Year. Queen Elizabeth II was willing but Charles must not linger any more over his decision. She was already fed up with all sorts of speculations over the royal romance. "The idea of this romance going on even for another year is intolerable to everyone concerned," she maintained.

Came New Year. At Sandringham the press, taking advantage of the public right-of-way through the royal estate, set up its watch on every movement that Charles or Diana made in the estate. To get Diana in and out of the place was like going through a military dragnet. And it was not altogether successful. Queen Elizabeth II was particularly sore, resenting the invasion of the press-ruining the privacy of the royal family. Stung by a pre-Christmas report that Charles and Diana had a secret "love tryst" on a train and then by the refusal of the newspapers to retract the story, the Queen demanded that Fleet Street call off its news hounds sniffing the grounds of her estate. Not this time ma'am, the newspapers editorialized.

And so throughout January Diana went through a grueling test: enterprising newsmen dug up her past, cameramen were always after her, the public looking for flaws in her. Even with the spotlights on her, Prince Charles met her several times secretly at a house he owns in central London, at Highgrove; his estate in Gloucestershire; and, at the Queen Mother's home in Scotland. Too

much public attention, however, he finally decided to call on Diana. He wanted to get away from all the press but as she could not leave England until her mother had a chance to see her, he had to depart on Friday 5 February. Charles wanted her to stay at the Buckingham Palace before he left.

At the dinner Charles proposed to Diana. Promptly, she said, "Yes." Charles, however, wanted her to give some more thoughts to this. "Think the whole matter over in Australia," he told her. What was worrying Charles was that Diana, after some reflection, might conclude that marriage was "too soon" a prospect. At the back of his mind was the thought that he was 12 years older than Diana. Can love bridge the age difference? Diana, however, was never in doubt. Only three years before she had been sure that her elder sister, Sarah, would be crowned as Charles's queen. Now it was all hers; the tedium, the loneliness, the frustrations, the lack of privacy as much as the pomp, the privilege, the wealth, and the adulation. But that was what she wanted.

On Saturday 21 February, at a secret dinner party in Windsor Castle, to which Diana was Queen Elizabeth's guest of honour, Princess Alexandra and her husband Angus Ogilvy sitting at a table crammed with immediate members of the British royal family proposed the toast: to Charles and Diana—the royal couple. Charles went through all the motions of seeking the permission of the bride's father, Earl Spencer. Diana coyly admitted that she was in love with the Prince. Then she leaned her head on his shoulder like a couple modelling for glossy magazines. A formal announcement, it was agreed, would be made soon.

It was made three days later on 24 February at 11 am at the beginning of a routine investiture ceremony at Buckingham Palace. The Queen looked on in a rosy glow as Lord Maclean, the Lord Chamberlain, stepped forward to make the announcement:

It is with the greatest pleasure that the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh announce the betrothal of their beloved son, the Prince of Wales to Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of the Earl Spencer and the Hon. Mrs Shand Kydd.

So in the end, after all the flaps, false starts, furious flirtations, the Prince found his match, quite literally, in the girl next door. Diana was born at Park House, a rambling country residence in the Queen's Sandringham estate which King George VI had loaned out to Diana's grandparents, Lord and Lady Fermoy.

Charles with Diana at Balmoral: a fish to catch





Diana on her first outing with Charles: a showstopper

Charles remembered to call Flo Moore, who was his maid during his spell in Cambridge University. Incidentally, while Charles did do a moderately successful stint at Cambridge, getting a second class and becoming the first Prince of Wales to pass an examination, Diana did not manage to pass a single O level, which is the basic school leaving degree. Among those not invited were Roddy Llewellyn, the last famous boyfriend of the Queen's sister, Princess Margaret, Anthony Holden, the authorised biographer of Charles, and Enoch Powell. The radical leftist labour leader Tony Benn was invited, but replied to the Lord Chamberlain that he had a prior engagement and could not attend. "I can't manage it. I've something else to do on that day," Benn replied.

There were about 600,000 flagwaving spectators, children, youth, the elderly, lining the route from Buckingham Palace to St Paul's waiting deliriously for a glimpse of the Prince and his fairy princess. And about 700 million were expected to watch the live TV coverage in 80 nations. The BBC used 60 cameras, 300 people and 12 control rooms to film their most popular programme ever. And, of course, the vast majority of Britain was sitting inside their homes, absolutely glued to the TV set watching every smile, every moment of tension.

Most, but not all. The ones who did not agree with the royal *tamasha* did not make any violent gestures, but they displayed their anger by their own form of *satyagraha*: they left the country. P and O lines reported that their boats to Calais were full on the day before the wedding. Nor did the wedding prove the tourist attraction it was expected to be. The hotels of London had only 60 per cent occupancy, which is even less than normal for an English summer. The people did not come because never too far away from consciousness was the memory of

violence, riots, death by hunger strike, unemployment, strife that have rocked Britain in the last three months. For many, the wedding was a great occasion for satire. The superb weekly *Private Eye* brought out a "souvenir issue shocker" titled *Private Di* and inside was a "serial" under the headline "Born to be Queen" by Sylvie Krin. Even the unashamed royalist Auberon Waugh found the whole thing a bit thick. He wrote: "Sick to death of the royal family, I'm off to France..." and one advertisement in the magazine offered mugs for sale shaped like Charles' face, with the ears as handles (Charles has oversized ears actually).

The tabloids were predictably hysterical in their coverage, oohing and aahing like adolescents with elephantiasis in their brains. *The Times*, remaining the ultimate paper of the establishment despite the presence of a new editor, broke tradition twice in three days in its wedding coverage. First it brought out a colour supplement on the wedding; it was the first colour supplement in its history. And the morning after the wedding, *The Times* had only a full page colour photograph of the royal couple on its first page, with a legend at the bottom saying "The wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales, at St Paul's, July 29 1981. A moment of personal dedication and public devotion in ten centuries of monarchy." *The Times* was startling and different in its coverage, which was most comprehensive. *The Guardian*, in keeping with its left of the road tradition, kept half of its tongue where it should be and the other half in the cheek. One of their stories assessed that the wedding did not really bring as many tears of joy as the great champions of royalty might like to believe.

The most sentimental moment of the day was surely when Charles, on the balcony of the Buckingham Palace, along with his relatives, after the wedding, reached out to kiss his bride for

The virginity test

Black and brown women passing through immigration at London's Heathrow airport and 19-year-old ladies trying to become future queens of England have one thing in common: they both have to undergo virginity tests. It is *infra dig* for the Man Who Will Be King to marry a woman who has warmed somebody else's bed before. And therefore Lady Diana Spencer dutifully submitted herself to the scrutiny of hawk-eyed doctors who took a good look at her and finally, to the relief of a nation where 20-year-old virgins are rarer than a cockney accent in Buckingham Palace, they declared her to be pure. On 7 July, Lady Diana's uncle, Lord Fermoy, proudly told the people of the British Empire that their future queen had not been...er...violated before, and Charles would be the first man etc etc. Diana's father, Lord Spencer, added his bit, saying, "She's a superb physical specimen": it might be added that some people were left wondering when he made that statement whether he was talking about his daughter or about his favourite horse.

Prince Charles, the prospective groom, was not required to take any virginity test. According to reliable sources, he would have failed.

Charles seems to be a chip of the good old male chauvinist block. Long before he met Diana he had made it clear that his ideal wife would belong to the "thin upper crust of society, or royalty, and she would have to take her royal duties seriously. Of course she would have to be a virgin. And before proposing to Diana he took the precaution of displaying her to his friends and getting their approval.

But Lady Diana has not lost out totally: she has done her bit for feminism. According to the agreement worked out, she will be the first royal bride who will not promise obedience to her husband, the future king, during the marriage oath. Neither will she walk one pace behind Charles, as all previous royal brides have done. And she will not call Charles "Sir" in either public or private. When referring to Charles in public she will refer to him as either "my husband" or "Prince of Wales."

In the marriage oath, Diana did not promise obedience to Charles, but she promised to love, comfort, honour and look after Charles in sickness and health till death do them part. This seems just about enough that any woman can promise in the twentieth century.

Tradition is a great thing with British royalty: Lady Diana will lose one of her special and much publicised virtues—her virginity—exactly where her mother-in-law did. Less than six hours after Charles marries his sixteenth cousin Diana, the two will take a train to the palace at Broadlands, the home of the late Lord Mountbatten, and spend the first two days of their honeymoon in precisely the same house where Charles's parents, Elizabeth and Philip, began their honeymoon. Then they go off on a two-week cruise in the Mediterranean that is estimated to cost about 100,000 pounds. According to some estimates the wedding will set back Britain by about 200 million pounds, not counting the loss in production caused by a national holiday. But the British do not seem to mind. However, one does wonder if the next heir to the British throne will be allowed the privilege of such lavishness.

Quite understandably, politics has had much more to do with royal weddings in Britain than love: that is one of the realities of power. Indeed, the fact that international diplomacy and intrigue are completely missing from this particular wedding symbolises the loss of real power which the British royalty has suffered. This is a far cry from the days when Cardinal Wolsey was hawking around King Henry VIII's sister to the highest bidder in Europe. Kings and queens retained at least partial political importance until the end of the Second World War when politicians in miner's cape gave back whole or injured countries to the natives. Britain shuddered in anger and horror when Charles' great uncle Edward VIII abdicated in 1936 in order to marry the twice-divorced American, Mrs Wallis Simpson. A newspaper then commented angrily that the King had given up command of the world's biggest navy to become third mate on an American tramp. But today the kings and queens and princes and princesses have become well-loved and better paid actors whose main job is to cheer up a nation which is quite desperately in need of cheering up these days. This British royalty has learnt to do extremely well.

Being human beings, members of the British royal family have, of course, often fallen in love, but not necessarily with their legally-wed spouses. Both Charles and Diana have a common ancestor in Henry VII, the man who established the House of Tudors. The Tudors could only claim royal descent because Owen Theodore, or Tudor, had an affair with Henry V's queen, and this dalliance produced two bastard children who fought for the right to rule England. The generation after theirs produced the great Henry VII

"Those whom he goes about with

Royal love

are not the ones he is going to marry." This was how Lord Mountbatten dismissed the decade-long speculation about who would be Charles' bride, in an interview to *Time* magazine in 1979. The vast numbers of thoroughly devoted royalty-watchers have placed the number of women Charles could possibly have had affairs with at about 40. The list of those exclusive ladies who have shared a friendship, and possibly a bed too, with Charles includes Princess Caroline, Sabrina Guinness (heir of a huge financial empire), Tricia Nixon, Margaret Trudeau (estranged wife of Pierre Trudeau, Canada's dashing prime minister) and of course Jane Wellesley, the lady who was generally voted most likely to reach the altar. But the most interesting friendship was surely with Sarah Spencer. They often went on holidays together and, on one occasion when Sarah had a nervous breakdown, Charles cancelled all engagements in order to be by her side (he stayed more than two weeks at her side, apparently). In 1978 Sarah told the British tabloid *Sun*, when asked about a marriage with Charles, "If he asked me I'd turn him down." What she really would have done, had he actually ever asked, is another matter, but that sentence clearly indicates that the possibility was there. Sarah Spencer is the elder sister of Diana Spencer. Well, actually, middle-class embarrassment would never work with royalty, where the need for correct pedigree severely limits the number of prospective brides. There are parallels, and we might once again go back to the great ancestors, the Henrys. Henry VIII ended up marrying his elder brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon after the premature death of his brother. Interestingly, then too the teenage bride had to go through with some kind of virginity test: Catherine always maintained that though Arthur, her first husband, had entered her bedchamber after their marriage, the marriage had never been consummated. Lady Diana's claims to royal blood from the Stuart line come from the illegitimate children of Charles II, who was born on a day when the star Venus appeared in broad daylight

Di: a dear



and about the rest of his life—living up to that reputation. The people who make family trees in England do a thorough job, and they have discovered these are the VIPs who can claim to be related to Diana—or to whom Diana can claim to be related. Sir Winston Churchill, Bertrand Russell, George Washington, Franklin Roosevelt and Humphrey Bogart. Four of Lady Diana's ancestors were mistresses to English kings. Interestingly, although Englishwomen have been queens in their own right, the last English king to marry an Englishwoman was (here comes the name once again) Henry VIII. Four of six wives of the notorious Henry VIII were Englishwomen. Perhaps Englishwomen were put off by the idea of marrying kings by what Henry VIII did to his wives.

Diana is only the ninth Princess of Wales, although Charles is the 21st Prince of Wales. And some of the past princesses have led less than happy lives. The man who was to become George IV married the fat and ugly Caroline only on condition that the government paid his gambling debts. Parliament agreed, but George started drinking 24 hours before his marriage in order to lessen his ordeal and was wed in a state of stupor. However, he did his duties as a husband and a child was born to the couple within a year. The last Princess of Wales, Mary of Teck, was first engaged to the eldest grandson of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Clarence, whose passion was going to brothels and who was widely suspected of being Jack the Ripper. Luckily for Mary, the Duke of Clarence died within a month of engagement, officially from pneumonia, and 18 months later she married the new heir, who was the younger brother of the dead Duke of Clarence. The marriages of most princesses of Wales did not last, either due to death or mutual disgust.

Only two Princes of Wales have led completely normal lives, and Charles is one of them. Five have either died naturally or been killed when very young: seven acquired notorious reputations, four nobody heard about later on. The title itself was created in a classic instance of feudal treachery. Edward I was in Wales, building forts and trying to suppress the Welsh who resented—and many of them indeed continue to resent—English rule. While in Wales he learnt that his wife had given birth to a son, in one of his Welsh castles. The Welsh had been clamouring for a prince of their own, so Edward called the Welsh princes and asked if they were prepared to accept as their prince a person born in Wales, who spoke no Welsh, and had led a blameless life. Obviously they said yes. Edward immediately produced his own son, and thus started the tradition of Prince of Wales.

the first time in public; or maybe it was Diana who took the initiative. Anyway the cheers echoed after this display and, of course, photographs captured it for history.

Five days before the most publicised wedding in history, a pigeon was given an ultimatum to either get out or die. The pigeon, not a normal inhabitant of St Paul's, had wandered into the vast and spacious confines of the cathedral to find a comfortable home away from the awful London weather. But the authorities, who did not mind any number of pigeons outside, were in no mood to tolerate any inside: no one wanted the pomp and ceremony to be punctuated by a little pigeon shit on the princess' ivory silk taffeta crinoline wedding dress set off by old lace, hand embroidered mother-of-pearl sequins and seed pearls, and a huge, 25 feet long train (for luck, an 18 carat gold horseshoe studded with diamonds had been sewn on). But such an attack from the air was the least of the problems that the authorities had on that day. One man with a gun, and either a cause or just egomania, could shatter the dream world that had been so brilliantly manufactured. From the thousands that thronged the streets to watch a princess in a glass coach, or brilliantly dressed cavalry shimmer into view from the distance, watch scene after scene emerge like a painting of an illustrated fairy story coming to life—one bullet from anywhere could shatter it all.

There was just one group of spectators that morning which was not watching the royal procession—nearly half of London's policemen lined on the streets. Their eyes were trained away from royalty and into the crowd, searching for any signs of suspicious movement that might mark the potential assassin. The footmen who stood behind the coaches were in fact highly trained security men. A string of cameras on rooftops along the route provided electronic surveillance. Scotland Yard heaved a long sigh of relief when it was all over: in the end it was discovered that even normal criminals had decided to take a holiday. London was virtually crime-free (only ten arrests: five for pickpocketing), but this itself did not lessen the tension that crawled under the skin. In fact, the day began with news that two employees of Buckingham Palace had been arrested for stealing dynamite: Who they were and what they wanted to do is still not publicly known, but assumptions can easily be made. There are enough frustrations in Britain to day, there is enough anger in the air, there is too much distrust in hearts, and in an age of declining fortunes and growing pressures, all this manifests itself in violence. History tends to demand its price, however long it may take to do so. If one aspect of the old empire is princes and princesses in fancy dress being discussed in near and remote corners of the world, then the Irish troubles, the race riots and the decline of British industry are less attractive faces of the same coin. The sun has set on the British empire, leaving behind darkness.

"Everything would have been all



- Height: 5 feet 11 inches
- Weight: 69 kg
- Accent: Very uppah class
- Academic ability: First member of the royal family ever to earn a degree; undistinguished second class, second division from Trinity College, Cambridge
- Musical ability: Amateur cellist
- Drink: Nothing stronger than dry white wine.
- Favourite food: Scrambled eggs and smoked salmon
- Good at: Piloting jet-fighters; repairing helicopters; playing an aggressive game of polo
- Income: £ 300,000 a year



- Height: 5 feet 10 inches
- Weight: 60 kg
- Accent: Very uppah class. Soft voice.
- Academic ability: Average
- Musical ability: Plays piano
- Drink: One gin and tonic, in the evening
- Likes: Good food, cooking
- Good at: Swimming, dancing
- School-leaving present from daddy: 200,000 dollar flat in London
- Last job: Helping children in nursery school.
- Future job: Queen of England

What their stars say

Both of them are water signs. He is a Scorpio; she a Cancer. Prince Charles and Lady Diana could hardly have been better matched, at least astrologically. Scorpios have always been perfect partners for Cancers. "You dazzle him; he fascinates you to swooning point." That is Evadne Price, an internationally acclaimed astrologer, on the match between a Miss Cancer and a Mr Scorpio.

Lady Diana's ruling planet is the Moon. That explains her romantic nature. For a Cancerian the influence goes even beyond that: it breeds in them a strong sense of loyalty to the family. That should stand her in good stead for her future. Apart from the crab's symbolic tenacity, other distinctive Cancerian traits are: being patient, long suffering, self-sacrificing, sympathetic, kind, helpful and charming. Again, she would need all these qualities to bear the crown she wears. If Lady Diana could not help letting a tear slip when she saw her Prince going for a polo match only a couple of days before the marriage was due, it is her star again. People born under the signs of Cancer and Scorpio tend to be sentimental.

Like most Miss Cancers, Lady Diana too has been attracted to an older man: Prince Charles is 12 years older than her. She should be a very practical person and should not be scared of being in the limelight. She is a good swimmer: she could not have been anything else with the crab's affinity to water. And, a honeymoon cruise aboard

the royal yacht *Britannia* is just the thing the stars prescribe for the couple born under water signs.

By the Japanese calendar, Lady Diana was born in the Year of the Ox (year of the Bull according to Chinese) and people born in this particular year are temperamentally suited to partners born in the Year of the Rat, such being ideal companions. And (hold your breath!) Prince Charles was indeed born in the Year of the Rat. The Rat people are known for their charm and generosity to those they love. The Ox female too is a homeloving personality but can be stubborn as well. So, Prince Charles watch out. As Lady Diana matures and gains more confidence her leadership qualities will evolve and she will start to speak out and be a strong force. For the record: famous gaiety girl Ruby Miller was born under the Cancer sign and had princes literally drinking out of her slipper.

Good for Prince Charles that his birth sign is ruled by a very powerful planet—Mars. That should keep him from being dominated without being domineering. As it is, a Scorpio male surrounds himself with a protective shell and he only half matures unless married. Astrologer Linda Goodman says that for any Scorpio and Cancer duo the chances of their marriage working out on a permanent basis were far better than with any other pair of signs. So Charles and Diana can certainly look forward to living happily ever after just like fairytale princes and the princesses.



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The fear: policemen facing rioters



The joy: 'the wedding of the century'

right if you hadn't come, if you had just left us where we were... you think you rescued us from the bus, man? They are happy in Africa now, man. You made us British, and you won't give us jobs, know what I mean?" The young man saying this was black, and proud to be so. He was saying this and much more to his white contemporary during a discussion I had provoked among this handful of black and white young people from a working class area in London, Clerkenwell. They were, in fact, comparatively privileged youth, being participants of a very interesting project called Fullemploy: they were being moulded to start independent business rather than seek conventional ways of earning money. David Prees, the suave man who runs this particular course in Clerkenwell (Prees spent ten years in advertising, then followed his conscience to work for Oxfam and projects like this one), defines the difference between the time he grew up in Britain and today: "In the Fifties and the early Sixties, everything was a lot more cut and dried. You wrote for a job, you got a reply. Today it is common to hear young people say they have written to fifty or sixty places and haven't got a reply."

The sullen faces outside working class pubs speak much more eloquently than figures, but the figures have become dramatic enough. The latest government figures, released in July, show 11.8 per cent of the working population, or more than 28½ lakh people, is unemployed. This marks an increase of 170,000 unemployed over the month of June, and 150,000 of those were young people, the ones who had finished school and wanted a job so that they could begin independent lives. The total number of unemployed is the highest since statistics have been kept by the British government, crossing the last high point of despair in 1932. The figures disguise the fact that unemployment is much higher in the traditionally depressed areas that are now breeding so much violence. Julie McLeod, who trained to be a teacher but is now unemployed, pointed out that as long as hunger had not reached London, or the rich, no-

body bothered much. But now that Brixton, in the middle of the ruling city, within glaring sight of a blind ruling class and a one-eyed media, was also in flames, deprivation had suddenly become a "national" problem.

The Skinheads are not necessarily shaved bald, although that would be the technical definition of the word. They have short hair: to be more accurate, large parts of their heads are covered with short hair: where a sudden, multi-coloured bushy tail of hair will flow out is difficult to tell. Some have made curious antennas by cutting, knotting and pleating their hair. One supposes their desire is to look different from human beings, and in this they have succeeded admirably, though there might be some confusion if a H. G. Wells Martian suddenly descended on earth. But this skinhead-bashing, as if they are the big problem, is complete deception. This is the under-privileged, under-educated working class youth, living a meagre existence suddenly without the prospect of a job for reasons he cannot even begin to comprehend. The ruling class which has failed miserably in this country after centuries of success, cannot allow the blame for economic collapse to be placed on its shoulders: that would mean the start of too many questions. So racial prejudice becomes the diversion. An Enoch Powell delivers messages of rivers of blood, with misleading population statistics (a problem with which we are of course quite familiar in India), and the Conservative nods in agreement even if it cannot shout out a loud hurrah for reasons of diplomacy.

But surely, the most interesting aspect of the recent violence has been that when it came to looting goods, black and white youth completely forgot their racial problems and joined hands and resources to steal. In fact, the focus of the violence has shifted away from racialism, and taken on more an anti-establishment character. The biggest victims have been the police, who are the practical guardians of the state, of the system, and therefore the most obvious targets. It is not at all coincidental that Mrs Margaret

Thatcher has fought off attempts by all trade unions to get wage increases. While she has even trimmed the budgets of the armed forces, she granted a hefty pay increase to the nation's police making the police one of the highest paid government services.

With the rising level of anger, the minority communities, in constant search for safety in numbers, have inevitably gathered in distinct geographical pockets—some comparatively prosperous, like Southall, others an industrialised society's ghettos. In places like Liverpool's Toxteth, the whites live in terrible ghettos too, and they are now displaying their wrath by constant arson and looting. A bridge leads into the main street of Southall. The last time I visited the place, three years ago, a great amount of graffiti covered the large wall of the first house on the street. Among other things written there was "Quit India" and "White man, go home." This time around the wall had become more respectable and someone had got an artist to draw a scene of harmonious living. But on top, fluttered two flags—on one side, a Union Jack, and on the other side, defiantly, the Indian tricolour. As every journalist has told you, Southall is a small subcontinent, with Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs living in harmony, if for no other reason than because they can't afford to quarrel among themselves with the white man breathing down their necks. The Skinheads came to Southall to attack the Asians on 3 July, but were beaten back. One young Asian lamented to us: "The police saved them." But all Asians do not live in fairly protected enclaves like Southall: neither can solutions be found in such segregation. Only a desperate British government would actually try and physically throw out those who are non-white: and the situation has not deteriorated to such an extent. But what is the solution? No one quite knows. If you have any answers you might try sending them to Mrs Thatcher. What seems likely is that, in the near future, the joy will get less and less visible, and fear will become the key to thought, action and reaction. ■

I have fallen in love with all sorts of girls
—Prince Charles

Indeed, he had. And the first rumours linked him to Rosaleen Bagge, the daughter of a retired army major living near the royal estate of Sandringham. What spurred these rumours were the letters Charles had been regularly writing to Rosaleen from his school dormitory in Australia. But he had his first real romantic escapade when he was at Cambridge. The girl: Lucia Santa Cruz, a history graduate and the daughter of the Chilean Ambassador. Charles, just 19 then, met Lucia, four years his elder, at the Master of Trinity, Lord Butler's place. She was then assisting Lord Butler in preparing his memoirs. Charles fell for her as soon as he saw her, regardless of the fact that they could hardly hope to get married. She was a foreigner and a Catholic, which disqualified her from becoming a member of the British royal household.

So infatuated was Charles with Lucia that he did not even bat an eyelid while asking Lord Butler for his spare keys to the Master's Lodge. The gates at Trinity closed before dark to keep the students away from their girl friends. This and Lucia's occasional trips to the royal estate of Balmoral, however, soon became the subject of gossip among the London elite. It kept on feeding the rumour mills even long after the relationship had cooled off. Lucia is now married to a Chilean lawyer and Prince Charles is the godfather to their first child.

Since his crush for Lucia, Charles' had never been without at least one steady date till he settled for Lady Diana. Soon after his investiture in 1969, he began to be seen with Sybilla Dormau, daughter of the Governor-General of Malta, and spent two holidays with her in that island resort. What brought them together were common interests: history and dramatics. Once the Prince had to scale the walls of her college, Newnham, to get out as it was long past the visiting hours. The cameramen who had pursued the couple to Malta clicked merrily as Sybilla applied sun-tan oil on a bare-bodied Charles.

Even before the British public had been able to digest all this, another name popped up—Aubrey Buxton, daughter of Prince Philip's naturalist friend. She had come to a Trinity ball with the Prince and that was fresh grist to the rumour mills.

The list of the Prince of Wales' escorts, over the years till his engagement, is impressive. His girl friends were usually plucked straight out of the hallowed pages of Dabrett's, the book that delineates true-blue British lineages. Among them were: Lady Leonara Grosvenor, daughter of the Duke of Westminster now married to the Earl of Lichfield, better known as Patrick Lichfield, the photographer; her sister Lady Jane Grosvenor, now the Duchess of Roxburghe; Lady Victoria Percy, daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, a Roman Catholic,

All the Prince's

now married to John Cuthbert, a wealthy landowner; her sister Lady Caroline Percy; Bettina Lindsay, daughter of Conservative politician Lord Banniel, now Mrs Peter Drummond Hay; Lady Cecil Kerr, daughter of the Marquess of Lothian, now married to Donald Cameron; Lady Henrietta Fitzroy, daughter of the Duke of Grafton; Lady Charlott Manners, daughter of the Duke of Rutland; her cousin Elizabeth Manners; Angela Nevil, daughter of Prince Philip's private secretary, Lord Rupert Nevil; Lady Camilla Fane, daughter of the Earl of Westmorland; Lord Astor's daughter Louise; Heorgiaba Russell, daughter of the diplomat Sir John Russell, now Mrs Brooke Boothby; Rosie Clifton, a colonel's daughter, now married to the Prince's polo playing friend Mark Vestey; Caroline Longman, daughter of the wealthy publisher, the late Mark Longman.

But among his string of girlfriends, the three who mattered the most to Charles and enjoyed a close and lasting friendship with him are: Lady Jane Wellesley, 30, the dark, attractive, journalist daughter of the Duke of Wellington; Davina Sheffield, 31, a vivacious blonde, a soldier's daughter; and, Lady Sarah Spencer, 26, the willowy red-haired god-daughter of the Queen Mother and the daughter of the Queen's long-time friend, Earl Spencer.

Charles and Jane Wellesley knew each other from their childhood—Jane was a regular invitee to some of those sprightly early birthday parties at Buckingham Palace—but did not take more than a casual notice of each other until some 20 years later. She was the first of the Prince's true loves and an eminently suitable candidate for becoming the future Queen of England. Throughout 1973 and 1974 British bookies quoted Jane as a firm favourite in the royal marriage sweepstakes. They were about to pay up in 1974 when she accompanied the Queen Mother and Princess Alexandra to a royal film premiere, reading in it a sure sign of the family's approval to the match.

Later that year, however, the odds went against her when a glossy American blonde, Laura Jo Watkins, the daughter of an American rear-admiral, whom the Prince had met that summer at San Diego, California, was among the dignitaries in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Lords to hear Charles make his maiden speech. Throughout the week she appeared at various functions with the Prince and the newspapers immediately started talking of an unmarried Wallis Simpson (an American divorcee whom Duke of Windsor married). Then, she disappeared as suddenly as she had surfaced. And that, it seemed, was that—until four years later when, in the summer of 1978,



Jane Wellesley, Sarah Spencer and Anna Wallis

Guy Wildenstein, one of Charles' buddies, brought her to Deauville to surprise the Prince on his annual polo outing.

The disappearance of the American blonde, however, again pushed up Jane's stock. It went up even higher when she attended a Sunday morning service at Sandringham, late in that year, as a weekend guest of the Royal family. Some 10,000 people defied a petrol shortage to turn up and watch her. The press had by then given lurid accounts of how, Charles, while holidaying with Jane at her father's estate in Spain during a break from his duties aboard HMS Minerva in 1973, bombarded her with melons. A crowd of reporters was always at her doorsteps. After declining to make any comments to newsmen who telephoned her, she would invariably find on her way home screaming newspaper headlines: *My love for Charles—Jane tells all.*

It is surprising that Prince Charles did not marry her. One explanation is that she turned him down because she did not want to surrender her freedom completely. Charles made his own dates. He would pick up his date in his Aston Martin or invite her to meet him at one of the royal residences. A typical weekend at Windsor Castle required a suitcase of clothes—riding gear for the morning, day dress for lunch, skirts for tea, long dress for dinner. A bit of formality too—like walking a few paces behind him and calling him 'Sir' in the presence of other people. Apart from this, constantly being in the limelight had become unbearable to her. But, in spite of this, Prince Charles

girlfriends



many who did not last

was seriously contemplating to marry Jane, but before he could take the plunge his service career in the Royal Navy took him away for long periods and over too many years. By the time he left the Navy, he had seen the world and was no longer in love with Jane. And so, exit: Jane Wellesley; enter: Davina Sheffield.

If Charles' long friendship with Lady Jane was the lighter side of romance, that with Davina had all the hallmarks of a true love affair never running too smoothly. Only a few months after the couple had got to know each other intimately, their romance was interrupted when Davina went to Vietnam to work in an orphans' hostel during the last stages of the war. Forced by the Vietcong to flee, she returned home to more tragedy: her mother had been brutally murdered in their Oxfordshire home. She turned to the Prince for comfort and by the end of 1976 they were appearing in public holding each other's hands. Their romance, however, was doomed: on a surfing expedition to Bantham, a quiet Devon cove frequented by Prince Charles and his friends, she was said to have been found nude in the men's changing room. And the final nail on the coffin was driven in by her former fiancé who ungallantly bragged that Davina had slept with him. This was enough to preclude her from being seen with the heir to the throne, let alone getting married to him. Prince Charles dropped her just like he did Fiona Watson, daughter of the Yorkshire landowner, Lord Manton, whom he had been dating occasionally, till he heard from her former boyfriend that she had once

revealed her startling 38-23-35 figure in full colour across eleven pages in *Penthouse* magazine.

Then came Lady Sarah Spencer. She suffered a nervous breakdown when she first met him at the Ascot races. But she soon recovered and was strong enough to keep Charles' company in pursuing their mutual love—outdoor sports. And in February 1978, they left for a skiing holiday at a Swiss chalet. The press had, by then, started counting the number of bedrooms in the chalet which led her to claim that relationship with Charles was platonic. "I am not in love with him... and I would not marry anyone I didn't love, whether it was the dustman or the King of England. If he asked me, I would turn him down." Charles was both hurt and annoyed by her remarks but kept the relationship alive. Indeed, she was a guest of the Queen at Sandringham in January 1979. And, that was where the Prince found his bride.

In the meanwhile, however, the Prince had had his long-awaited and almost obligatory encounter with Princess Caroline of Monaco, daughter of Prince Rainer and the former Grace Kelly. Caroline arrived 45 minutes late for her first rendezvous at which both discovered they had nothing in common. A second meeting was cancelled and in 1978 Charles even refused to attend Caroline's marriage to Philippe Junot, a French businessman.

The attempts to marry the Prince to Princess Marie-Astrid of Luxembourg did not work out either. It was elaborately planned by the Queen herself who was an old family friend of the Princess's father, Grand Duke Jean. On 8 December, 1976, Prince Charles arrived at Ostend aboard HMS *Bronington* and drove straight to Laeken Palace in Brussels for lunch with King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola. Prince Philip, who was at Brussels to attend a meeting of the International Equestrian Federation was also present. So was Marie-Astrid who worked in an Antwerp hospital. That month the Prince was due to leave the Navy and the royal family thought it was the time for him to settle down. Marie-Astrid was not as exciting as his other girl friends but she was intelligent, demure and a qualified nurse with good upbringing. The only hindrance was: Luxembourg's royal family is Catholic. To overcome that obstacle, the British royal family had even arranged for a meeting between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope, in Rome, in June 1977. But before that meeting could take place any possibility of such a marriage was suddenly and spectacularly killed off. *The Daily Express* announced: Charles

to marry Astrid—Official. It immediately raised a storm that calmed only after Charles formally denied the possibility of such a marriage taking place.

The American press linked the name of Prince Charles to President Nixon's daughter, Tricia, while newsmen in Europe gave him Princess Nora of Liechtenstein. But Charles merrily went his own way—and not always after blue blood. Among the girls he dated were: Anna Wallace, daughter of a millionaire, who walked out on him after six months during a Royal ball because he was not paying her enough attention; Susan George, a B grade starlet; Farrah Fawcett-Majors, whom he met in Hollywood in 1977 and had to wrestle to free himself from her close embrace and who finally, flew hotfoot to London soon thereafter for a charity show where Charles was present. (Farrah was then at the height of her fame as one of TV's *Charlie's Angels*. She was equally well-known as the wife of Lee Majors, TV's *Six Million dollar Man* And, when in 1979 Mrs Margaret Trudeau, estranged wife of the Canadian Prime Minister, claimed that Charles had once "looked long and hard down my cleavage" very few seemed to doubt her. Such was the reputation of Prince Charles as a ladies' man that by the time he got married, he had become a sex-symbol. He was besieged wherever he went, the girls would giggle and scream and lunge forth with kisses (remember our very own Padmini Kolhapure?).

Farrah Fawcett

Learning the samba,



Susan George:
clockwork orange



Communal killers take over Hyderabad

In about six days, between 12 and 17 July, around 40 people died in the city's worst communal carnage. T. Anjiah's government had all the warning but failed to prevent the killing. Syed Majeedul Hasan reports.

Every year the Bonalu processions are taken out with much fanfare by the Hindus in Hyderabad from various localities. They converge in the Golconda area and then proceed as one to the Bala Hissar temple of Golconda Fort. En route the procession passes a number of mosques. In order to avoid any conflict between the two communities, on 8 July the peace committee of Golconda met to discuss how peace could be maintained during the Bonalu festival as well as Id. At the meeting, which was also attended by an assistant commissioner of police, it was decided that police would be posted at all the mosques on the procession's route and policemen would accompany the procession. Yet, in spite of all these precautions, on Sunday 12 July, the day of the Bonalu procession, Hyderabad witnessed its worst communal riots and the police, though adequately alerted, could do little to stop the carnage.

On that fateful Sunday, at around 3.45 pm, a number of small processions from all over the city were taken out, which eventually converged at the Langar House. By the time the Bonalu procession entered the Fort area, the number of processionists had swelled to about 6,000 some of whom were playing drums and trumpets. En route to the Bala Hissar temple in the Golconda Fort, the procession moved past three mosques. It was at this time that a part of the procession slowed down in front of the Deeni mosque. The policemen who were accompanying the procession and those who stood guard at the mosque asked the processionists to move forward and not to create a scene in front of the mosque, although, no prayer was

in progress and there were few people in the mosque. But an altercation broke out between two youths—a Hindu and a Muslim, Sabir, and the latter was stabbed in the stomach. Within minutes, the entire scene was transformed into a battlefield: fighting broke out between the processionists and the Muslims. The processionists soon ran from the scene. But rioting did not end: those who dispersed from the Golconda Fort area continued the rampage at Langar House. Besides, in

Karwan, Sabzimandi and some other localities, the processionists freely attacked the shops and houses of Muslims.

The police in the Golconda and nearby areas, however, were largely ineffective in controlling the mob; a police officer offered the excuse that the processionists were "armed to the teeth" with lethal weapons which included swords, knives, spears, *trishuls*, barber's razors, cycle chains, iron rods and lathis. Among the "organisers" of

the procession were some who were known communal trouble makers.

By the time reinforcements reached the area to assist the two platoons of Andhra Pradesh special police (APSP) and 40 city policemen in the area, as many as 75 stabbings had taken place in the Asifnagar and Goshamahal divisions, including Tappa Chabutra, Karwan, Sabzimandi, Jiaguda and Puranapul. The riots spread like wild-fire to the Charminar division, especially to the Hussaini Alam area where many of the victims were Muslims returning from prayers. Shoukat Ali (18) a rickshaw puller and Iqbal Khasim Baig (30) were stabbed to death in Langar House and Golconda area.

The next day, 13 July, tension simmered all through the day and the business establishments had closed down in anticipation of "further trouble." Though the police intensified its patrolling, as the evening approached, fresh violence broke out in the Asifnagar-Goshamahal-Charminar divisions with mobs of rioters rampaging through the localities. The tally at the end of the evening's rioting was: three Muslim and two Hindus dead. Dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in the entire Old City area. In all

A view of the curfew bound Charminar area on 15 July



M. A. DUBIN

around 70 persons were stabbed on 13 July.

On 14 July morning, the situation deteriorated rapidly and within three hours, 7 to 10 am, as many as 100 stabbings were reported from the Old City area. The Home Minister, C. Jagannatha Rao, admitted the same day that "one stabbing takes place every minute." Indefinite curfew was clamped from 11 am in about 300 localities in the Old City but the police force present in this area could not enforce it vigorously. The result was that stabbings continued unabated despite the curfew. According to hospital sources, as many as 140 stabbing cases were reported on this day alone. Two deputy commissioners of police had to order tiring on violent rioters in Karwan and Sabzimandi areas. The death toll mounted to 15 "officially" while the unofficial but reliable figure was 23.

By 15 July, the police had deployed around 60 more patrol vehicles and stationed a total of 7,000 officers and men, including APSP battalions to control the riots. CRP platoons were specially flown in from Delhi and some more platoons were brought in by road from Bangalore and posted at vulnerable points in the Old City. But flag marches, patrolling and police pickets in the affected localities did not deter the rioters for the simple reason that the police presence was restricted to the main roads while stabbing continued in the lanes and by-lanes. A total of 65 stabbings was reported from July 15 to 19.

The state government has "identified" the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the RSS and the Majlis-e-Ittehaad-ul-Muslimeen (MIM) as the "prime instigators" behind the current rash of communal riots. Visits to the scene of rioting and interviews with the victims suggest that there have been many well-organised groups that have fished in the troubled communal waters of the Old City—the Arya Samaj and the Congress(I) also appear to have had a hand in the riots.

In the Congress(I) pocket of Pardiwada in Puranapul area, three Muslims were stabbed to death. They were Shaikh Hussain (50), Mohiuddin (25) and Aziz (18). Three Muslims were also killed in Karwan area. Mohammed Moulana (40) was killed brutally in the Harimagar locality of Musheerabad area of the New City. Siraj Pasha (20), a *panshopowner* was killed near the Secunderabad Railway station. Abdul Ghaffar was killed at Saroornagar on the outskirts of the Old City. The victims of half-a-dozen police firings on violent mobs, incidentally, are Hindus while several other Hindus have died in stabbing and stone-throwing incidents.

Riot victims believed that a Congress(I) MLA from the Karwan area could be behind the riots. This is also corroborated from the police sources in the area. Again, in the Pardiwada area, the Congress(I) "basti" leaders were directly involved in the commun-



Shoukat Ali, a rickshaw puller who died in the rioting

al violence. Not only this, the supporters of the Congress(I) in the Karwan-Sabzimandi area openly challenged the police and defied the curfew orders—one reason why the police have had to open fire frequently in this area.

On 18 July, in the Kali Khabar area, a constable fired two rounds in the air when the head constable, Shaik Khan (40) was assaulted savagely and his uniform was torn to pieces by a 150-strong mob of Arya Samajists who also tried to snatch away Shaik Khan's rifle. Shaik Khan, a bearded Jamadar, had asked these persons not to gather outside their houses when the curfew was on.

The police have rounded up as many as seven BJP leaders under the National Security Act (NSA), besides five leaders belonging to the MIM. The

BJP leaders include Ale Narendar, Baddam Bal Reddy, Ramachandra Agarwal, Hanumantha Rao, G. Krishna, Sukhdev and Jagat Singh (Jaggu). According to the police, Jagat Singh has been involved in communal incidents in the past. He was arrested on 13 July for his alleged involvement in the Golconda-Langar House incidents. Among the MIM leaders to be rounded up are Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi, Baquer Agha, Mohammed Amanullah Khan (all MLAs), Muzaffar Hussain and Khalil Ahmed. Ale Narendar was arrested only on 16 July, because he evaded his arrest earlier thanks to a tip-off from some senior police officers. It may be mentioned that Narendar had also been arrested several times for specific offences connected with communal incidents during 1979-80.

T. Anjah visiting the riot affected areas tailed to prevent the carnage



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Victims of the riots in Osmania General Hospital

Fingers are also being pointed at the Arya Samaj leader, Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao, who was appointed by Dr Channa Reddy as the chairman of the AP Official Languages Commission in 1978 for allegedly spreading communal disharmony: he addressed no fewer than half-a-dozen press conferences on the Meenakshipuram conversions in Tamil Nadu. Earlier in the year, he had addressed several press conferences on the "dangers arising from inflow of Arab money into Hyderabad and the rising activities of the Muslims." In view of the embarrassment caused by Vandemataram Rao's frequent communal statements including the threats to throw out the Muslim employees from government offices if they do not pass the Telugu language tests "soon," chief minister Tangturi Anjiah has decided not to give him any extension when his three-year term ends on August 4. This was announced by Mr Anjiah at the press conferences held in connection with the riots when newsmen asked the chief minister about Rao's alleged complicity in the riots.

Unlike in the past, the communal riots this time had an echo in isolated incidents in the New City area as well as in Secunderabad which had hitherto been considered free from communal tensions. Sporadic incidents of stabbing took place in Koti, Sultan Bazar, Moazzam Jahi Market, Champapet, Malakpet, Vanasthalipuram, Saroornagar, Domalguda, Vidyannagar, Nallakunta, Kavadiiguda, Secunderabad, Sanathnagar and Balanagar. Curfew had to be imposed in the Kavadiiguda division in the New City for two days when communal violence spread to this area.

A number of mosques and temples were made the targets of attacks during the riots. In Saroornagar and Vanasthalipuram, for instance, pieces of pork were thrown at three mosques in the night and the local Muslims reported the matter to the police. At a mosque in the industrial area of Sanathnagar, the factory workers of Hyderabad Allwyns attacked the namazis after Friday prayers and tried to instal an idol in the adjoining area of the mosque. Incidentally, Ale Narendra, who has been detained under the NSA, is the president of the Allwyn Workers' Union.

Some Muslim leaders belonging to

various parties have charged that the former home minister, K. Prabhakar Reddy, had reshuffled the top police officials and posted many of his "trusted" men in the Old City area although the residents of this area did not have confidence in them. All the transfers were made in the name of reorganisation of the city police force which was implemented in June this year. These police officials had been indifferent when communal tension was building up over what is known as the "Keskar issue." Recently, in June, one B. G. Keskar, who styles himself as a "Hindu Sabha" leader, had sent telegrams to the prime minister and the chief minister asking them to prevent the Muslims from offering the Jummat-ul-Vida (last Friday) prayers during Ramzan in the Charminar area. (Every year, on the Jummat-ul-Vida day, around two lakh Muslims gather for noon prayers in Mecca Masjid and the surrounding areas.)

Another charge being brought against the police is that in RSS strongholds an inadequate number of policemen were deployed. It is believed that on the first two days of rioting (12 and 13 July) the city police did not arrest the persons involved in the communal incidents. Had the administration not been so callous in the handling of the riots, a lot of innocent blood would not have been shed. With the announcement of the date (August 27) for the elections to the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH), rumours had spread in Hyderabad about the possible outbreak of communal riots in the Old City from the last week of June. Both the MIM and BJP leaders had "alerted" the police about this. And according to one version the intelligence wing of the city police had sensed the deteriorating situation and even forewarned the administration about the "explosive communal relations." The top-brass of the State police had reportedly assured the chief minister that the "situation was being monitored closely" and "any violence would be nipped in the bud." But, in spite of this communal violence could not be checked.

The Bharatiya Janata Party leaders deny the involvement of their party in the current turmoil. But this does not seem to be true. Atal Behari Vajpayee, during his four-hour tour of the affected areas was taken only to the

Hindu localities by the local BJP leaders and was allowed to speak to only two Muslims. Lal Kishen Advani, while deploring the arrests of his partymen, also admitted that the BJP would throw out some persons if their involvement was proved in the Hyderabad riots. Again the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the youth wing of the BJP had issued a press statement through the PTI that "Pakistanis in Hyderabad are behind the riots." According to them, there were 3,500 Pakistanis in the city and most of them had "overstayed." However, the state government has denied this. The BJP and Arya Samaj leaders are now harping on the use of "Arab money" in the current riots. But the chief minister recently said that he had a particular business community in mind when he declared that "we know who are financing the riots. We will arrest them and seize their money and properties."

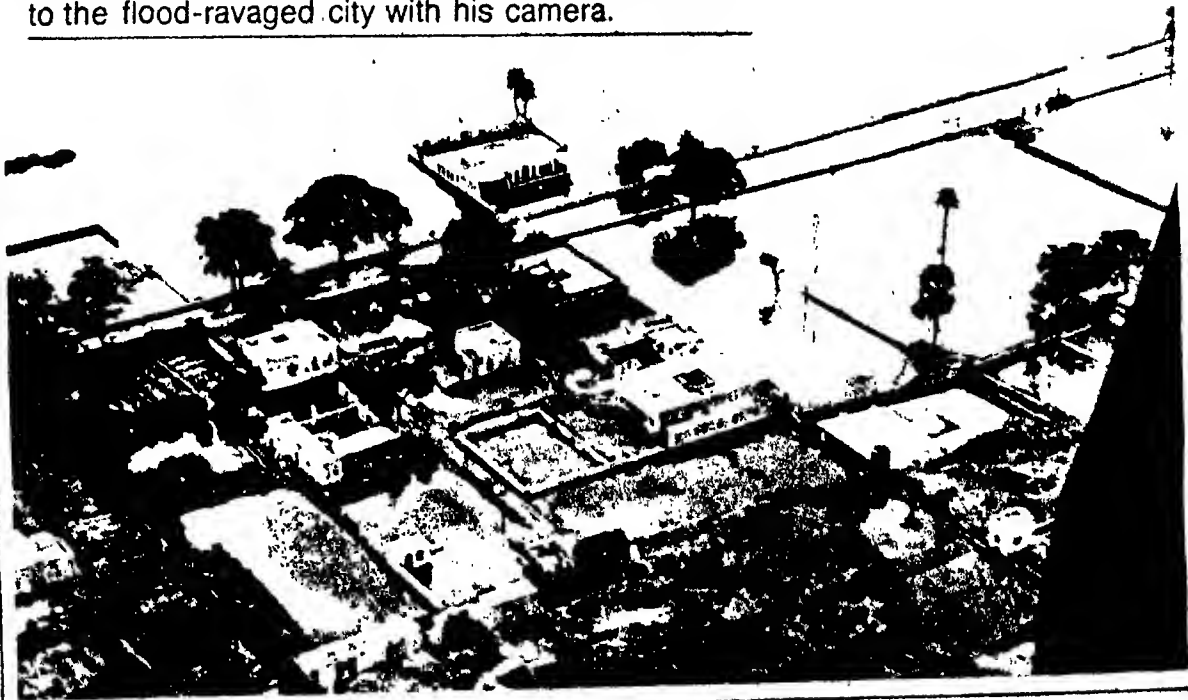
In the ultimate analysis, the current communal strife in Hyderabad is the consequence of electoral politics with the MIM and Congress(I) trying to consolidate their position in the Old City and the BJP attempting to make some inroads through its RSS strongholds. For over three decades now, the Old City has been known as a MIM base and in the state Assembly elections from 1951 onwards, the MIM had bagged three seats on an average with huge margins, even unseating ministers in the Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy and Kasu Brahmananda Reddy cabinets. In the 1978 Assembly elections, three seats were won by the MIM and three by the Congress(I) in the Old City areas. In the Secunderabad parliamentary by-election in 1979, the Congress(I) candidate, P. Shiv Shankar (now union law minister) had the support of the MIM. Dr Channa Reddy and Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi, the MIM president, had parted ways over the choice of a nominee for the Lok Sabha polls in the Hyderabad constituency in 1980. In the first municipal elections the MIM had fought in the 1950s, it had secured enough seats to form the second largest group. Consequently, one of its members was made a deputy mayor.

For the Congress(I), the riots have proved to be a blessing in disguise. With the elections to the MCH due to be held soon, the Congress(I) had found that its position was neither as strong as the MIM's nor the BJP's. The riots have given the Congress(I) an opportunity to postpone the elections and have a nominated corporation instead. The chief minister has said that a final decision on the elections will be taken soon. He has also indicated that the government would soon take a decision on banning paramilitary drills by the RSS and curbing the activities of "communal bodies and political groups." Whether or not the government implements its decision will be known soon. But will government be able to check communal violence in future? After all, it is Mr Anjiah's weak administration which was unable to check the riots. ■



THE DELUGE IN THE DESERT

History's worst floods ravaged Rajasthan and its capital city, Jaipur, for over a week in mid-July. SONDEEP SHANKAR went by helicopter to the flood-ravaged city with his camera.



An aerial view of Jaipur shows the Delhi-Jaipur road and the ancient Jal Mahal palace under water



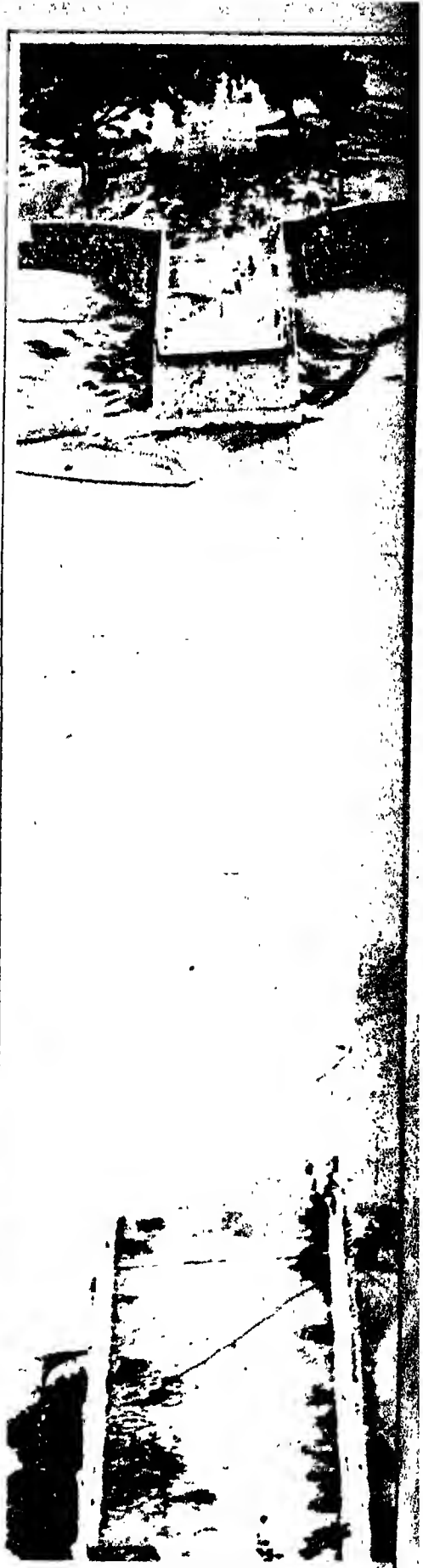
A massive canal-like fissure created by the flood waters through Jaipur city

When the rains started on 17 July residents of the 250-year-old Pink City, Jaipur, in drought-prone Rajasthan welcomed them. Little did the Jaipurians realise then that this was going to be a deluge: in the next 48 hours the city received nearly 59 cms of rainfall, when its total annual average is 60 cms. Three days later, with the rains continuing unabated, Jaipur was drowning. There had been more than 82 cms of rain. The surrounding areas were not spared either. On 20 July there was a flash flood and in one watery swoop,

Hingonia village in Tonk district disappeared. Roads and railway lines were cut off and for nearly five days Jaipur remained isolated, an island in a new sea.

By the end of the week, the floods had swallowed nearly 450 villages in Tonk, Jaipur, Nagaur, Sawai Madhopur and Bharatpur districts. About 17,600 houses were damaged, out of which 9,500 were in Jaipur alone. The army rushed in to help the civilian authorities in providing succour to the flood-affected millions. And as we go to press news has come that the rains have started afresh in Rajasthan.

An M-8 helicopter on a rescue and food-dropping mission hovering over a submerged village near Jaipur



The breach in the Jaipur-Sikar highway

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

No more strikes

Ordinance against workers

New Delhi: The number of mandays lost on the industrial front during 1980-81, the first year of Mrs Gandhi's second phase as Prime Minister, was 1.30 crores, substantially less than the 4.40 crore mandays lost during 1979-80. The number of strikes came down to 899 in 1980 as against 1,336 in 1979 and 2,117 in 1978. Violent incidents in industry were also comparatively less in 1980-542, compared with 682 in 1979 and 840 in 1978. These are figures furnished by the union labour ministry. As per the government's own statistics, comparative calm prevails on the industrial front under Mrs Gandhi's rule. Hence the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, approved by the union cabinet late on the night of Sunday 26 July and signed by President Reddy moments before he embarked for London (to attend the royal wedding), took the trade unions completely by surprise. The omnibus ordinance has provisions for draconian measures to deal with strikes and trade unionists feel it is only a prelude to a wage freeze.

The ambit of the ordinance is far and wide. Police officers have been empowered to arrest "without warrant," any person "who is reasonably suspected" of having committed "offences" under the ordinance. The Criminal Procedure Code notwithstanding, provision has been made in the ordinance for the summary trial of those arrested in such manner. In fact, this means that if there is "reasonable suspicion" in the mind of the police that a person is either participating in, leading, instigating or monetarily aiding any strike banned under the ordinance, then all that the police has to do is to arrest that person, produce him before a first class magistrate, who will hold a summary trial and on the basis of the police statement and send the man to jail. This provision makes the ordinance unique.

Normally, provision for summary trial is made under circumstances akin to the one prevailing during the days of the Emergency. As of date, only striking workers are to be subjected to summary trials and packed off to jail under the ordinance, while murderers, adulterators, blackmarketeers, hoarders, smugglers and other economic offenders have to be tried under the procedures laid down by the Cr. PC and given a fair chance to defend themselves.

The punishment for the striking workers is six months' imprisonment,

and one year jail terms have been prescribed for the leaders ("instigators" as the ordinance describes them) and those financially aiding the striking workers. In effect, this can mean that if anyone puts a ten-paisa coin into the collection boxes of striking workers, which are often seen on the pavements, busstops and railway platforms of urban areas, then a police officer has "reasonable" grounds to believe that the person was financing the strike.

The ordinance extends to almost all fields of industrial activity. For sectors not specified in the ordinance there is an omnibus clause, which empowers the government to extend it to "any service connected with matters with respect to which the Parliament has power to make laws." Parliament's powers extend from defence units to the Delhi Shops and Establishments Act. So, in effect, a barbers' or butchers' strike in the capital can also be dealt with under the ordinance.



George Fernandes: Mrs Gandhi's end

Clause 2(B) of the ordinance, which defines "strike," specifies that refusal to work overtime would also amount to "strike." Also included in the definition of "strike" is, "any other conduct which is likely to result in, or results in, cessation or substantial retardation of work." In the government sector, panel after panel have discouraged the system of overtime work. The government has, in a recent economy drive, issued instructions to many departments to cut down overtime work. Overtime is not a matter of right for

the workers. In effect it means an agreement between the employer, who needs extra production of goods or services and the employee, who needs the extra wage which accrues to him from such extra work. Refusal to work overtime being construed as "strike," has, therefore, made many trade unionists wonder what the real motive of the government is. While the worker cannot demand overtime work for extra wages, the employer can force him to do so if he feels it is necessary from his (the employer's) point of view.

"Substantial retardation of work" too is a tricky phrase. Such "retardation" can take place due to reasons other than the conduct of the worker. For example, if the employer fails to procure raw materials, then production is "retarded." The experience of the workers in some key sectors, where bonus is based on a piece-work basis, has been that often shortage of raw material results in low productivity and thereby less piece work bonus for the worker. The ordinance is silent on these aspects. Further, so far as police officers' "suspicion" being the criterion for summary arrest and trial goes, all that a mischievous employer has to do is to show the police officer the production chart of a month and tell him that there has been a "retardation," and the worker finds himself in jail.

The government's tough stance in relation to the working class had been evident for the past few months. In the case of bonus for the employees of the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC), the government disregarded the directive of the Supreme Court to pay bonus. Later, it had to obey the Supreme Court's orders when the court took a tough view on the matter. The 77 day strike by 1.3 lakh workers of the five Bangalore based public sector units - Hindustan Machine Tools, Bharat Electronics, Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd, Bharat Earth Movers Ltd and Indian Telephone Industries - which began on 26 December 1980, was another ominous indicator. Along with the Bangalore units, some units in Hyderabad and all the subsidiary units of HMT and HAL spread all over the country also went on strike to demand the implementation of a tripartite agreement between the unions, the government and the respective public undertakings. The agreement had been entered into during the Janata-Lok Dal regime in 1979 and approved by the present union cabinet in April 1980. According to the agreement, any wage hike in the public sector giant, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (BHEL), was to be automatically applicable to the employees of HMT, BEL, BEMT, HAL and ITI. In November 1980 the workers demanded the implementation of the agreement. The refusal of the managements led to the 77-day strike.

Ironically, the central minister deputised to break the Bangalore strike was Mr C. M. Stephen, who during the Janata-Lok Dal days was the president of one of the HMT unions and had

"An undeclared Emergency"

New Delhi: "We would launch a movement against the ordinance and all that it implies. This could mean the beginning of the end of Mrs Gandhi's second term in office." That is how labour leader and Parliamentarian, Mr George Fernandes, reacted to the ordinance when contacted on 28 July. And Mr Fernandes means what he says. On that day he had organised, under the aegis of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), a workers' rally at Faridabad on the outskirts of Delhi. The rally, however, was washed out because of the rain. On the next day, Mr Fernandes addressed a massive rally at Mod Mangal, another industrial suburb of Delhi and told the workers what the ordinance implied. "I would hold many such meetings till the opening of Parliament (17 August)," Mr Fernandes told Sunday.

"This step was not unexpected," said Mr Fernandes. "We are going back to the 1974-77 situation. The ordinance speaks of the panic which has gripped Mrs Gandhi's mind. Given the fragmented state of the political parties (in the opposition), the trade unions were posing a major challenge to her." Mr Fernandes spoke about the meeting of the ten central trade union organisations and 46 other workers' federations held in Bombay on 4 June. "That meeting frightened her. Never before had such a representative conference of India's working people taken place. A campaign committee was set up which had decided only four days back (in

the last week of July) to observe 3 November as a day of protest against the government's anti-labour policies. This was to be followed by a massive demonstration outside Parliament house in the third week of November in which both industrial and agricultural labour were to participate. The Bombay meeting was the first ever trade union meeting which had taken up the demands of the lain labourers. This obviously resurrected in Mrs Gandhi's mind the nightmare of the 1974 railway strike," said Mr Fernandes who had led the '74 strike. "It is obvious," he continued, "that she is trying to bring about a wage freeze. Two instalments of dearness allowance are due. These will not be paid. There may also be an attempt to reduce the actual wages in the insurance, banking, airlines and shipping sectors. The ordinance means an undeclared Emergency."

Mr S M Banerji, president of the defence and LIC employees' federations, said that the central government employees had gone on strikes despite ordinances banning them in 1960 and 1968. "Banning of strikes always results in more strikes. Where (in which sectors) has production fallen? Can the government tell us how efficient the bureaucrats are in clearing files? There are instances where agreements with trade unions have not been implemented because the files are pending in the ministries. In defence units, we had signed an agreement with the government in

1979 which stipulated that a mazdoor (worker) will be automatically promoted after 15 years of service. Till today the agreement has not been implemented. In the president of the posts and telegraph department's all India women and class IV staff union as well. We negotiated with the authorities a year ago that every class III and IV employee would get two promotions during his tenure of service. This file too is pending. What action is being taken against such retardation of work?"

Referring to the clause which makes refusal to work overtime an offence, Mr Banerji said, "In defence units the workers had worked overtime without accepting any payment for the same during the agitations in 1962, 1965 and 1971. We had contributed the overtime payment amount to the national defence fund. And this is what the workers ultimately get."

"In the LIC we were forced to go on strike because the government refused to implement the Supreme Court's directive on the payment of bonus. It was only then that we got bonus. From whom else did Mrs Gandhi fear strikes? The 32 lakh central government employees have had no wage increase in the last few years, while in the public sector there have been 11 wage agreements recently. But even then there was no plan of the central government employees to go on strike," said Mr Banerji.

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

signed the agreement on behalf of the workers. Mr Stephen played his new role well and he is considered one of the labour experts in the union cabinet (the cabinet subcommittee which finalised the ordinance comprised home minister Gyani Zail Singh, labour and planning minister, Mr Narayan Datt Tewari and communications minister, Mr Stephen).

The government did an unprecedented thing by declaring lockouts in the five Bangalore units in May. It was for the first time in its history that the Indian government, as an employer, declared a lockout. Lockouts in individual government units had been declared from time to time by the local managers. But the Bangalore lockout took place as a result of a guideline from New Delhi.

After the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance was passed, in keeping with the Congress tradition, some INTUC leaders loaded a few buses with INTUC supporters and organised an "impromptu" labour rally at Mrs Gandhi's residence on 28 July to express "workers' support" for the new measure. At that rally, Mrs Gandhi said that the ordinance covered lockouts and layoffs by the employers as well. No such clause, even remotely implying this, exists. Are there some secret clauses as well?

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

CONGRESS

Mrs Gandhi's is the 'real' Congress

New Delhi: In the 96-year-old, chequered history of the Indian National Congress, Mrs Gandhi has certainly managed to get the tallest position. For, time and again she has proved that she can make or break the party at will. Mrs Gandhi's supporters had revolted against the party establishment, then led by Mr S. Nijalingappa, in 1969, requisitioned a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) and formed a new party. But the party establishment then failed to get either the symbol or the identity of being the "real" Congress and Mr Nijalingappa, Mr Morarji Desai and company were recognised as the Congress (Organisation), which merged its identity with the Janata Party on 1 May 1977. Again, in 1978, Mrs Gandhi formed a new party which bore her name in the suffix and revolted against the party establishment, this time led by another southern leader, Mr K. Brahmananda Reddi. This time the dispute over the party symbol lasted

before the election commission for three-and-a-half years and ultimately the decision was in favour of Mrs Gandhi. On both occasions, in 1969 and in 1978, Mrs Gandhi's faction showed amazing ability to twist the Congress constitution to suit its own ends. And on both occasions in the eyes of the people, Mrs Gandhi's faction managed to retain the image of being the successor to the party which was in the vanguard of the freedom movement.

The roots of the dispute which was disposed off by the chief election commissioner, Mr S. I. Shakhder, on 23 July 1981, lay in the defeat of the Congress in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections. Stunned by the defeat, Congressmen at first demanded the resignation of the all-powerful Youth Congress president, Mrs Ambika Soni, and later that of the AICC president, Mr Dev Kanta Barooah. Partymen also wanted the blood of the Emergency's "extra-constitutional authority," the

late Mr Sanjay Gandhi, but to their amazement the Sanjay-baiters in the Congress discovered that Mr Sanjay Gandhi had not even been a primary member of the party. So, no action could be contemplated against him.

Following Mr Barooah's resignation, a meeting of the AICC was summoned in New Delhi's Mavlankar Hall on 5 and 6 May 1977. Two distinct groups emerged in that meeting. For the first time in many years there was an election for the post of AICC president. Mrs Gandhi set up Mr K. Brahmananda Reddi, her home minister in the Emergency days and those opposed to her supported Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, the then West Bengal chief minister (who, incidentally, was one of the principal advisors of Mrs Gandhi when she declared Emergency in 1975). Mr Ray was defeated and Mrs Gandhi once again established her supremacy in the party despite its poorest showing at the hustings, under her leadership.

By the end of 1977, Mrs Gandhi, persecuted by the commissions of enquiry set up against her and her son, Sanjay, found the party establishment waning in enthusiasm to support her in her bad days. So on Mr Sanjay Gandhi's advice she decided to form her own party. On 29 December 1977, Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, a senior member of the Congress, called a press conference in New Delhi and announced the decision to hold a convention on 1 January 1978 to chalk out a programme which was to be given to the Congress working committee. The then AICC president, Mr Reddi, pointed out to the organisers that as there was no provision for conventions in the party constitution, he was not sure about their motives. Mrs Gandhi's supporters, however, went ahead with the convention, which on 2 January 1978 elected Mrs Gandhi as president of the party. It was christened "Indian National Congress (Indira)." As president of the new party, Mrs Gandhi wrote to the election commission on 7 January 1978 seeking recognition as a national party and the allotment of the "cow and calf" symbol. In an interim order passed on 25 January that year, the election commission allowed the party led by Mr Reddi to use the party symbol. Since then the party was referred to as the "Congress" and Mrs Gandhi's party as the "Congress (Indira)." Mr Reddi's party was allowed to continue using the "cow and calf" symbol. The "hand" symbol was allotted to the Congress (I). The two parties contested the Vidhan Sabha general elections held in some states in February-March 1978 on their respective symbols. The Congress which underwent a change of leadership, meanwhile, and was headed by Mr Devaraj Urs, continued to use the "cow and calf" symbol in all the by-elections till 29 November 1979. On the eve of the last Lok Sabha general elections, on an application from the Congress (I), the "cow and calf" symbol was frozen and the Congress was told to start using the suffix (Urs). It was allotted the

"charkha" as its party symbol.

Many interesting defections took place from the two parties during the pendency of the symbol case. Mr Brahmananda Reddi crossed over to Mrs Gandhi's fold and her principal lieutenant at the time of the split, Mr Devaraj Urs, became the president of the rival party. To top it all, Mr V. M. Syed Mohammad, who was the Congress (U) counsel in the case, resigned from the party and joined the Congress (I). He subsequently became the Indian high commissioner in London. Mr S.L. Shakhder has recorded this interesting phenomenon in his order thus: "The commission cannot also ignore another phenomenon taking place in the party. The leaders of both the groups have been resorting to change in allegiance. These happenings have been going on unabated and in quick succession, and more so, in the case of members of the working committee and many top leaders."

The commission also pulled up Congressmen for their lack of adherence to the party constitution. "It is com-

mon knowledge that in matter of adherence to the provisions of the party constitution, both groups were not following these provisions. Both the groups of the party either jointly before, or separately after, the split were carrying on their affairs on ad hoc basis, the office bearers in various organs of the party, including the party president, were often appointed without following the norms for their election laid down in the constitution of the party and kept in office much after their term had expired. The last organisational elections in the party are reported to have been held as long back as 1972," Mr Shakhder's order said. So much for inner-party democracy in the largest political party in our country.

Soon after the election commission announced its verdict and declared Mrs Gandhi's party to be the "real" Congress, arrangements were made by the Congress (U) to protect its office at 3 Raisina Road.

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Was a union leader killed?

Modinagar: It was a cloudy evening, on 29 June. A small group of 40-50 men had gathered outside the Modipon factory's *karamchhari* (worker's) gate where a *shamiana* and an improvised rostrum were being put up by Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) workers for a meeting. Police permission had been obtained earlier for the meeting to be held between six pm and seven pm that evening. The president of the union, Mr Jaya Prakash, arrived at five sharp. Around 5.15 or so, he asked Mr Veereshwar Tiagi, an advocate from Meerut who is also a secretary of the all-India HMS, and who had specially driven down to Modinagar earlier in the day, to address the gathering. Mr Tiagi had hardly stood up when he saw a procession coming towards them—25 to 30 men in double file, holding sticks and iron rods with Congress (I) flags fluttering on top and shouting 'Indira Gandhi *zindabad*' and 'Rajiv Gandhi *zindabad*.' They were being led by Mr Raj Pal Pahlwan, the INTUC union president.

The HMS members started shouting counter-slogans. This went on for some minutes, then suddenly, Pahlwan's group launched their attack with lightning speed. The crowd ran helter-skelter. In the melee, Mr Veereshwar Tiagi found himself behind the rostrum on which sat Mr Jaya Prakash, HMS office secretary, Mr S. S. Mehra and Mr S. K. Mishra from Ghaziabad. Mr Tiagi looked up to see several people beating up Mr Jaya Prakash who rolled over the rostrum. The beating continued. When Mr Tiagi stepped towards Mr Jaya Prakash, blows started falling on his head and shoulders too.

Mr Tiagi, whose right hand was broken and is still in a sling, told this reporter: "All the time they were hitting me and butchering that man, of this I am sure." One of the assailants took Mr Tiagi's watch from his wrist and shouted: "*Bhago* (go away)." But when they left him, Mr Tiagi was in severe pain, his clothes splattered with blood. The HMS men who had fled earlier returned. Some of them took Mr Tiagi to a friend's house. Others took Mr Jaya Prakash to the ESI hospital where he was declared dead. The police arrived much later, though violence continued.

Mr Jaya Prakash's murder was not the only one that night. The INTUC people point out that some men attacked the workers' club near the nullah that night and beat up two to three INTUC members who lived there. The police were called and first-aid was given to the injured men. Shiv Lal and Hari were seriously injured and were shifted first to Ghaziabad and then to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in New Delhi where one of them died on 9 July.

The HMS leaders say that they knew nothing about this second murder till four or five days later, when the police came and, instead of Subhash of Tipra Road named in the FIR, arrested one of their workers with the same name who lives near Sham Singh Gate. They do not know the other 8-9 men implicated in the case. In fact, they take pride in pointing out that despite mammoth processions in the town on 11 and 12 July, Modinagar has been completely free from violence, thanks to the discipline among the HMS workers.



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Rivalry between the INTUC and the HMS unions in the area goes back a long time. So does the management's effort to play one off against the other. Last year, after a protracted strike, several assaults and arrests by the police, the management had to come to a compromise with the majority union in the Modi Spinning and Weaving Mills which was affiliated to the HMS and had Mr Jaya Prakash as its president. Soon after the management and the HMS-affiliated Kapda Mill Mazdoor Union agreed to have chief minister Mr V. P. Singh as the arbitrator, fresh violence was let loose.

Despite the tension prevailing for quite some time between the rival unions, police were nowhere on the scene on the day scheduled for the HMS meeting outside the Modipon *Kaamchhari* gate. The only person present was the local investigation unit (LIU) constable Sharma, who was later replaced by another LIU man, this time in plainclothes, Yadav

Mr Tiagi, who had arrived on the scene at about 3.45 pm on 29 June sensed trouble when the INTUC union president, Mr Pahlwan, and secretary, Brahm Pal, crossed the place thrice without greeting him as they normally did. Mr Tiagi's fears were further heightened when he observed some suspicious-looking men moving around in a green taxi. Perhaps, the one who struck him most was Mahavir, a notorious character of the area. Said Mr Tiagi: "I sensed it was important because he had no business to be there."

The HMS members are certain that acknowledged criminals with past records were certainly involved in the murder of Mr Jaya Prakash. But some questions remain unanswered: Why did they do it? Were the men, who caused the trouble, in the pay of the Modis? Again, even before he became the labour minister of UP, Mr Jagdish Chand Dikshit, an office-bearer of the INTUC, is said to have taken a personal interest in the Modi mills. According to Mr Tiagi's information Mr Dikshit was in Ghaziabad on 29 June. Was this purely a coincidence?
Madhumita Majumdar

CRIME

How an innocent faced trial



Pali, the fake accused



Punjabi, the real accused

New Delhi : In Tihar Jail, there is a sikh youth, Surinder Pal alias Pali, who underwent trial for a crime he had never committed. After appearing in court for five years he eventually confessed: "I am not the real accused."

Posted at Patel Nagar police station, in central Delhi, is a sikh assistant sub-inspector of police, Deedar Singh. He is the policeman who goaded Pali into "impersonating" the real accused and face trial in a case of armed robbery. Pali was also charged under the Arms Act.

At Punjabi Basti, a congested central Delhi locality resides another Deedar Singh, a pipe-fitter by profession. He was the prime witness in the robbery case. The prosecution declared him hostile after he refused to identify the fake accused as the real one.

These are the three sikhs—the central characters in the trial the Delhi court quashed on 11 May 1980. Said Justice D. R. Khanna in his two page order acquitting the "fake" accused of the robbery: "How this unfortunate thing happened, it is difficult to state." The judge ordered a fresh trial to be instituted against the real accused, Surinder Pal Singh alias Punjabi, who is still at large. The matter was referred to the High Court following an "inquiry" by the sessions judge. A statement was made later by Pali in which he said he had nothing to do with the case. The fake accused had told the court in an application that the substitution was effected by ASI Deedar Singh who summoned him one day from Tihar, where he had been since 1973 in connection with a murder case. The policeman explained to him how his namesake—Surinder Pal alias Punjabi—had been released by mistake and pleaded that he take part in the trial. The confession by Pali changed the entire case. The sessions court immediately took note of his statement and an inquiry was started.

Mr Narain Singh, then assistant superintendent of Tihar Jail, appeared in the sessions court and confirmed that the "fake" accused was in the "central jail" in a murder case of 17 November, 1973. He had been convicted on 23 May 1975 by Additional Sessions Judge P. K. Bahri. Mr Singh told the court that he recognised Pali who had been in the jail throughout. He said the accused being produced in the court was a murder convict and not the "real accused" who was to be tried by the court. Even the photographs produced in the court confirmed that there were two different persons. In the photographs, Pali had long hair with a turban and Punjabi, the real accused, had short hair and a beard.

The fact that the real accused had short hair was highlighted by Deedar Singh, the prosecution witness. He also told the court that the accused was short in stature. During the enquiry, the court also summoned from the

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police records the personal file (No. 61691) of the real accused. Mr J. N. Chaturvedi, then police commissioner of Delhi, however, did not allow production of the documents.

However, inspector Gauri Shankar of the crime record office who appeared in the court, on the day Mr Chaturvedi refused to produce the file, and offered to submit to the court one set each of the thumb and fingerprint impressions of the two accused. The court ordered that the impressions be sent to the Central Forensic Science Laboratory (CFSL) for comparison. A month later, on 27 February 1979, the director of CFSL sent a report stating that the impressions were of two different persons.

At this stage, even ASI Deedar Singh admitted in the court that the thumb and finger impressions of the real accused were different from those of Pali, who had been appearing in the trial. This having been discovered at a later stage of the trial, Additional Sessions Judge G. R. Luthra observed that the entire proceeding had to be set aside. Since the powers to do so were not available with the court he referred the matter to the High Court, which eventually quashed the proceedings.

A fact which has baffled many is why Pali suddenly changed his mind and proclaimed his innocence. Answers to these questions are likely to come out only after the trial court prosecutes Pali under Section 205 IPC.

Deedar Singh, the policeman, seemed confused when approached for details on how the switch had taken place. He pleaded innocence, admitted negligence and expressed ignorance about the circumstances which had brought about the substitution. He said he saw Punjabi only once, on the night between 31 May and 1 June 1976, when he arrested him for having tried to rob pipe-fitter Deedar Singh by brandishing a sword. "At that time Punjabi's face was full of blood. He was immediately sent for medical examination."

The sturdy ASI, who is shortly going to be transferred to the security wing of Delhi police, said he sincerely believed that Pali was the real accused. He said he was aware that he had faltered as a policeman and as an investigator in not being able to distinguish the two persons. "When I met Pali in the court he narrated the whole incident which had led to the arrest and prosecution. He probably did this to remove any room for doubt," said ASI Deedar Singh.

The policeman was reticent initially and said he would not speak without permission from his superiors. However, he later denied Pali's statement in the court that he had approached him for becoming a party in the case after Punjabi disappeared. He said if he had summoned Pali from Tihar Jail then there should have been some records to prove it. Why did the jail authorities not bother to check why Pali, who had been convicted in the murder case and was undergoing imprisonment for life, was being asked to appear for trial in a case with which he had no connections.

Deedar Singh mentioned that he had arrested Punjabi only under the Arms Act and Sections 398/511 (attempted robbery) were added by the Court. He said he had consulted some lawyers in the case and was prepared for the "departmental censure" which he thought was inevitable.

But a fact which has raised suspicion was Deedar Singh's claims that he had met the real accused only once: at the time of arrest. It is also strange that despite being the investigating officer in the case he claimed he did not appear in the lower court at all.

The other Deedar Singh was contacted at his modest house at Punjabi Basti. To start with he complained of a "memory lapse" and said he remembered nothing about the incident. Later, he said he had appeared twice in Court. On both occasions he had told the Court that Pali was not the person who, had attempted to rob him. "The man who posed as the accused on both occasions insisted that he was Punjabi." Although Pali and Punjabi had the same names, they looked different, he said. While Pali was taller, Punjabi was heavily-built and did not have long hair.

Deedar Singh said at one stage he had doubts that the man being shown to him could be the real accused who had grown long hair. But a close look confirmed that the "impersonator" was physically much weaker than Punjabi, though both had the same wheatish complexion. Vinod Sharma and Jagmeet Uppal



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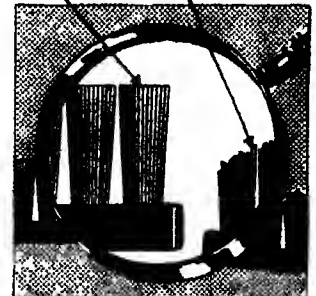


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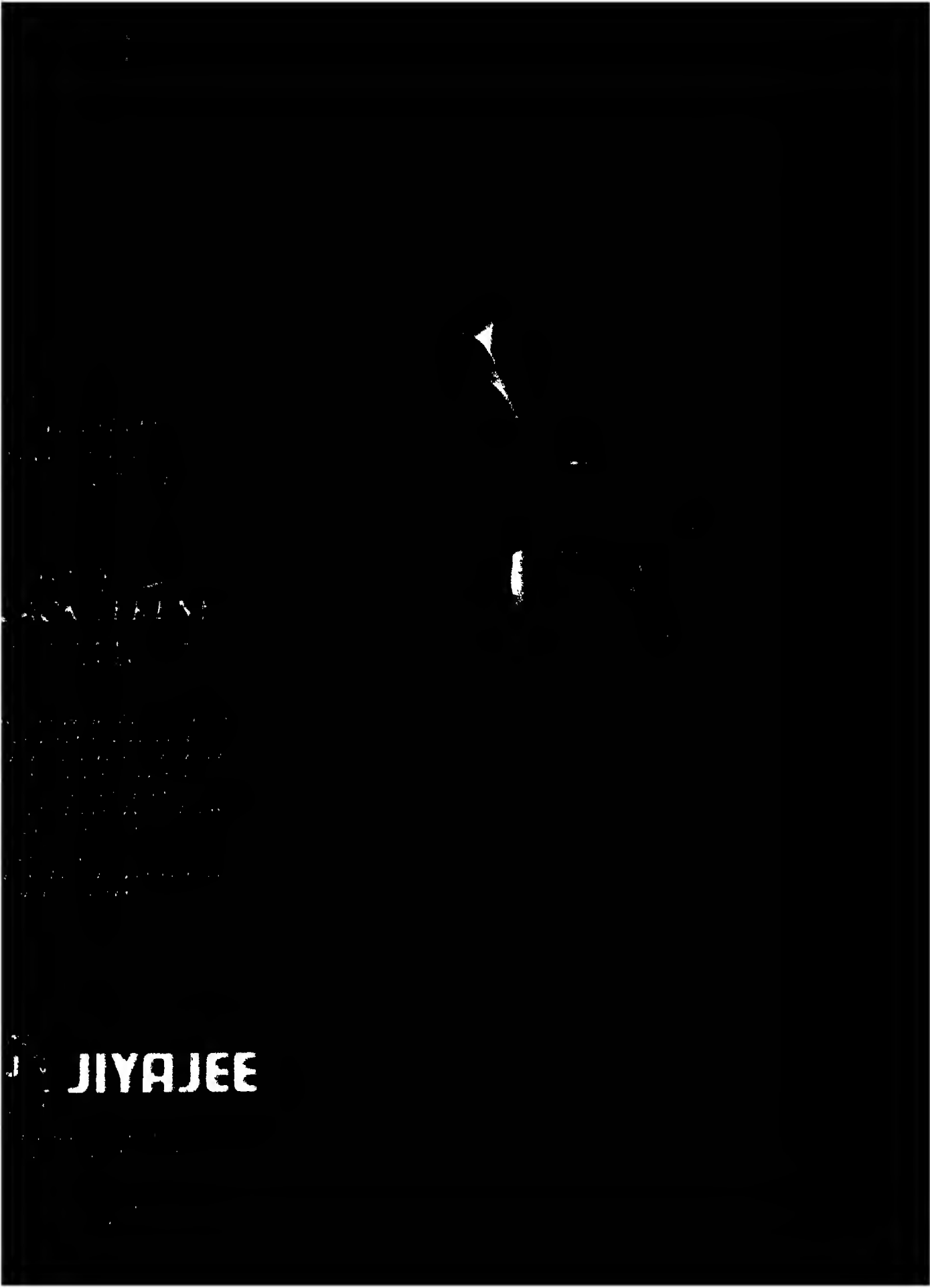
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The fall and rise of Amitabh Bachchan

By A Special Correspondent

CINEMA

Barsaat Ki Ek Raat opened with a lot of fanfare. The film had all the ingredients to make it a success and it had the big name of the Hindi screen: Amitabh Bachchan. Although his recent films had not been much of a success at the box-office, all those connected with *Barsaat* were confident that this film would be successful. And yet, something seemed to have gone wrong. No longer were there the milling queues in front of the theatres. Overnight, it seemed, cinema-crazy people had forgotten the great man of the Hindi screen. Gone were the days when any Bachchan starrer would have "House Full" boards for weeks on end. What was considered to be a passing phase had turned into a crisis and *Barsaat* was the butt of this crisis that had assumed unforeseen proportions.

Such a crisis had come again after a long while, and it needed drastic action. Six financiers and distributors of the Hindi film industry, all close friends, trooped in one morning—anxiety writ large on their faces. They had gathered for an emergency meeting around a large oval table under the benign gaze of a host of gods whose pictures hung on the walls.



NEMAI GHOSH



Yash Chopra explains a point to Amitabh

One of them broke the silence. Talks were going on in the filmy circles for a long time about the superhero, Amitabh. The days of the Amitabh mania were over. *Barsaat* was just the beginning of the downhill slide of another superstar. Another god, this time one of flesh and blood, so much closer to their hearts, had failed them. Talks like this, loose talk most of the time, had been going on for months and the six who had invested their lakhs, their health, their peace—in short their everything—in Amitabh and *Barsaat*, sat there discussing their future in sheer panic. It was not merely their future they were discussing, it was the future of Amitabh Bachchan too.

In the Coffee House, a short distance from the room with the oval table, sat dreamers, writers, frustrated filmmakers, directors and filmy prophets of doom sipping cups of luke-warm coffee and discussing the fading out of Amitabh Bachchan. There was no sympathy, no one was trying to understand what was happening. Amitabh was their favourite subject that day, their favourite whipping-hero. It gave them great pleasure to trample on the fallen superstar. The fall they had been waiting for had come at last.

Very soon, others took up the refrain: in film studios, in various production offices, in stars' homes and make-up rooms, in studio canteens, on outdoor locations and even in faraway Kashmir. In three cases, at least, rivals opened bottles of champagne to celebrate the fall of the star who had ruled supreme for years. Producers and directors whose offers he had spurned at some time or the other now had their own explanations to offer. Like one producer said: "Success had really gone to his head. In spite of the fact that he belonged to a very educated and sophisticated family, he behaved like a man with a swollen head. He deserves the fall. His fall will be a

lesson for other stars." And another producer who had once worked with him, said: "I knew the fall would come one day but it has come earlier than expected." It was a sad day for some.

The class that really made the most of the gossip were all those 300 odd film and other glossy magazines around the country. One tried to outsmart, to outbeat the other. In big, black, bold and sometimes colourful letters they trumpeted the end of the Amitabh era. Others went as far as to say that Amitabh was no longer the number one star and that there were others who were waiting to take his place. Magazines which had once adulated Amitabh now replaced him with Vinod Khanna as the next number one. Again an attempt was made to replace Amitabh. And this time they said there were quite a few young men waiting to take the throne. Names like Jeetendra, Raj Babbar and Naseeruddin Shah and even the new boys, Sunjay Dutt, Kumar Gaurav and Kamal Hasan were banded about as the probable successors. The gossip writers who had a running battle with Amitabh took special care and pains to beat Amitabh to the dust. They had at last found a glorious opportunity.

The cinema ticket black-marketeers were a worried lot too. When they suddenly realised that the Amitabh phase was passing through a cloud they sat back in shock. For a long time it had been only all those Amitabh films which had helped them to make money at the theatres. They were in distress and didn't know what to make of the new, unexpected situation. They had made money on almost every Amitabh film and now the same Amitabh, slipping and falling was too much to take. "What will we do now?" one of them had asked me then. Another young man who has been selling tickets in the black market since he was 12 said: "You know, we used to save money and wait for an

Amitabh film because we were sure we would make money on it. You will not believe me if I tell you that with the money I made on Amitabh films, I bought a house and got my two sisters married, with a lot of *dhoom dhaam* (fanfare). Now I will have to think of something else. But one thing I can tell you, *sahab*, Amitabh is not a passing star who will come and go. No one can touch him. This may be a bad patch but I can give you in writing that he will come back again." Prophetic words they were going to be.

People who still had faith in the magic of the name, Amitabh Bachchan, refused to believe that it was a fall. They refused to accept the story which said that Amitabh sold no more at the box-office. While one section maintained their stand that all was over with him the other vehemently denied anything like that was happening. They said it was just a slip, a bad patch, but certainly not a fall. But a dent had been made in the armour of Amitabh. The luke-warm reception some of his films received did jolt people: people in the money market more than anyone else. They were closely followed by producers and fans.

For some time no new Amitabh film was announced. Films which were already in the process of being shot made little progress. Money reserves from all kinds of sources which had hitherto not been found wanting now almost dried up. Writers who were busy playing up to his angry young man image stopped writing till further instructions. But there were a few who were faithful to Amitabh. They were certain that Amitabh could not slip, could not fall easily. Two among the handful were filmmakers Prakash Mehra (the man who made him a star) and Manmohan Desai (who made him the number one).

How and when did the big slip come? When did people start talking about the fall of the craze?

The first signs of a crack in the Amitabh halo came with the release of Yash Chopra's *Kaala Patthar*. It was a film made by the maker of *Deewaar* and *Kabhi Kabhie*, films that had made Amitabh a big star. *Kaala Patthar* was a big film with a big star cast. And it was written by Salim and Javed, the writers who had played a crucial part in making Amitabh what he was. Based on the Chasnala coal mines tragedy, filmgoers expected a lot. It turned out to be a damp squib. Yash and Amitabh and anyone else connected with the film still cannot fathom what went wrong. It was the one film whose results shocked the industry. The failure of *Kaala Patthar* made Yash Chopra do a lot of rethinking about his future plans. Big films which he had planned with Amitabh on the scale of *Kaala Patthar* or bigger, were shelved. Instead he started two small films. And the next time he thought of using Amitabh was when he planned *Silsila*, a love story with a touch of class. The impact of *Kaala Patthar* also had its effects. It brought

about a parting of ways for writers Salim and Javed and Yash Chopra who had been very good friends before the failure.

Kaala Patthar was just the beginning of embarrassing things to come. Films like *Suhaag* and *Do Aur Do Paanch* followed. *Suhaag* was a typical glossy multi-starrer made in the inimitable Manmohan Desai way. All the ingredients for making it a hit were there: big stars, big music, colossal budget—everything about it was big. And Amitabh had the major role. He played the angry young man (what else?) At times the entire unit flew down to London to shoot scenes that were to be shot in Bombay—just because Amitabh was holidaying there. But once again the magic failed: *Suhaag* could not be like *Amar Akbar Anthony*, one of the major hits in Amitabh's distinguished career. It mauled the two producers so badly that they still have to find the courage to start again. And, surprisingly, the industry didn't blame Manmohan Desai or any of the other stars for the fiasco. They blamed Amitabh Bachchan. He couldn't "carry" the film

through, they said, because he had lost his standing, and his magic. His critics rejoiced. They said he had taken one more step towards oblivion.

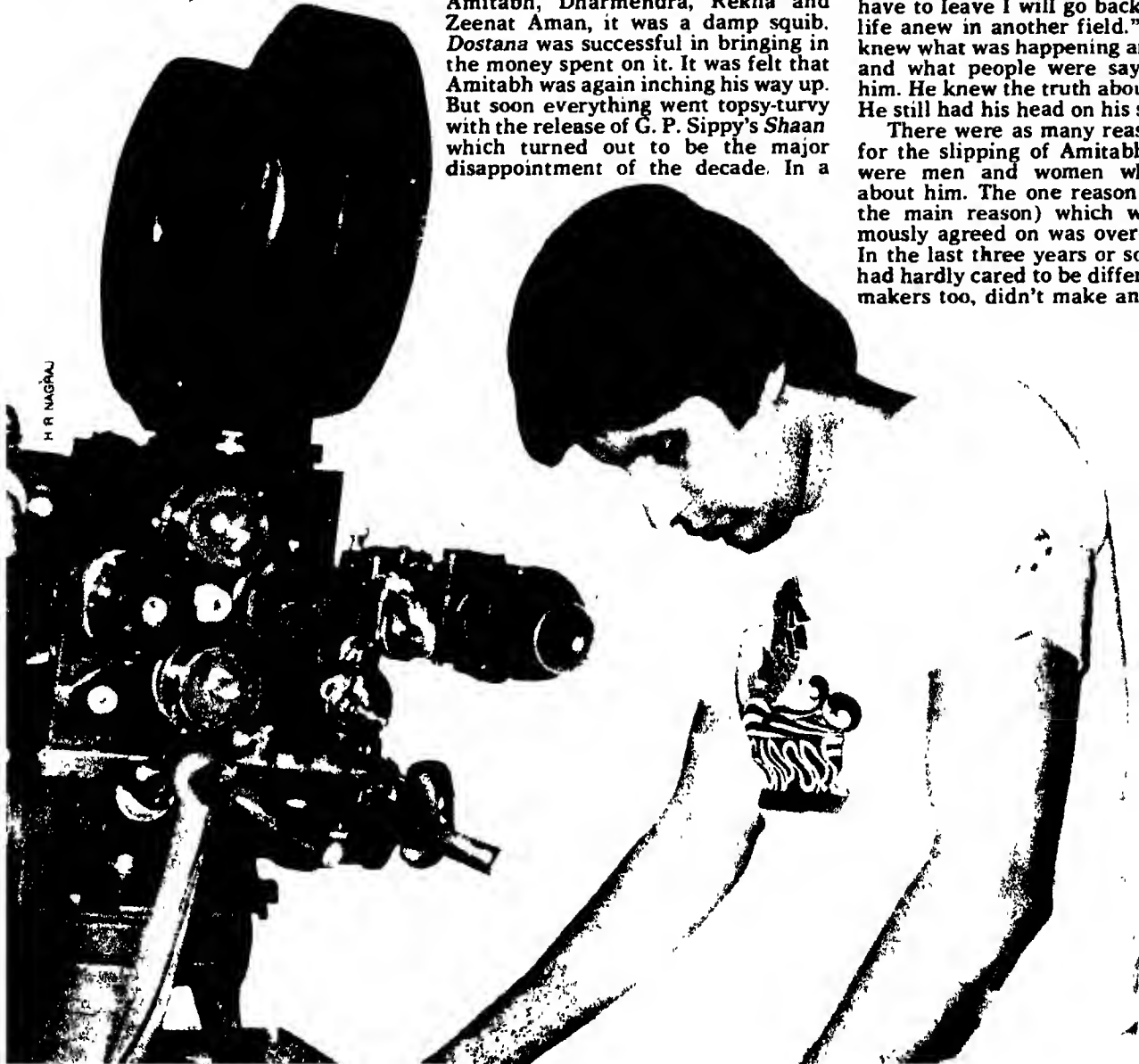
Then came *Do Aur Do Paanch* which was meant to be a comedy but was neither here nor there. It was the first flop made by Devar Films of Madras, the company that had made *Haathi Mere Saathi*, a film responsible for creating a superstar of an earlier generation, Rajesh Khanna. When *Do Aur Do* also failed to make an impact, financiers, producers, directors, in fact, everyone saw red. They had to find a way out. So, they went looking for other stars. Rajesh Khanna and Jeetendra came back and a number of new stars made the grade. In fact, a number of people were busy looking for alternatives to Amitabh Bachchan who they were certain was on his way out.

And when *Ram Balram* and *Dostana* did not turn out to be the hits they were supposed to be, the film people were certain. Amitabh would not do any more. *Ram Balram* was a big disappointment. It took five years to make. In spite of having such stars as Amitabh, Dharmendra, Rekha and Zeenat Aman, it was a damp squib. *Dostana* was successful in bringing in the money spent on it. It was felt that Amitabh was again inching his way up. But soon everything went topsy-turvy with the release of G. P. Sippy's *Shaan* which turned out to be the major disappointment of the decade. In a

film which was supposed to work wonders, Amitabh did the same things that he had done in so many films in the past. There was nothing new in the film. It didn't help Amitabh who needed a face-saving film badly. *Shaan* was followed by *Barsaat Ki Ek Raat* and Amitabh critics needed no other proof to write the end of a brilliant career.

Soon after "commissions" were instituted everywhere. Everyone wanted to know the reason or reasons for the fall of the great Bachchan. There were explanations galore. Amitabh himself was aware of what people were saying outside his fortress-like house but he made no statements. He was quiet as usual and continued working. It was only during a talk with a close friend that he reacted. The friend asked him if his career had really reached a bad stage, that he had slipped, and Amitabh said: "I am not worried about success or failure. I just do my work. Moreover a star cannot last for all time. I am aware of it. I know I will be forgotten one day and someone else will take my place and I will have no regrets. I am prepared for it. Even if I have to leave I will go back and start life anew in another field." The man knew what was happening around him and what people were saying about him. He knew the truth about himself. He still had his head on his shoulders.

There were as many reasons given for the slipping of Amitabh as there were men and women who talked about him. The one reason (perhaps, the main reason) which was unanimously agreed on was over-exposure. In the last three years or so Amitabh had hardly cared to be different. Film-makers too, didn't make any genuine





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Rekha the other woman

efforts to change his angry young man image. In almost every film he was the same man, angry with blood-shot eyes, out to teach the bad world a lesson. A time came when Amitabh did almost identical roles in more than one film. Then came the "police-officer phase" and again writers and directors did nothing to make the police-officer Amitabh different. The explanation was simple: this is how the people want Amitabh. Give him to them in any other way and they will reject him and the films. In fact, a time came when there were eight Amitabh starrers running simultaneously in Bombay. Over-exposure kills in most cases. Too much of Amitabh became too bad and his fans found their favourite star growing stale. "Once they start thinking (like this) then all is over," as Manmohan Desai put it once.

To a great extent it was also all those indifferently and badly made films which were responsible. Films like *Suhaag*, *Ram Balram*, *Do Aur Do Paanch* and even *Shaan* were based on scripts that hardly made any impact. They were haphazardly made. All of them looked like films which hoped to be successful on the sheer power of the Amitabh craze but as Amitabh himself once said: "No star or no actor can carry a film single-handed, whatever his charisma. A film as a whole has to be good. If the film is good nothing can stop it from being a hit." The release of a number of such films made people think twice before they went in to see an Amitabh starrer.

At about the same time Amitabh had some major misunderstandings with Gulshan Rai, the man with the big money who was behind films like *Kaala Patthar*, *Deewar*, *Kabhi Kabhie*. The two together were always associated with hits but sometime in 1980 they decided to stop working together. Not only did Gulshan Rai stop talking about Amitabh, he even went on to say that the new boy Sunjay Dutt would one day heat Amitabh and whole-

heartedly backed him and his first film, *Rocky*.

Amitabh had another serious misunderstanding with the writers, Salim and Javed, who were to a great extent responsible for creating the angry young man image and openly boasted about it. Amitabh didn't like their hoasting and one morning they decided to part ways and never work together again. His personal life too is believed to have affected his career. His alleged "affair" with Rekha disappointed his fans. Sympathy for Jaya Bhaduri spread all over the country and Amitabh's films began to be neglected.

Gossip magazines that have been at war with Amitabh for years too, made their own contributions, leaving no opportunity to lash out at him. They made a mountain out of a molehill by making his every slip look like a fall. Of course, it didn't affect Amitabh, but it created opinion among the readers.

With time stories of Amitabh's slipping slowly seeped through. Came April and Manmohan Desai's *Naseeb* and suddenly there was a storm at the box-office. Within a matter of days, *Naseeb* was declared an all-India hit and all the prophets of doom had a second look at the Amitabh they had condemned, tried to forget. Amitabh was like a Colossus in the film and critics, friends, foes, fans, men, women and children from Santa Cruz in Bombay to the remotest of villages in places where the film was released firmly believed that *Naseeb* without Amitabh was no *Naseeb* at all. The box-office tills jingled everyday. The figures reached dizzy heights. Manmohan Desai had made another hit—with Amitabh Bachchan and once again he made a statement he has made again and again—"Amitabh is the greatest actor, the most saleable today. I can't dream of making a film without him."

Naseeb was followed by Prakash Mehra's *Laawaris* which also turned out to be a major miracle. Distributors who had seen *Laawaris* before the release refused to pay Prakash Mehra the price he wanted per territory. They said it was a bad film and Amitabh's market was slipping so he should reduce the price. But Prakash had faith in his film and in Amitabh. Advisers said he would face competition from *Naseeb* but Prakash a showman in his own right decided to distribute the film on his own and released it. In a matter of days the film played havoc with every box-office window while Amitabh's critics and the distributors who rejected the film helplessly watched *Laawaris* as the biggest hit of all times. And it is a one-man Amitabh show. What the critics said didn't matter, what the learned and experienced box-office pundits said was thrown to the winds. Amitabh was the only star that mattered.

Amitabh is back. Amitabh is back, screamed his fans who still maintain that Amitabh never went away, will never go away for another ten years. Big money is again being invested in



Jaya the wife

Amitabh's films. Producers are willing to pay the highest paid actor of all times any price to work in their films. Suddenly the industry feels it has found its super-star hack and the search for another one has ended. All is quiet on the gossip front. They do have digs at his affair with Rekha but there is no talk of his falling. *Naseeb* and *Laawaris* have silenced them, silenced all his critics.

Amitabh too is playing it safe. He has hiked his price and has announced his decision to work in a limited number of films: only the films that are good, that appeal to him. He will have just two or three releases in a year.

The real test for Amitabh comes in the next two months. Two big films from which people are expecting miracles are to be released: *Silsila* and *Yaaraana*. He is not the angry young man in them. In the first he is a romantic poet and in the second a leading pop singer. There are no fights, no stunts, no angry red eyes, no smashing of hotels, nothing that is the typical Amitabh Bachchan. These two films are different, films on which Amitabh's future depends. All eyes are now on *Silsila* and *Yaaraana*—even Amitabh's.

It is interesting to see what Jeetendra has to say about Amitabh. He says: "Amit is the real phenomenon, one of the greatest we have. No one can touch him for a long time to come." Raj Babbar says: "It is very embarrassing to read what they say. It is going to be a long, long time before I reach anywhere near Amit." Everyone wants to be in Amitabh's place these days but an Amitabh Bachchan comes just once in a way. He is that rare star who shines after a long struggle, then stays on to shine.

So all is settled now. All the dust and din, all the sound and fury have died down and Amitabh is again right on top. He is number one, two, three on to ten. All the others follow. And no one has two opinions about that—now.

SPARE JUST FIVE MINUTES

What will my son be? What about my daughter's future? Every plan for their future will cost money. Large sums of money!

Under our Three-in-One Plan, by saving just for 5 years, you can provide higher education and a good start in life to your children.

THE THREE-TIER PLAN

Step 1

CUMULATIVE DEPOSIT

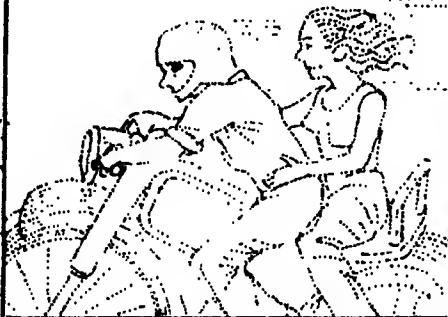
Start a Cumulative Deposit in Syndicate Bank in the name of your child on his first birthday by saving Rs. 100 per month for 60 months. When the child is six, the Cumulative Deposit would have swelled to Rs. 7791.



Step 2

PRAGATHI CASH CERTIFICATE

You reinvest a sum of Rs. 7440 in a Syndicate Bank Pragathi Cash Certificate for 120 months in your child's name. When your son/daughter is 16, the value of this certificate would be Rs. 20,000.



Step 3

SOCIAL SECURITY DEPOSIT

You can further reinvest this amount of Rs. 20,000 in a Syndicate Bank Social Security Deposit for 60 months. Your children can get interest income of Rs. 165 every month to meet expenses. When they are 21, they will also have a capital of Rs. 20,000 which will give them a good start in life.



CUMULATIVE DEPOSIT		
Where the Monthly Deposit is Rs. 100/-		
Stipulated Period	Amount paid	Maturity Value
12 Months	Rs. 1200	Rs. 1250.00
36 Months	Rs. 3600	Rs. 4208.00
48 Months	Rs. 4800	Rs. 5911.00
60 Months	Rs. 6000	Rs. 7791.00

PRAGATHI CASH CERTIFICATE		
Deposit of	Period	Value of Pragathi Cash Certificate
Rs. 372.00	120 Months	Rs. 1,000
Rs. 7440.00	120 Months	Rs. 20,000
Rs. 610.00	60 Months	Rs. 1,000
Rs. 6100.00	60 Months	Rs. 10,000

SOCIAL SECURITY DEPOSIT		
Deposit	Period	Monthly income
Rs. 5,000	60 Months	Rs. 41.32
Rs. 10,000	60 Months	Rs. 82.64
Rs. 20,000	60 Months	Rs. 165.28

If you are a monthly saver, the three-tier plan is practical. If you save in lumpsum, you can opt for Step 2 and 3 to fulfil your ambition of going abroad, owning a vehicle, owning a house.

Saving for only 5 years makes a world of difference to your children's future.

Does this not make sense?

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EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE EXCLUSIVE

BY KULDIP NAYAR

No logic behind top bureaucrats' promotions

It has never been possible to find out what criteria are applied to decide on a government officer's promotion. There has been more than a suggestion of arbitrariness whether the Congress or the Janata has been in power. The recent example is that of Mr. C. Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib, who was not only Mr Charan Singh's secretary when he was the Prime Minister but later Mrs Gandhi's too. He is now cabinet secretary, the highest post a civil servant can aspire to, carrying the maximum pension after retirement.

Mr Rao Sahib is a diligent officer. But that is all. He is not brilliant. Still he has superseded 13 officers of the 1948 batch and six of the 1949. Among those superseded are several secretaries to the government of India—Mr G. Ramachandran, secretary for finance, Mr S. S. Puri, secretary for agriculture and Mr S. Samaddar, secretary for steel. Another superseded officer is Mr T. Bombawale who had served as additional secretary to Mrs Gandhi and was once her favourite.

Take another example: the appointment of Mr S. P. Mukherjee as secretary to the government of India. He has superseded 61 officers—51 of the 1949, '50 and '51 batches and 10 of the 1948 batch. Why? There is no explanation. There is yet another officer who has superseded an equal number of his colleagues. He was first promoted to a key position, then sent out on an unimportant job. However, he has been brought back as secretary to the government of India. Either he was incompetent when he was relegated to a minor post and should not have been brought back or he was good even at the time of "demotion" and did not deserve it.

Obviously, political patronage is an important factor in most promotions and appointments. When Mr

Sanjay Gandhi was alive he showed little regard for seniority or anything else except personal preference in choosing men for appointments at any level. While talking to me after the Emergency, he explained that his inability to change "the entire crop of officers" was one of the reasons for the "failure" of the Emergency.

The Prime Minister's special assistant, Mr R. K. Dhawan, also had a hand in the posting of senior officers during the Emergency and earlier. He used to be called "god-father" to the "Punjabi mafia" at that time. He was so hurt by the testimony before the Shah Commission by some of the officers he had helped that now he seems to look on officials as a dastardly lot and keeps away from most of them.

If it is not Mr Dhawan, then Mr Rajiv Gandhi's assistant, Mr Fotedar, or someone else must be acting in the background. Otherwise, there are quite a few promotions and appointments which do not make sense. I have formulated a chart of the IAS officers of batches between 1948 and 1952 to show how many of them have not been made either secretaries at the centre or (the equivalent) chief secretaries in the states.

There is a ratiace in the corridors of the secretariat in Delhi.

Non-IAS officers are also supposed to have the right to get senior positions—like joint secretary, additional secretary, secretary—but the competition among the IAS men is so keen that others get very little chance. The empanelling of non-IAS officers for senior positions is only a formality now.

What is surprising is that there is usually not a word of protest from the superseded officers. In the past, there have been resignations by some of those passed over because the supersession was considered a reflection on their work. Probably their successors have learnt that discretion being the better part of valour, they could wait till they cultivated a political boss or struck an equation with those in the Prime Minister's secretariat. They have found that people who have been superseded subsequently rise to the top by the ladder which is kept in the Prime Minister's secretariat.

The IAS has, however, been able to establish its pre-eminence among the other central services and, for that matter, against the IPS, too. For political leaders, an IAS collector is safer to deal with than an IPS superintendent of police. The same holds true all the way to the top. Now only the IFS is there to cross swords with the IAS.

But even the IFS has failed to get for many of its members vacancies in foreign missions relating to trade or finance. A finance post in the Indian mission at Paris was a bone of contention between the IAS and the IFS recently. The IAS wanted the post of minister of finance in India's embassy in Washington; the IFS has not even put up a fight.

But both the IAS and the IFS know that where promotions are concerned there are no specific rules. It is true that seniority alone should be the criterion for promotion in the higher ranks. This has to be linked with performance and aptitude for the task assigned. What is damaging is that the whims of those in power or political clout determine promotions and appointments more than merit or proficiency. It is no wonder then that there are so many sycophants in the higher rungs of the bureaucratic ladder.

Year of appointment	No. of officers in the batch	No who became secretaries GOI	No who became chief secretaries in states	No who are yet to make it
1948	28	11	7	10
1949	28	8	5	15
1950	29	7	4	18
1951	28	7	3	18
1952	36	2	4	---

Can Indians only protest?

Unless we break out of the psychological straitjacket of non-cooperation, *dharna*, strike and do something positive to better our lot, we will have a violent revolution on our hands, says Tara Ali Baig.

INDIA'S independence, achieved by the unique political means of non-violent non-cooperation, instead of bloody revolution, has been widely acclaimed, but not so widely imitated except by a few black leaders. In a recent publication, Gandhiji's Boswell, Pyarelal, examines the origins of Gandhiji's strategy of *satyagraha* as a powerful political weapon. As far back as the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa at the turn of the century, Gandhiji, in a flash of inspiration, recognised a sudden truth, that the weak could triumph over the strong, provided they stuck to their objective and had unflinching moral

courage. It was this concept of *satyagraha*, tried out initially in South Africa, that he used later for India's liberation.

Why did this weapon fail in South Africa and succeed in India? After 33 years of independence and the emergence of an indigenous democratic system that now seems to block rather than foster India's development, it might be pertinent to examine why non-cooperation was taken up so enthusiastically in this country, and what impact it had on our history.

Albert Schweitzer has stated that Hinduism is life-negating. If he was right, does this mean that Indian na-

ture is more responsive to the negative than to the positive? It is significant that the very words non-cooperation and non-violence are negative terms. But Gandhiji discovered to his dismay during the Civil Disobedience Movement, that it required a personality of a very high order to attain the moral stature necessary for *satyagraha* to be effective. All too often it lapsed into bloodshed and hooliganism. Yet it created tremendous mass reaction which, at the time, was interpreted as the people's response to a political tool that suited their weak condition—without arms or other fighting power.

Between 1917 and 1922, Annie Besant, passionate advocate of Home Rule for India, clashed violently with Gandhiji over the tactics needed to achieve independence. She observed witheringly in March 1918, "Even if all *Satyagrahis* were saints, will not their example lead the average man into disregard for law and thus result in violence?" Her words were prophetic. It is always dangerous and later irreversible to flout the law.

Gandhiji frequently called off the movement since it invariably degenerated into law-breaking and violence. For an illiterate and untutored crowd to use such a weapon effectively, Gandhiji's moral command, however great, was never enough. Kanji Dwarakadas recorded that he once saw the Mahatma weeping like a baby, crying, "I asked people to be non-violent, they have taken to stone throwing."

Yet why did this weapon of non-cooperation finally work? Violent the struggle often was. Followers would take pride in talking of how they were prepared to face British bullets, and some did. Martyrdom was perhaps attractive to some people nurtured on sacrifice as a way of life, but what seems to have appealed more forcibly to the populace was the negative, law-breaking aspect of the freedom struggle. There was massive response to the general cry of "boycott British goods," "do not cooperate." This was something everyone could do, each in his own sphere. It was clandestine and exciting. The British, who did not use the usual informers and massive brutality to put down the movement, proved powerless to control it. So men and women paralysed industry and transport. They lay down on tram and train tracks, burned foreign cloth, picketed shops, made salt and at Bardoli started the campaign to refuse to pay taxes.

How faithfully we have followed the same tactics ever since with sabotage, *dharnas*, strikes and toppling of leaders and governments! It almost seems that in getting rid of the British we had to turn on ourselves. *No other system of public behaviour has developed since independence.*

The evolution of political life in India after 33 years of freedom is marked in almost every way by negative rather than positive action. The unity in diversity which we constantly mention with pride, is only evident

Gandhiji with Sarojini Naidu during the historic Dandi *satyagraha* in 1930



under severe external threat, such as in 1962 when China attacked India, in the 1965 war with Pakistan, and the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. We are united *against* others not *with* ourselves.

At these times a sense of unity and national solidarity has been manifest, wholly absent in all subsequent periods of peace. In fact, in almost every other period of national life there have been strife, dissension and an abnormal psychosis of petty bickering between leaders which invariably ends up with destructive finality. In the circumstances, character assassination, toppling of ministries or whoever is the current incumbent in power, exploitation of every flash point in society over which to make political capital, be it the linguistic passions of the '60s, adoption of children, paralysing of transport or industry, imposition of Hindi, or the perennial Hindu-Muslim communal tension, have all been utilised for political advantage, perhaps, but to grave national disadvantage. As time has passed, people have wearied of most issues except the communal one. In place of the passions which could be aroused earlier, a very selfish materialist element has now entered Indian public life, visible in the whole electoral process, election after election. The people's vote is now negotiable. It is less for party, progress or country than simply for "what is good for me." Trading and barter now dominate the voting process leading to political promises that are seldom fulfilled. And casteism has increased.

Oil, sugar or onion shortages, economic problems due to petrol price rise and world inflation have all contributed heavily to our negative voting attitude in recent times. All this at the cost of a healthy growth of public passion for what is good for the country. This seems to be the least important factor today.

Many politicians, new to power, in the early years, though they talked loudly about national interests, actually had one primary unspoken objective. It was to wrest power from the British and later Indian administrator: the top dog, under colonial rule, and to become top dogs themselves. The administrator, especially in the latter part of the British period, was generally a fairly involved human being with a sense of commitment to his administrative duties and with a reasonably high code of honour. He was in turn the repository of British power, conferred on his Indian successors, and as such, enjoyed a status not normally given to administrators in any other part of the world.

In the USA, for instance, it is the wealthy who are powerful: a combination of the business tycoons behind the political power group, which often created the status of its great men. In India the wealthy have little real status, though they have their uses. The princes were cut down to size in the '50s, and the business magnates and military were kept firmly in their place. In the last 20 years, the politi-



Scenes from the Dandi satyagraha

cian has emerged as the most powerful element in public life. If you are in politics, you are automatically important, and the public pays court to this without reserve. We now see plainly how this is linked to our old social structure in India: that of the maharajahs or the maharishis. Today the politician is generally backed by a holy man or astrologer and in muted terms often plays the maharajah himself. While the way independence was won succeeded because it appealed to our negative tradition inherent in a layered exclusive society of caste differences, our political ranks have relapsed into old feudal ways using democracy as a cloak to cover their nakedness.

The operative manifestation of this feudal power which politicians have now very successfully been able to acquire for themselves, relates to the ability to bestow grace and favour. In all feudal societies, it is imperative to be able to dispense favours to gain the allegiance and loyalty of henchmen and assure their dependence: the first principle of feudal authority. Its effects, however, throughout history, have increased corruption, the worst aspect in both giver and receiver being the denigration of principles of decency or desire to serve objectives more lofty than mere self-interest.

Non-cooperation had a natural appeal to a people who never learned to trust each other. Divided century after century by caste and family

loyalties, we have not yet evolved a system of public trust. This accounts for the family power-group in both business and politics. With the introduction of modern communication and transport and subsequently democracy, the entire ancient structure of society was shaken. However, it was not basically altered. In the circumstances, non-cooperation as an Indian way of political action worked. But are we paying too high a price for this today?

In a revolution one generation generally pays heavily with blood. Then a new order emerges. But in the Indian process, blood is being steadily drained out of the people, leading to despair, disillusionment, cynicism, egocentricism, corruption and destructiveness. A bewildered citizen, unconcerned with the political scene, wonders hopelessly what the future can possibly hold for him. Yet there are thousands of people of integrity and idealism, who know all this could be different, that India's potential and greatness can be realised if we work hard and unitedly.

To build up a dynamic new approach to national life, however, seems to have become virtually impossible. At a prayer meeting shortly before his death, Gandhiji said, "It took a great deal of selfless service and sacrifice for the Congress to win the confidence of the people, but if the Congressmen betray the people and instead of serving them, become their masters, then whether I live or not, I can from my long experience warn them that the country will be aflame in revolt against the wearers of the white cap." It is said that Gandhiji towards the end of his life, recommended that the Indian National Congress be dissolved, and a form of political organisation be set up for the purpose of creating an ideal, harmonious new India. His non-cooperation movement, he averred, in organising the then Indian National Congress, was only the means to gain independence.

But those who succeeded his leadership clung to the power and promise of the organisation. It had given them life, sanctions and wide public support. Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues were confident they could build the India of their dreams on its revolutionary foundations. While the country has grown and developed due to the dogged determination of thousands of decent citizens, this has been done at great cost and with bureaucratic and political hindrances of every kind, and with shameful waste. Meanwhile, like the dragon's teeth, negative principles and values continue to spread through hundreds of self-seeking and immature new politicians. The despair of citizens grows.

The great question facing us in the '80s, with a world around us changing all too rapidly, is: can we reverse these negative forces now fast enough or will we be faced eventually with the mindless solution of bloody revolution? ■

The Paranoid Dictionary

"Some terrible extracts" from that horrible book
 The Complete Book of Persecution
 BY Kishore Chatterjee

"The author is a brilliant persecutor who became paranoid because someone wrote out the wrong P in his birth certificate."

A paranoid manifesto

"The world is divided in two... the persecutors and the paranoids"
 (If you don't belong to either, you're neither here nor there)

The motto manifested

This dictionary has been commissioned by the Persecutor Paranoid Interaction Syndicate. The author having selected himself for his unique and uncontested contribution to the cultured art of paranoia.

What is persecutor-paranoid interaction?

Persecutors and paranoids are made for each other because there is no other kind of make.

The persecutor-paranoid interaction syndicate or P.I.S. (the first "P" being silent the best persecutors usually operate that way) the sponsors of this dictionary, has been created to make the two 'Ps' live together peacefully. If they can't interact they should at least act. The syndicate has been created to work out mutually the

rights and privileges of paranoids and persecutors and all rights have already been reserved. Therefore, paranoids and persecutors fully aware of their rights should apply for membership straightaway, those slightly away than straight have a better chance. Application for membership should be accompanied by a para-data in case of paranoids, stating the date of birth of paranoia, also present age or stage of paranoia. Extra-curricular paranoia, if any. A certificate from the author would be considered an added advantage. In case of persecutors, all applications must carry a certificate from a recognised persecutionologist. Please use upper or lower 'P' to indicate what kind of a 'P' you are.

After this syndicate was formed this dictionary was commissioned. A fact that is known as a 'para' in history.

A para on persecutionology

Persecutionology is the systematic and scientific study of persecution as an art. A persecutionologist is one who has a degree on the subject from a recognised management institute. The subject has already been taken up seriously by the various management institutes. Business management graduates with Persecutionology as a special subject get preference, without any reference. But since the proper study of persecution is paranoia and vice versa depending on whose vice is worse.

If you are a persecutor and you haven't set your goal on becoming a Persecutionologist, you are becoming paranoid.

Persecutors and paranoids are born, not made. Sometimes only they mix up roles and then P becomes P and that's very complicated. This transformation in management language is defined as promotion. This dictionary is expected to cut short the process of self-realisation among both sides of the "P", which for management might mean more promotions, for more 'Ps' will become 'Ps,' if you know what I mean, if you don't consult a persecutionologist.

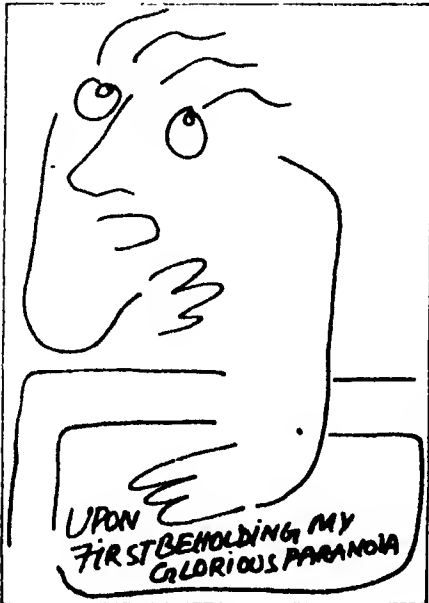
As far as paranoids are concerned, who are after all our major concern here, this book it is hoped, will pave the way for an early realisation of their class, and thus cut short the

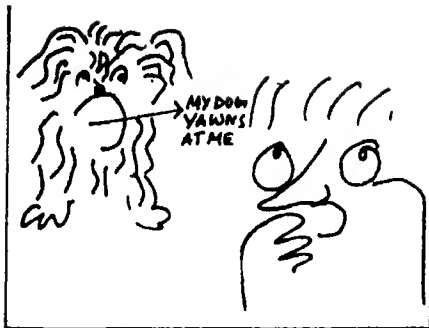
complicated pathway towards mature paranoia. In short it will make them properly paranoid, which is what a person, born a paranoid, ought to be. Unless he doesn't know to which 'P' he was born. In which case he would be called something that begins with a 'B' and that would make him paranoid again.

Whatever you may be or become, there must be some positive paranoid and persecution interaction, the P.I.S. paranoid, persecution interaction syndicate is there to make up your mind, in case you still have one.

A preface to paranoia

I have decided to write a book. For, this morning I became paranoid. It will be a handy guide for all who have become, what people politely call "a little different." They have become conspicuous and pay the price for it. This will be the guide for people who are convinced that there is more to things than meets the eye, who are persecuted by gestures, haunted by sounds and disturbed by signs. This is the book that will tell all what people really think of people. We live in a civilised world. Civilised and sophisticated people do not talk. They make sounds. They cough, sneeze, yawn, scrape, scratch, grimace, itch, gyrate and gesticulate a language that is fast making Fowler outdated. Big names call it non-verbal communication. I call it the cough-cough menace. Today





people cough not because they have a sore throat, but because they have a sore mind. People yawn not because they are sleepy but because they want someone else to shut up. Even children do it. Naturally it is easy to learn, only a few sounds and signs, no alphabets, no schools. The other day a brat of two went cough-cough at me. All he was trying to say was, "Here is a balding son of a bitch." Even dogs know it. My dog yawns everytime he is refused a bone. A distinctly unfriendly gesture. It's a positive epidemic.

This dictionary is not arranged in alphabetical order. But in danger order. In spite of this, I have been able to classify the persecutors into Sound, Silent and Symbolic. Just you try and classify the paranoids.

The snake

In bridge, they say, when in doubt play trumps. In persecution, when everything else has failed talk of snakes. Snake stories take an immediate grip on the paranoid victims, and the point is made without further need for coughing, yawning, scratching, itching, sneezing and other sneezy gadgets of persecutionology. "Use the snake, when you have a lot at stake," said a persecutionologist once, after being bitten by another. Since both were copy-writers, they were trying to heat each other to the slogan. One of them holds the copyright, since it happened before my time, I can't mention names. One of those rare instances of name-dropping in this book. Snake stories are not recommended to persecutors new to the technology, nor should they be applied on the early paranoids. I was once witness to a disastrous scene, involving a paranoid and a persecutor just out of the clutches of a persecutionologist, under whom they were training in one of the Management Institutes. It only shows how little these so-called persecution specialists know about the subject. They should make a paranoid into a persecution specialist and see what happens. To come back to the scene: Young trainee (paranoid) submitting report to Marketing Manager (persecutor [Hon] or honourably mentioned as persecutor) before his more aggressive colleague (persecutor 'P' or just pass) who is senior to the paranoid by six months. Persecutor looking over the Marketing Manager's chair at a garden in the distance, "I can see a snake in the grass." To which young paranoid, about to leave room im-

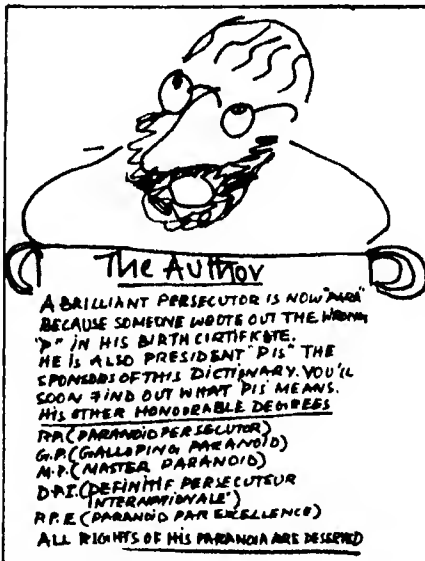
mediately replies, "You are calling me a snake?" Persecutor retorts, "Who says I am calling you a snake? I saw a snake in the grass, sorry garden."

"You are lying."

"Why should I lie about a snake?"

This story, which I have often mentioned in my special class on para-persecutionology or persecution as perceived by a paranoid, which is persecution per se, has a moral. The moral is that you should never get unsuitable with snakes or you unsettle the whole thing.

—from *The Zoo Book for Para-Noah's*



The nose-blower

The nose-blower is a dirty cousin of the sneezer. One of the noisiest and easiest of persecution techniques, nose-blowing is the ultimate symbol of rejection, but whether it is rejecting the nose or you, depends on how trained your para-reactions are. Nose-blowing usually occurs in the middle of a conversation and is very popular with the older generation. The younger would rather blow their trumpets than their noses. If you think that nose-blowing is only done with a handkerchief you haven't seen it done with

bare hands. The experience gave me a new set of paranoid reactions which I haven't yet catalogued, partly because my nose is blocked.

—from a footnote in the *Nose*

The cockroach

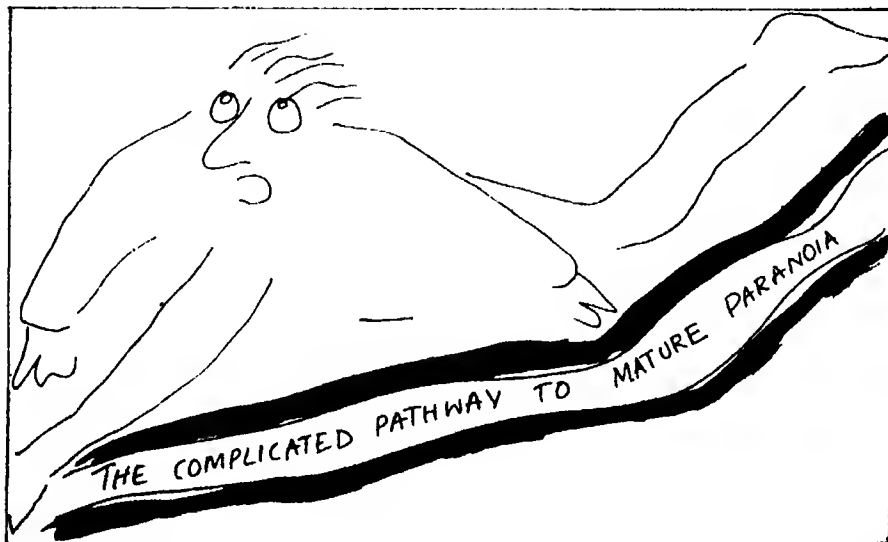
Ever since the story about Jews and cockroaches circulated, the cockroach has become paranoid. In other words it has become a symbol of persecution, while the Jews have been only circulating. Persecutionologists believe, and I have no reason to disbelieve them, since generally they are very good in persecution, that the term "cockroach" when used without the visible presence of the ubiquitous insect, is not exactly the best of compliments. In fact, they go so far as to say and here I quote one whose lectures are always well attended by paranoids with a secret desire for persecution, that a cockroach describes a state of being known as "overstaying one's welcome." However unkind cockroaches have been to Jews, they have provided persecutors with one of the strongest irritants to paranoia. The cockroach metaphor is commonplace but uncommonly effective. Even trainee persecutors can use it with flying colours. If it sends paranoids into a brown study you can't blame the poor insects.

—from *The Cockroach* as metaphor

On paranoid objects*

Any object can become paranoid if you are ready for it. Beethoven was paranoid about music once he became deaf. That's why he composed the *Ninth Symphony* to make the rest of the world paranoid in thinking how much of it is sound sense and how much sensible nonsense. It all depends on the object and the paranoid. I am bald. I feel a sharp shooting pain in the very depth of my paranoia whenever I see a comb. I am sure publishers are paranoid about proofs, retired politicians about microphones, pilots about birds. It goes on.

*Ultimately all paranoid objects should become collector's items. P I S (Persecutor Paranoid Interaction Syndicate) is soon starting a collection drive.



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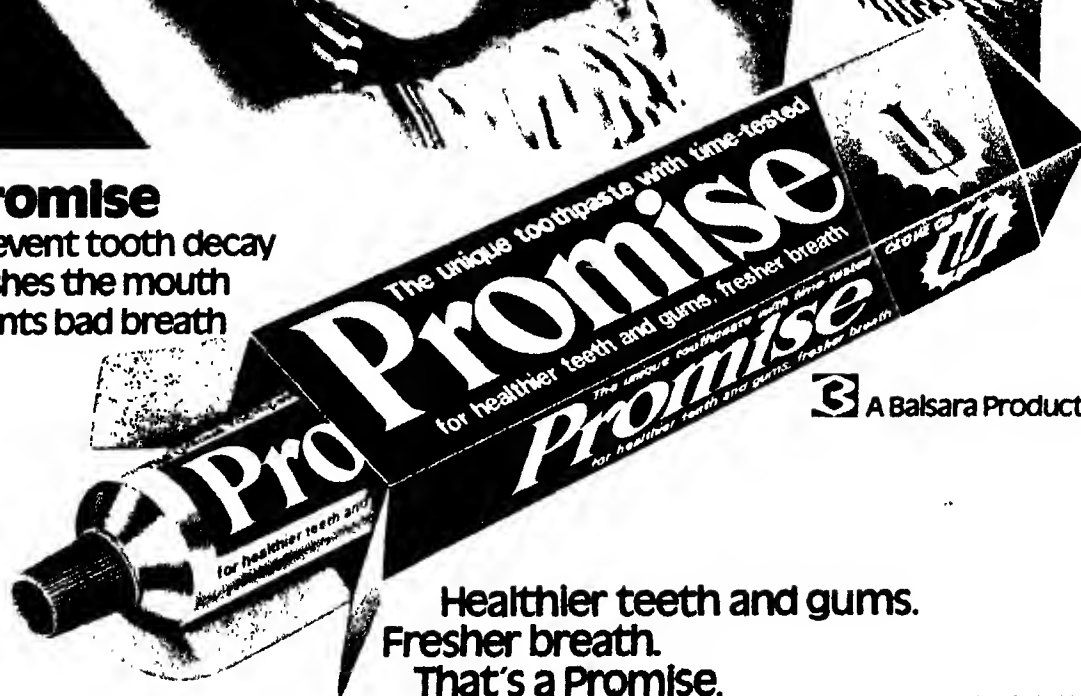
In
Promise
the unique toothpaste
with Clove Oil

Isn't it time you discovered it too?



Promise

- Helps prevent tooth decay
- Refreshes the mouth
- Prevents bad breath



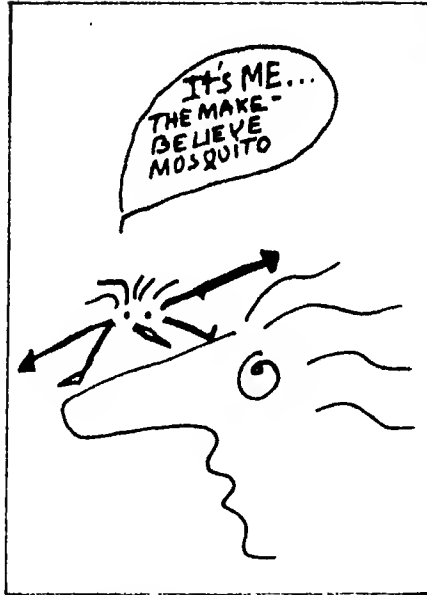
Healthier teeth and gums.
Fresher breath.
That's a Promise.

CHAITRA-BLS-453

Power persecution paranoia

Nothing in the whole art of persecution has been such a breeding ground of paranoia as the current power situation in the whole country. The constant coming and going of power has provided the persecutors with a new and highly malleable vocabulary. These phrases like stray bullets in a battlefield are sometimes used somewhat indiscriminately by the most seasoned as well as the trainee persecutor to be picked by any passing paranoid who happens to be the target. The phrases mostly in circulation are: (a) Power's gone! (b) There's a power cut! (c) Load shedding, and (d) Power's back!

The last phrase is the most ambivalent and double edged. I have seen a managing director persecuting his marketing chief with paranoid phrases like "Load shedding" etc. suddenly come into his room and announce that "Power's back!" and put on the air-conditioner. It can be very disconcerting, particularly if the marketing director has the sense of timing to say that he thought there was "load shedding" which can cause divided paranoia, since neither side knows who is coming or going. For those who make a study on paranoid-persecution interaction or any kind of allied research, the situation can be a little confusing. "Power's back!" is also the one reply that the paranoid victim can provide when pestered with the various power phrases under discussion. But his timing has to be perfect. In other less fortunate cities, where the electricity situation is pretty stable, political metaphors are more in use. But there are disadvantages in this, for the persecutor must be able to have the paranoid victim captive for a sufficient length of time to tell him the story of the "Rise and fall of Morarji Desai" before the paranoid can take the hint. The phrase "Power's gone!" is so much more simple, but you must have a genuine electricity problem to use it paranoically...



The mosquito

The mosquito, to quote a persecutionologist, whose book, *The myth of the make-believe mosquito*, is my main source of reference "is a phenomenon" in the art of persecution. The mosquito slap is the most effective way of shutting off a person. "Slap out of it," as they say. Some do it by just uttering the name of the phenomenon, others by chanting it out like a *mantra*, or as a poetic paranoid confessed quivering like an aspen, "like some ancient incantation."

I once saw a cultural attache enter a cocktail party killing make-believe mosquitoes on his girl friend's face. That's when "Face the Mosquitoes" became a standard game at parties and is being sold for the price of a peg at a boutique run by an ex-paranoid who now excels in persecution. Please don't quote me for I am attached to culture or else I shall merely declare that I am being misquoted. Since I am paranoid, no one will believe a word. —from *Culture: The fine art of paranoia*

The yawn

There are capitalists, there are communists. And there are yawnists—a breed who persecute in silence.

Yawning, like all great art forms, must be perfected with years of hard work. Paranoids will find it hard to pick out the real from the para yawn, when faced with a master. But here is a tip. A genuine yawn always evokes a response. We learnt it as children, one yawn starts another and why. The para-yawn doesn't. That's just it paranoids. You can wait for a year in front of a para-yawnist, without giving out a single yawn.

That's the secret The yawn test. Practise and be sure.

A persecutionologist is reported to have perfected a Packaged Yawning Programme and is marketing it in cassettes "Switch on Yawn". Paranoids can pick it up from established Management Institutes at the price of an ordinary lecture (or "yawns" in para terminology)

—from *Capitalists, Communists, Yawnists*

Belch and cough: a comparative study

It won't be out of place here to say a few words about the art of specialization and persecution. A persecutionologist can talk at length on the subject and even point out your special line. Here I will jot down a few thoughts on belching and coughing as learnt in a master's class. No man is complete. No persecutor, too, can be a master of belching, coughing and yawning, all at the same time. The best belchers are not at their best when trying out the cultured cough, or the grand cough. But it must be said with all honesty that in the range and subtlety of meaning conveyed, the cough as a weapon of persecution is far superior to the belch. I hope I don't upset the belchers of this world. I am sure other paranoids will extol the belch. I find the belchers somewhat limited in their impact as they have to follow a particular conversation line and punctuate and preface this with their comment on belches. The cougher on the other hand, comments on life in general, on broad human behaviour. But the belch is not to be ignored. In a crisis, where a point has to be scored, without being conspicuous, the belch is invaluable.

The finger nail as a paranoid zone

The finger nail as a zone of defiance has few equals. The adult nail-biter in glorious maturity is the childhood nail-chewing fiend moving down the path of planned persecution. The edge is more polished, and so is the dirt, but the compulsion to persecute is more compulsive, almost compulsory, depending on the state of the persecutor's nails. At first a person scratching the nail surface, or chewing bits and pieces of the nail while you talk on any subject from Salvador Dalí to Darjeeling tea, may appear to be a person who has forgotten to buy chewing gum. But if you chew on it for a while the whole point becomes clear, in the light of mature paranoid understanding. (Even paranoid understudies get the point after a bit of chewing.)

The basic function of nail culture is to irritate, annoy, resist or just defy. It has 'high defiability' to quote a visiting persecutionologist specialising in nail language whose paper, *The high defiability and low fidelity of nail as a source of paranoia*, was read out at a management institute and on whose theories the author has the highest respect. "If women have a natural flair for nail persecution," if I may quote from the paper mentioned above before it is burnt out, "it is not because they have bigger nails to bite but a bigger axe to grind." Since reports have come in to me, that women lib leaders are running after the paper (mentioned above) and are planning to burn it after making it into paper-bra or bra-paper, whichever process helps them to purge the theories out of their system quicker.

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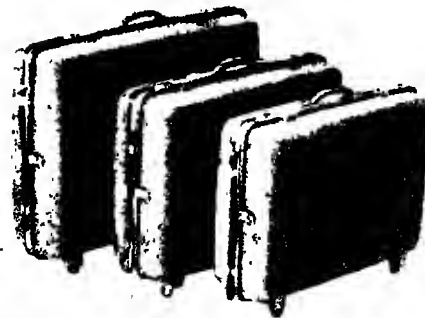
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How can banning strikes alone improve the economy?

Mrs Gandhi has taken a tough line again—both on the political and economic fronts. On the economic front she has virtually banned strikes in some of the essential services. On the political front she has taken the unusual step of personally evaluating the performances of all the state governments. In 1974-75 she took a hard line after the situation went out of control; this time she is trying to take pre-emptive action. Whether these measures will yield positive results for her will depend on several factors.

On the economic front, tough legislation only for the working class cannot solve all the problems because workers are not solely responsible for all our economic ills. The tricky industrialist, greedy trader, inefficient and corrupt manager, good-for-nothing government official and unpredictable politician are all responsible for the present situation. Unruly and irresponsible trade unionism is only one of the factors responsible for the failure on the economic front. The problem is, when workers strike they are very visible as a disruptive force. But that strike might well have come about as a result of mishandling by managers or the evil designs of owners. When an organisation collapses because of managerial inefficiency, or bad planning or misappropriation of funds by the management, what is easily visible is the ultimate action by the workers who tend to get all the blame. This is true both in the private and the public sector. If the management is responsive, reasonable, tactful and firm, workers generally respond positively.

Take the case of the Ananda Bazar Patrika Ltd. Not a very big organisation. The dominant workers' union is leftist and supports the Left Front government of the state. But *Anandabazar Patrika*, the main Bengali daily of the group, is not known to be a pro-left paper. The management is also modernising its plants drastically. But the dominant workers' union has never taken a disruptive or hostile attitude, nor has it stood in the way of modernisation. If the management can discharge its duties properly and let workers share in the prosperity of the company, generally most of the workers cooperate.

Again, take the case of DVC. We all hear about the great change that has come about in this vast public



By **BARUN SENGUPTA**

sector organisation. DVC's power generation has recently gone up by more than 25 per cent. Most of the workers are working hard and, even after being instigated by the minister in charge of DVC and humiliated by the management, the dominant trade union has not dared to act irresponsibly. Did Mr P. C. Luthar, the DVC chairman, get any special powers to tackle the irresponsible workers and their leaders? None at all. Mr Luthar could restore discipline in the organisation and raise output because he was determined to do so, tactful and willing to take all the responsibility. In most public sector undertakings managers try to shy away from taking unpleasant decisions. Some of them even form unholy alliances with irresponsible trade union leaders to further their own interests in various ways.

How can banning strikes alone change this situation? The Prime Minister and the cabinet can promulgate ordinances banning strikes, but can any such ordinance force or

In most public sector undertakings managers try to shy away from taking unpleasant decisions. Some of them even form unholy alliances with irresponsible trade union leaders to further their own interests.

enthuse workers to work? Only clocking in at the work site is not enough; work has to be done. Without efficient and responsive managerial staff at different levels no one can get things done in any organisation even with most stringent dictatorial laws or orders.

There is no doubt that irresponsible trade unionism is also responsible for our economic ills. So any attempt to tackle irresponsible trade unionism is welcome. But how will Mrs Gandhi tackle the irresponsible owners, managers and traders? If she thinks that they will automatically behave themselves she is committing a big blunder. Irresponsible owners, traders, managers and government officials are doing more harm to our economy than irresponsible workers; they are the worst evil. Until somebody can tackle them our economic situation cannot improve radically. Changes on other fronts are bound to have only a superficial effect.

On the political front, Mrs Gandhi is touring the states to check on their governments' performances. Without going into the constitutional propriety of this move one can only ask, are ministers in Congress(I)-run states more interested in feathering their own nests than improving the condition of their states? Were these ministers selected with an eye to their capability? Other than West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Jammu and Kashmir and Tripura all the important states are run by Congress(I) governments. If the situation does not improve in the Congress(I) states, the national economy as a whole cannot improve. So, Mrs Gandhi can first try to change the situation in the states where her own party is in power, try to inculcate some sense of responsibility and dedication among ministers from her own party and worry about those five non-Congress(I) states later.

On the other hand, if this stock-taking in the states is being done with the ultimate objective of getting rid of the Left Front government of West Bengal (and for that matter one or two Congress(I) governments also), that is quite a different thing. It can then be acclaimed as another good tactical move of Mrs Gandhi. Anti-working class ordinances and political gimmicks can outwit Mrs Gandhi's political opponents, but they can never tone up the economy of a vast country like India.

INTRODUCING

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100% safe

A unique Gasket Release System makes it the safest pressure cooker you can buy

When food clogs the weight valve, excess pressure builds up inside your pressure cooker. The safety of your cooker then depends upon the safety plug only. But what if your plug is spurious? You never know... because you can't tell a spurious from a genuine safety plug.

That is why we developed The New Prestige with total safety built into its basic design. Its unique Gasket Release System ensures the absolute safety of your pressure cooker under any conditions by making the safety plug unnecessary.



How the unique Gasket Release System makes The New Prestige 100% safe

When more pressure than necessary builds up, the unique Gasket Release System built into the lid enables the rubber gasket inside to stretch out and release the excess steam downwards, safely and gently. There is no eruption. No mess.



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The New Prestige is more convenient

Once the gasket lets off the steam, push it back in and your cooker is ready for use again... in seconds. As the safety plug is never needed you don't ever need to replace or worry about it.

The New Prestige is much more durable

As pressure never reaches dangerous levels there is less wear and tear on the cooker. The New Prestige lasts longer than other cookers.



The New Prestige comes with many more advantages

- A more durable extra thick base.
- Sturdier handles with long-lasting stainless steel screws.
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Plus all the advantages that made Prestige the most wanted pressure cooker for over 30 years in India

- Maximum cooking space with larger containers and an outer fitting lid so you can cook a whole meal in minutes.
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The Government

Full marks for wheat deal

When a big buyer like the Indian government decides to look for wheat in the international market, prices immediately go up. So the planning and contracting has to be done through brokers in the utmost secrecy and deals have to be completed before the news is out in order to get a good price. The recent decision to import 1.5 million tonnes was taken in the utmost secrecy and the whole matter conducted very smoothly. Mr S. B. Raghavan, additional secretary in the union food department, quietly flew into Washington towards the end of May and completed the spadework; he located the sources of supply and the possible port of

shipment. And, to avoid being spotted by Indian correspondents in Washington, Mr Raghavan wore a moustache! The next to visit Washington was Mr S. V. Shastri, financial adviser to the department. He completed the financial aspects of the deal. He was given one month's leave, so that his absence would not be noticed. Finally, the food secretary, Mr B. C. Gangopadhyaya, went to Washington to clinch the deal. When the first reports of the decision to import wheat started coming in, anxious reporters called up Mr Gangopadhyaya's office. They were told that they were not aware of his projected visit to Washington.

IFS officer in politics

At a recent meeting of the Parliamentary consultative committee of the ministry of external affairs in Hyderabad, the Lok Dal MP, Mr Ladli Mohan Nigam asked the foreign minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, whether officers of the Indian Foreign Service were allowed to take part in politics. When the minister replied in the negative, Mr Nigam wanted to know how Mrs Nirmala Prasad, an IFS officer, was active in Congress(U) politics. Amidst disbelieving titter from the members, Mr Narasimha Rao replied with a straight face that he was not aware of the allegation but would look into the matter. At this point, Congress(I) general secretary Kalpnath Rai was heard re-

marking that everyone knew what Mrs Nirmala Prasad was doing. Mrs Prasad is known in Delhi as the "adopted daughter" of Mr Devaraj Urs. Last year she was posted out of South Block (she was a director in the foreign service) to Manila. But she took leave and refused to move out of the capital. She is still in Delhi. Of course, there is at least one reason for Mrs Prasad wanting to stay on in Delhi. Her official residence at Vinay Marg is the centre for high level Congress(U) politicking. Last year she ran up an amazingly high bill on her residential telephone provided by the government. But the government, for some odd reason, has chosen to turn a Nelson's eye to her activities

Foreign technology preferred

The government prefers to import technology to develop coal mines, rather than use indigenous technology and save the country's meagre foreign exchange reserves. An instance: the government has decided to award the consultancy for open cast coal mines in Singareni to a German, Dr Lubric, at a cost of nearly Rs 18 lakhs. This in spite of the fact that the Central Mining, Planning and Design Bureau has the necessary expertise and even offered to do the job at a meagre cost of Rs four lakhs. But the offer has been rejected.

Sugar cooperatives defy government

Sugar cooperatives seem to be in a defiant mood. Mr Vasantdada Patil, president of the National Federation of Cooperative Sugar Factories, recently told the union food secretary, Mr Gangopadhyaya, "Do whatever you like," in retaliation to the latter's threat that if the sugar industry, including the private sector, failed to loan 2,50,000 tonnes of sugar to meet the shortage of levy sugar, the government would raise the levy quota from 65 to 70 per cent. At the meeting which was held in Delhi on 23 July, neither the cooperative nor the private sector representatives gave any assurance to supply the extra sugar. Only, Mr D. D. Puri, president of the Indian Sugar Mills Association, representing the private sector, was more polite and promised to consider the request. Mr Patil, as a member of the ruling Party, can afford to say what he wants to and get away with it.

Government prefers to import

Even if things are available locally, the government prefers to import them. For instance, the government has opted to import about 80,000 tonnes of white printing paper while the Indian paper industry can meet the total demand if the government provides some imaginative incentives. The landed cost of newsprint imported through the STC comes to Rs 7,500 per tonne, while the selling price of Indian newsprint is only Rs 3,500 a tonne. The industry can meet the demand if it is given some excise rebate, say on 75 per cent of its additional production of newsprint. This way the government's net revenue earnings will rise and industry will have some incentive to produce more.





Bindiya: in the right place now



Rekha: Shashi roped her in Kalyug



Vinod: a very happy man now

Shashi Kapoor has proved to be a smart operator indeed. Of late, he was found giving all his attention to *Rekha*, even when other artistes and friends were around. Reason: he wanted to rope in Rekha for his film, *Kalyug*. Apparently, Shashi was impressed with the star's performance in *Khushoorat* and had decided on her for his film. He got his chance during the International Film Festival. After all *Amitabh Bachchan* was his close friend, so Shashi like the chivalrous and gallant gentleman that he always is, volunteered to accompany Rekha, who was then found following *Amitabh* wherever he went, with-or-without-wife, *Jaya*. Looks like Shashi's efforts have paid him rich dividends, and Rekha too has made herself famous once more by her fantastic performance in *Kalyug*.

Of course, *Sanjeev Kumar* is not the only star to get drunk in parties, but he is probably the only one who defends himself by pointing out to other actors' behaviour at parties. *Sanjeev* does not need to be carried out of parties—at least, he does not misbehave, he says. Quite true. Because all that one sees when the star is inebriated is a little smile that keeps creeping on his face, whether anything funny is said or not. And when the party is over, he insists on taking the car and driving all over the city. As for the speed and style of driving, well, either you start praying, or you promise to get yourself an insurance before setting forth with *Sanjeev Kumar*.

What is admirable about director *Mahesh Bhatt* is not only his guts in going ahead with trying to make a success of his career as a director but his frankness in admitting that the story of his film, *Arth*, is the story of

his own life with wife, *Kiran*, and the other woman in his life, *Parveen Babi*. And he triumphantly says that since the story concerns his own life, he cannot be accused of pinching another's plot!

Christie: Dev's new find from Boston



F. ROBINSON

After searching high and low for his new girl, *Dev Anand* has finally settled for *Christie* from Boston. According to Dev, she is the most beautiful girl in the world; just like *Tina*, who used to be the most innocent and sweet girl, or *Zeenat* who used to be the most sensual and desirable person, till things soured up a little. But, a close look at the publicity stills of *Christie* makes one wonder if *Dev Sahib* is correct after all. I suppose we shall have to wait till *Dev* shapes *Christie* up and then make our judgments on the final outcome.

Like *Dev Anand*, nephew *Shekhar Kapoor* too is on the look out for "the most beautiful girl in the world." His criteria are that the girl must be lovely, stunning to look at, in short, an absolute knockout! Looks like debut-making directors too can come up with tall orders.

The glowing look on *Bindiya's* face these days, speaks volumes about her happiness. Gone are the days when *Vinod (Mehta)* and *Bindiya* slinked guiltily into parties only to beat a hasty retreat from the scene following the unwelcome stares they received from almost all the guests. Now, the two dazzle as they make an entry: grinning from ear-to-ear to show everyone around that the social stigma is no more and they are back into the fold. And to crown it all, now that *Bindiya* does not have to chase *Vinod* around, her slumping career too seems to have picked up adding to her fair share of happiness.

“Who should really care about occasional petting and bed-hopping especially if they are going to discourage talented young girls from joining the film industry?” asks an apparently disturbed *Pre-meela Rani*. After months of unkept promises, the actress has finally managed to get for herself the role as a second heroine in *Shankaravaranam*. But the Vijayawada-based star is aiming much higher, with the result, at the moment, big and small directors in Madras are more afraid of *Pre-meela's* visit than they are of an income-tax raid.

Ever since *Bhagyaraj* won the state award for the best dialogue writer in *Puthiya Varpugal*, his confidence in himself has increased. “This goes to prove that my style of treatment is after all effective and not that crude as the so-called art filmmakers make it to be,” says *Bhagyaraj*. And there is more than that: “... guess what? People have already bought up the Telugu and Hindi rights for my *Those Seven Days*—a hackneyed triangular love-affair co-starring *Ambika*—despite my refusal to show them the rushes before hand,” he claims proudly.

“After all I’m not in films, like many others, for art or creativity. In anything that man does, his primary concern is money,” says *Dr Rajkumar*, the popular actor from the South. And *Dr Rajkumar* is certainly making money. *Nee Nanna Gellalare*, in which *Rajkumar* stars with *Manjula*—they were last seen together in the film *Sampathige Saval* five years ago—continues to do brisk business in all the twelve theatres it was released in. However, strange though it may seem, the actor still continues to do those ‘just-out-of-college’ roles. By the look of things, he is prepared to continue with such roles for quite some time, for when asked how long he would go on this way, the actor grinned sheepishly and said: “Till people learn to stop accepting me in such roles. One promise is that I will retire gracefully before I am kicked out”



Pre-meela: bed-hopping is welcome



Swapna: in love with Kamal!



Newcomer Ashalatha in Kannada film Avali Javali

“There was a time when I went positively bonkers over *Kamal*. And after I saw *Meendum Kokila*, I’m sure that I positively fell in love with him. He is so handsome, such a good

actor, and now, such a pet to work with,” admits *Swapna*, the latest eye-catcher on screen. *Swapna* is currently starring opposite *Kamalaha-san* in *Bharathiraja's Tic Tic Tic*. And in spite of her de-

termination of not wearing the customary low-cut blouses and revealing her curves prominently, she is in great demand in Malayalam films. And how does the star react to that? She just shrugs and says, “I can’t help it if they (her curves) are seen through my perfectly thick, decent T-shirt though, can I?”

Pratap Pothan is not the only actor down South who is sweating it out over alien dialogues. In a desperate bid to stage a comeback through *Hariharan's Valarthu Mrigangal*, comedian *Nagesh* has decided to plod through some Malayalam lines himself. Of course, *Nagesh* had overcome a bad patch with the Tamil remake of *Muqaddar Ka Sikandar*, but directors are still wary of roping him in.

BRIANJI

Cadbury's
Chocolates



*"It's the feeling, it's the caring,
it's the giving, sweet feeling of joy..."*

**Bring home these
moments**



*Sometimes Cadbury's can say it
better than words*

THE WORLD

No wax model



One of them is, of course, Mrs Margaret Thatcher; the other is Angela Thorne who plays the British Prime Minister in *Anyone for Denis?* at Whitehall Theatre, London, where this photograph was taken when Mrs Thatcher went backstage. Who's who?

A close scrape



King Juan Carlos: saved by a day

King Juan Carlos of Spain would have been kidnapped on 24 June this year, forced to leave the country or shot if he refused. Spain's leading news magazine *Cambio 16* has broken this sensational story naming several rightwing extremists alleged to be involved in the plot. According to the magazine, the plan was to storm the Oriente Palace in Madrid on 24 June when the king would be celebrating his saint's day with guests from the diplomatic corps and other government departments. An hour earlier a powerful bomb would have been exploded in Barcelona Football Club's Nou Camp stadium where about 100,000 Catalans were expected to be celebrating the region's national day. Why did the plot fail? It appears that the king got wind of it barely two days before 'd-day' and the police made pre-dawn swoops in Madrid on 23 June. Three middle-ranking army officers and a number of civilians were arrested. Surprisingly though, no charges were brought against them: they were released after saint's day.

Tarzan bundoloed

Is *Tarzan* under fire (*World*, 15 March) once again? Yes. And this time it's not Sri Lanka's forest conservator who's taking Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) to task for damaging virgin jungle near Kandy while shooting its latest Tarzan film. The Edgar Rice Burroughs Inc. which represents the estate of the Tarzan author, has sued MGM for showing Jane—played by Amer-

ica's sizzling sensation Bo Derek—in the nude. Said a Burroughs representative: "It's not really a Tarzan film; it's a Bo Derek Film." "It's pristine pure", retorted Bo's husband, John Derek who has directed the controversial film, "Tarzan should be so lucky as to be made by us." But federal judge Henry Werker of New York was not impressed: MGM has been ordered to re-edit the film.

Briefly

Invaluable car

The Italian sports car which pop singer Elvis Presley had bought for his girlfriend in 1974 for \$ 2,500 has been sold to two investors from Los Angeles for \$ 2 million—the highest price ever paid for a car.

Whitehouse to showbiz

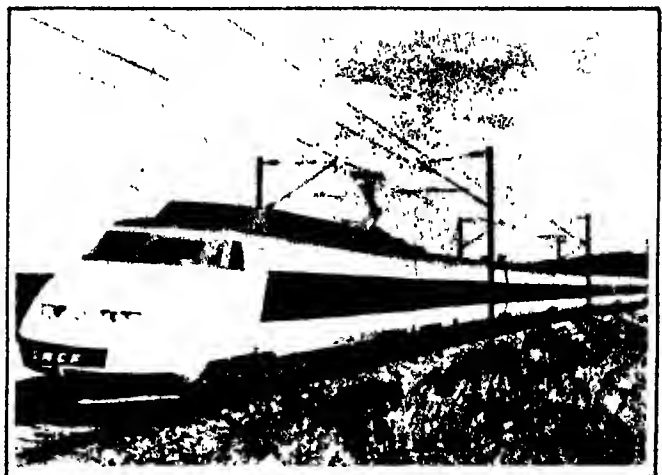
Former US President Gerald Ford has been appointed to the board of directors of the film company Twentieth Century-Fox which was recently bought over by his old friend and oil magnate Marvin Davis.

Libyan arrogance

Libya will host the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Tripoli next year and Colonel Muammar Qadhafi will obviously chair the proceedings. As if this choice was not cause enough for controversy, the Libyan government has issued to all

OAU members a rather arrogant memo which says: "The delegates of the guest states of black Africa will be required to rise to the enlightened and progressive political and cultural level (that) they will find in the Libyan capital."

Zoomerang



It looks like a Concorde landed on its belly: Bullet, the world's fastest train (377 kmph). French President Francois Mitterrand will flag off this sleek, grey-orange-and-white, eight-car-two-engine Paris-Lyon fireball in September this year. \$ 5 billion have gone into the making of Bullet which also boasts of a bar, piped music and restaurants. The fastest train before this was the Tokyo-Kyoto Bullet.



HALT!
WHO GOES THERE,
AND WHAT DO
YOU WANT?

GAULISH
SLAVES, AND WE WANT
TO SERVE THE
ROMAN ARMY!



THAT'S A BIT
OF LUCK! WE'VE JUST
GOT SOME BRAND-NEW
SLAVES IN, BUT THEY
WON'T SERVE
YET!



AND I'LL
KEEP THIS FAT
SLAVE FOR
MYSELF!



BONK!



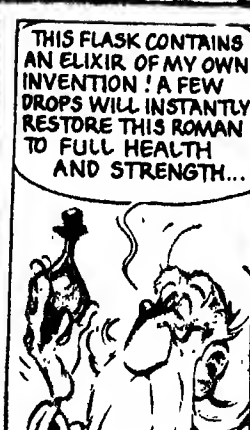
I MAY BE A
SLAVE, BUT
I AM NOT
FAT!



WELL, JUST
HOW DO YOU EXPECT
THEM TO TAKE US
SERIOUSLY NOW,
OBELIX?



I THINK I
CAN FIX IT...



THIS FLASK CONTAINS
AN ELIXIR OF MY OWN
INVENTION! A FEW
DROPS WILL INSTANTLY
RESTORE THIS ROMAN
TO FULL HEALTH
AND STRENGTH...



AND HE WON'T
EVEN REMEMBER
WHAT
HAPPENED!



HALT!
WHO GOES THERE,
AND WHAT DO
YOU WANT?

GAULISH SLAVES,
AND WE WANT TO
SERVE THE ROMAN
ARMY!

HERE WE GO
AGAIN...



AMAZING! THOSE
GAULS ARE AMAZING
... AND I CAN'T HELP
WONDERING WHAT
TRICK THEY'RE
PLANNING TO PLAY
ON THE ROMANS!



AND I'LL KEEP THIS FA...

**NO!
DON'T!**

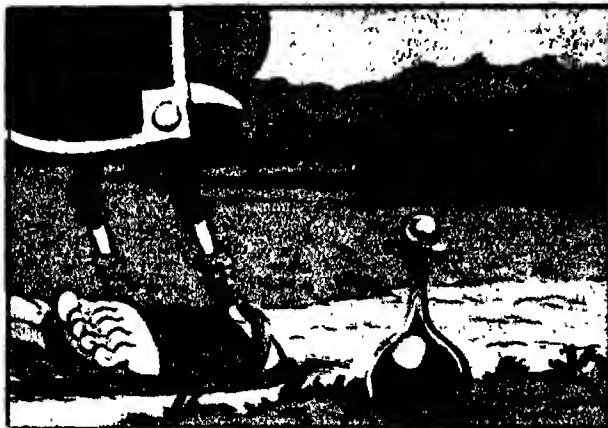


SO SORRY, WE'RE CLASS I SLAVES, AND WE CAN'T SERVE THE RANK AND FILE!

?!?



HOW DID HE GUESS WHAT I WAS GOING TO SAY?



THE DRUID FORGOT HIS FLASK! I ABSOLUTELY MUST GET HOLD OF IT. IT COULD COME IN USEFUL!



ALWAYS THE SAME OLD STORY! THE RANK AND FILE DON'T HAVE ANY RIGHT TO...



CLANG!



NOW TO OBSERVE DEVELOPMENTS DISCREETLY! I FIND THESE GAULS MORE AND MORE INTRIGUING!



THREE NEW GAULS HAVE JUST ARRIVED, CUMULONIMBUS! THEY WANT TO BE YOUR SLAVES.

?!?
I SHALL CERTAINLY NEVER UNDERSTAND THE GAULS!



O ROMAN, I AND MY FRIENDS HAVE COME TO OFFER YOU OUR CULINARY SKILLS! NAME YOUR DISH, AND I CAN COOK IT TO PERFECTION. JUST ORDER THE MENU, AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS!

Beginning 16 August

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May) A week of slow but steady progress. You will be able to overcome your earlier difficulties only if you make an all out effort. The financial front is not too bright, but let not that discourage you. Look forward to a letter that will bring you some good news. Just one word of caution: be careful in your dealings with elders. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West



TAURUS (15 May—14 June) This will be a successful week for you. So, forge ahead on all fronts and grab every opportunity that comes your way. Your intuition and business acumen will help you. Do not hesitate to seek help from friends and elders to tide over problems that have been bothering you. However, you will do well to be discreet in your dealings. **Good dates:** 17, 19 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Southwest.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July) A very good week for romance lies ahead of you: your flagging love-life will see better days. There will be steady progress in your relationship with your beloved. The time is good for making plans for the future. However, try not to get carried away by your happiness and neglect your work. It might be disastrous for your professional life. **Good dates:** 19, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northeast.



CANCER (15 July—14 August) This, unfortunately, is not a very good week for you. The week will prove to be extremely strenuous. Pending lawsuits and debts will cause you great anxiety and you may not be able to find an easy solution to your problems. Do not lose heart. Try to keep your temper under control and avoid romance and friends of the opposite sex. **Good dates:** 18, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



LEO (15 August—14 September) Businessmen and those in service, this is the time to tighten your belts. If you are in business, you will do well to pay attention to every detail of deals you enter into. Those in service should make an effort to please your employers. The time is not good for romance: a secret affair will come to a sudden end causing you distress. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October) This week promises to be very peaceful for those with close ties with their homes. You can count on your friends and relatives to give you their support when you need it. The financial front looks moderately bright. Pending debts will cease to worry you primarily because you will be able to pay them. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Southeast.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November) This might turn out to be a moderately good week provided you exercise caution on all fronts. Prospects of romance are not particularly bright, so do not pin your hopes on your friend of the opposite sex. Do not hesitate to seek the advice of elders and friends to solve your problems. **Good dates:** 1, 6 and 8. **Lucky numbers:** 17, 19 and 21. **Favourable directions:** Northeast and West.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) Provided you follow the golden rule of neither lending nor borrowing, you will enjoy a fair measure of success this week. Financial gains made during the early part of the week will be offset by losses. This is a favourable week for romance, courtship and marriage. Members of the fair sex will help relieve you of a sizeable burden. **Good dates:** 16, 19 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) Not a good week for romance, so steer clear of special relationships with people of the opposite sex. Exercise caution in dealings with your family members; stars portend disputes and unpleasantness at home. However, do not be disheartened: a new friendship will help take your mind of your troubles. **Good dates:** 17, 18 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) This may be a fairly successful week provided you follow your intuition. Your work will need all your attention. You might be tempted to enter into controversies, but this is not the time to indulge in arguments. The home front does not look too bright, so you might try to exercise tact with your spouse. **Good dates:** 16, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 8. **Favourable directions:** North and South.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) Businessmen will experience a minor setback towards the beginning of the week. However, business will pick up soon and make rapid progress. Those in service may face some very serious obstacles. Do not be disheartened. There are chances of windfall gains. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 18, 19 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** Northeast.



PISCES (15 March—14 April) Your boundless energy and ambition will result in success this week. However, do not overstrain yourself. Trust younger people, they will contribute to your success. However, the time is not favourable for romance, so do not pin your hopes on the special friend of the opposite sex. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 16, 19 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.

For those born between 15 August and 14 September: Most of you are highly emotional, you can be very kind towards your friends and acquaintances, but at the same time you can be ruthless towards those who obstruct you. All through your life you have had to face trials and tribulations but you have always managed to come out on top. Similarly, this coming year too, will see difficult times. But do not be disheartened at all, for you can overcome all your difficulties, either at home or on your professional front mainly because you have a strong personality and possess the caliber. The opposition that you will face in your

professional life will stem mainly from the jealousy of others. But there is nothing to worry about, since these are common enough happenings. Do not be terribly disheartened if you feel that things are not going according to your plans.

If you have been planning to undertake risky ventures, this year promises to be the best time. However, take the advice of elders before proceeding on any new ventures. A word of advice: do not lose your temper with your colleagues or family members. You might be a loser in the long run. Concentrate more on the cultivation of knowledge.

this india



BOMBAY: Regional Transport Officer Mehram M. Surti too has the experience of travelling by rickshaw and facing the extra fare demands of the drivers. Mr Surti said that many times, when he hired a rickshaw, the drivers demanded one and a half times the normal fare. When he asked the reason, the drivers told him: "The RTO has passed orders to this effect recently"—*Maharashtra Herald* (V. Ramaswamy, Pune)

NEW DELHI: Thieves in the capital have now struck at the centre they should fear most—the police headquarters. They drove away the motorcycle of a sub-inspector minutes after he had parked it outside the PHQ at 10.30 am. Last night (19 July) the thieves were active inside the PHQ itself. The "booby" they could, however, lay their hands on was a few dozen vests and briefs at the police canteen on the first floor of the multistoreyed building in central Delhi—*Hindustan Times* (M. Singh, New Delhi)

BANGALORE: No paper weights were found on the members' tables in the Karnataka Legislative Council today (16 July) following yesterday's incident in which two members threatened to use them as missiles against each other during the discussion on the illicit liquor tragedy. Mr H. Narasimhaiah, (Nominated), told the chair it was unjust and improper to take them away. Mr A. K. Subbaiah (BJP), in a lighter vein, said it would have been better to ask the members to come to the house with helmets instead of removing the weights. Mr Shivanna (Cong-U), asked whether members could bring their own paper weights. The chairman, Mrs S. Basavarajeswari, said papers weights were unnecessary as the house was airconditioned.—*Indian Express* (Amarjeet Singh Bhatia, Thana West)

JAIPUR: Torrential rain in the past three days flooded the Jaipur zoo and several cages were washed away including the cage of an African lion which roamed about free for more than four hours before it could be given shelter in the booking office of the zoo. Mr K. S. Shankla, chief wild life warden, said that the African lion's cage collapsed and the lion ran about creating panic among the zoo employees and the anim-

als. The armed police were called but the zoo employees were able to guide the lion towards the zoo office buildings which were empty. The lion entered the booking office and the door was immediately locked from outside—*Hindustan Times* (Rajesh Karnik, New Delhi)

BOMBAY: The right eye of a dead infant was found missing and the upper lid of the left eye of a 35-year-old man's body was found cut in the mortuary of the Maharashtra government's St George's Hospital near Bombay VT station. The hospital authorities, who dismiss the incident as "insignificant" blame rats for this. A senior hospital official said, two of the three airconditioners were not working due to some mechanical defect. He claimed that the rat theory was confirmed on Tuesday (14 July) when a rat rushed out as the mortuary doors were opened. He said the rat menace had been on the increase in the hospital which is surrounded by dock and railway godowns. Rats and bandicoots have now entered every section of the hospital except the operation theatre—*Times of India* (Md Aftab Husain, Gaya)

JAIPUR: The Tonk police have arrested two sub-inspectors and six constables of the central narcotics department on the charge of robbing a goldsmith in a bus at Sheodaspura in Jaipur district. Mr Kishen Lal, DIG (crime) said that the officials who were in uniform, stopped a Rajasthan Roadways bus on the Tonk-Jaipur route at Sheodaspura railway crossing, to search for opium smugglers. Having failed in their mission, they ordered goldsmith Ram Swaroop Soni to get down from the bus and started beating him. They, then snatched Rs 11,266 and 5.75 tolas of gold—*Indian Express* (S. Balakrishnan, Trichy)

BANGALORE: Death does not deter the profiteering instinct of unscrupulous people. According to the Karnataka chief minister, Mr R. Gundu Rao, and many Assembly members, agents have sprung up to capitalise on the offer of Rs 1,000 for funeral expenses of each of those who have died in the liquor tragedy. The agents operate as links between the sanctioning authorities and the families of the bereaved, knocking away a third of the amount as their commission. "What can you do in a society where standards are as reprehensible as this," Mr Gundu Rao bemoaned. The surviving members took the money and spent it on drinking as their custom demanded on the occasion of a funeral. "They say that if they don't drink, the soul of the departed will not rest in peace"—*Times of India* (P. B. S. V. Padmanabham, Shillong)

without comment

(The ordinance) reminds us of the 1975 Emergency days—Chandra Shekhar, Janata Party president. There is nothing new in the ordinance (banning strikes in essential services)—Manohar Kotwal, transport and dock workers union leader. The only way for the revival of the economy lies in increased production and this is possible with industrial discipline—H. L. Somani, president, Merchants Chamber of Commerce welcoming the ordinance.

The ordinance constitutes an attack on the fundamental right to organise strikes and it shows that the government is determined to scuttle one fundamental right after another—Politburo of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

When they (the opposition parties) criticise me for something or other, I pursue the matter with added vigour—A. R. Antulay, Maharashtra CM quoted in *Current*

I do not belong to any group and I do not recognise any either—S. C. Mathur, Rajasthan CM

I am trying very hard to keep the sycophants at bay—R. Gundu Rao, Karnataka CM

We are not born to be ministers. Some are. We are happy wherever we may be—Jyoti Basu, West Bengal CM

There can never be any confrontation between me and the dissidents because I am myself a dissident—V. P. Singh, UP CM

The best victory is to avoid war—Mrs Gandhi

If we act wisely instead of being the sick man of Europe, Poland can emerge as an inspiration for socialism—Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish deputy premier quoted in *Time*

This guy (Menachem) Begin makes it awfully hard for us to help him—Ronald Reagan, US President in *Newsweek*

It would appear that the Akalis of today have a one-point programme of propagating separatism between Hindus and Sikhs: the wider the gulf the more it suits them—Khushwant Singh in *The Hindustan Times*. We request you to...permit all traditional exporters from India to ship onion to their buyers in Singapore as such a measure alone would meet the ends of justice and equity—onion importers memorandum to the Singapore minister for commerce

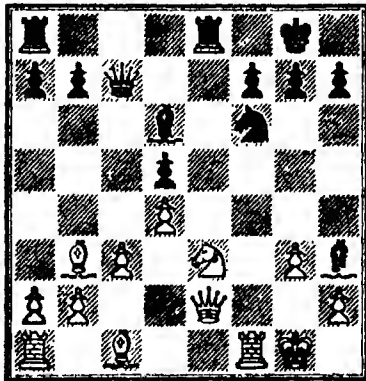
Life is dangerous—Mr Bani Sadr, ex-president of Iran in France

An entirely average pupil—Elizabeth Ridsdale, headmistress at Middleworth Hall Preparatory School, describing her pupil, Lady Diana

chess



Rosenthal (Black)



Zukertort (White) to move
Position after Black's 19th move

For many many years now *Chess* and *British Chess Magazine* have been the two foremost chess publications in this country. Other

magazines may have appeared, and in certain cases subsequently disappeared, but these two have by tradition been the central pillars, indeed they have become almost institutions. The sad death last year of Mr Freddy Reilly left the future of *British Chess Magazine* in real doubt. I was therefore very pleased to hear that the British Chess Federation has decided to take over *BCM* for two reasons. Firstly, and more obviously, because *BCM* is a fine magazine, and in the hands of the federation its future should be secure, but secondly also because I have always felt that the British Chess Federation needs to involve itself in some kind of business venture in order to become more businesslike itself. At a time when the annual affiliation fee to the federation costs little more than a cup of coffee the financial rigors of continuing *BCM* as a viable and hopefully profitable concern may make it a trifle more realistic in fiscal matters.

I am assured that *BCM* will continue in its same editorial vein and not become a mere mouthpiece for the federation, though presumably more important items of federation news will not go unreported, nor should they. All in all both *BCM* and the British Chess Federation should benefit from the merger, the timing of which is much more fortunate than its cause - 1981 is *BCM*'s centenary year. Let us wish *BCM* a prosperous and successful future and indeed the same to its great rival and companion *Chess*. For ultimately only the success of both will ensure that each maintains the same high standards of the other.

For a change, and as a tribute to 100 years of *BCM*, a game from the 1880's

White Zukertort Black Rosenthal
4 Knights Opening

1. P-K4, P-K4; 2. N-KB3, N-QB3; 3. B-N5, N-B3; 4. N-B3. Not a move one would see very often nowadays, but of course the theory of the Ruy Lopez had then not yet been developed. 4... B-N5; 5. Q-O, Q-O; 6. N-O5, B-K2; 7. P-Q3, P-Q3; 8. N-K3. The Knight is very flexibly placed here. 8... N-O5; 9. B-B4, P-B3; 10. P-B3. N×N. Black could also consider the retreat 10 K-K3, but the move played is not bad. 11. Q×N, B-K3; 12. B-N3, Q-Q2; 13. Q-K2, P-Q4; 14. P×P, P×P; 15. P-KB4. Taking the opportunity to create some imbalance in the position. 15... P×P; 16. R×P, B-Q3; 17. R-B1, KR-K1; 18. P-Q4. The game has taken on many features of a King's Gambit. The half-open KB file and extra central pawn afford White good chances. 18... Q-B2; 19. P-KN3, B-R6? Really asking for it. Zukertort naturally obliges.

DIAGRAM

20. R×N1P×R; 21. Q-R5, B-K3; 22. B×P. With the threat of 23 B-K4. If 23 B×B 24 N×B, Q-Q1. 25 B-R6 threatening Q-N4+ gives a winning attack. 22... P-B4; 23. N×P, B×N; Of course not 23 B×B, 24 Q-N5+. 24. Q×B, R-K8+ 25. K-B2, QR-K1; 26. B-R6! White threatens Q-N5+. 26... R(1)-K7. 27. K-B3, B-B1; 28. R×R, R×R; 29. Q-N4+; K-R1; 30. B×B. Resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

and obtained a club ruff for an eventual two down.

An amusing episode from Britain v Bermuda was described by David Ezekiel.

Dealer, West. Game all.

♠ K 9 7 5 2			
♥ J 6 4 2			
♦ A Q 8 4			
♣ —			
	♠ A 10 8		
	♥ A K 10 8		
	♦ J 6 5 2		
	♣ K 10		
		♠ 6 4	
		♥ 9 5 3	
		♦ 3	
		♣ J 7 6 5 4 3 2	

On the morning of the match another Bermudan player, Joe Warefield, told Ezekiel that, in a dream Priday had gone down 1700. Nothing much happened until board 16, when, with Priday West and Rodrigue East, the bidding went

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
—	INT	2	♠
2♥	No	No	♠
No	No	Nn	♠

North's Two Diamonds was Ripstra, showing both majors and his better minor. Priday began with Queen and another heart—and it was the Bermudans who lost 1700!

TERENCE REESE

1. A light breeze affecting a small area.
2. No. It is a water-softening process.
3. When it lands at a low forward speed and at a very high rate of descent.
4. The practice of wearing clothes usually associated with the opposite sex.
5. Isinglass is a gelatin made from the dried swim bladders of fishes and is used for guses and printing inks.
6. Borstal was introduced in England and Wales in 1908 and the name comes from the Kentish village where, in the old

ANSWERS

stamps



The obtrusive letters in the corners of many Victorian stamps were intended as a hindrance to forgery, the spectre of which haunted both the Treasury and the Post Office. Each stamp in the sheet had a different pair of letters, beginning across the top row with A - A - A - B - A - C, etc. Stamps in the second row were lettered B - A - B - B - B - C and so on. These were the lower letters, the upper letters being simply the lower pair in reverse. This 5s stamp of 1894 was thus the fifth stamp in the seventh row. Forgers would either have to make several printing-plates, each showing a different pair of letters, or would arouse suspicion by producing too many stamps with identical lettering.

In the event, there were remarkably few successful attempts to defraud the Post Office. Most forgeries of Victorian stamps have been intended to deceive collectors.

C. W. HILL

Two good 'shorts' from the Olympiad, the first described by J. R. Wignall, of New Zealand Dealer, South. N-S vulnerable.

♠ 9 3			
♥ Q 5 4			
♦ J 10 9 6 5			
♣ K J 4			
♠ A 5	N	♠ 7 6 4 2	
♥ K 10 8 7 3 2	W E	♥ A 9	
♦ A Q 4		♦ 8 2	
♣ A 8	S	♣ 10 9 5 3 2	
		♠ K Q J 10 8	
		♥ J 6	
		♦ K 7 3	
		♣ Q 7 6	

In the match between Pakistan and New Zealand the bidding, with Pakistan East-West, went as follows:

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
No	1♥	No	No
1♠	2♥	No	No
2♠	No	No	No

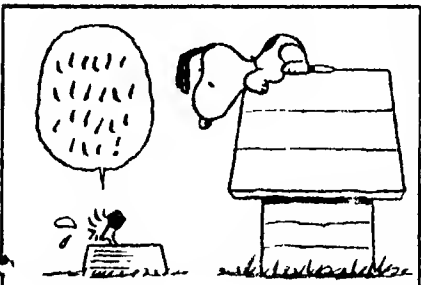
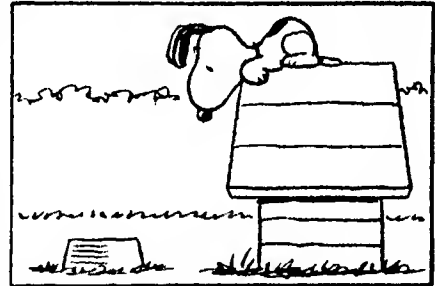
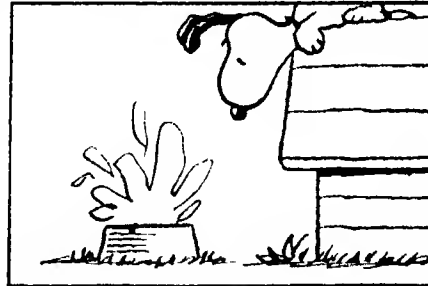
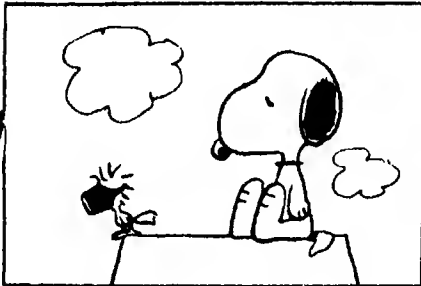
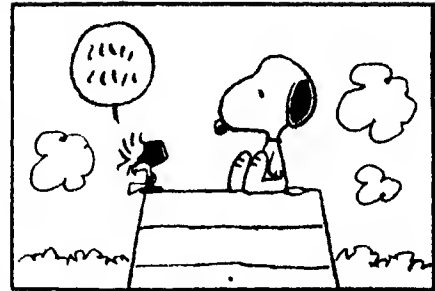
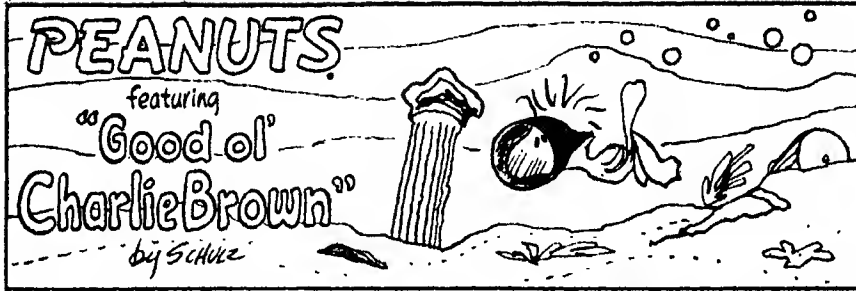
What would you lead as West? Any one of your Aces is liable to give a trick away. Hoping, perhaps, to find partner with ♥ Q, Zia Mahmood, well known in the London clubs, began with the King of hearts. When this held the trick he switched hastily to Ace and another club. Then he won the first trump, put partner in with ♥ A

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What is a cat's paw?
2. Is the cold lime-soda process used for making soft drinks?
3. How would an aircraft make a pancake landing?
4. What is transvestism?
5. What is isinglass used for?
6. When was the Borstal system introduced?

Rochester Jail, the experiment began



Housewives!

Here's the answer to all your cleaning problems

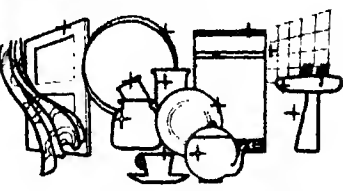
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A little TEEPOL does a lot of cleaning.

ORACLE FROM OXFORD

THE Prime Minister's secretariat has a new officer on special duty, Mr Salman Khurshid, son of a union minister and grandson of the late President Zakir Hussain. Mr Khurshid was a lecturer of law at Oxford University before he was picked up by Mrs Gandhi for a special appointment in her secretariat. Mr Khurshid has recently aired his views on Aligarh, the hot point in Muslim politics. In an editorial-page article published in *The Hindustan Times* on 11 July, he has said that "it is cruel and dishonest" to dismiss the students of Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) as "communal." He does not stop there. He feels that the presence of the police on the AMU campus was "provocative" and the vice-chancellor, Dr Syed Hamid, had "failed miserably" in handling the situation. "Misdemeanour" was the word he used to describe the role of Prof. Irfan Habib, who has been fighting the communal elements at AMU for many years. Why do England-returned intellectuals like Mr Khurshid get embroiled so easily in controversies at home? He can concentrate on proving his mettle at the PM's office and restrict his public comments to issues he is familiar with. Otherwise he may prove to be an embarrassment to the PM and ruin his undoubtedly bright prospects.

MADHU LIMAYE HAD GOT WIND

ON 22 May this year Lok Dal general secretary Madhu Limaye issued a statement which went largely unnoticed in the Indian press and even those few papers that carried it did not take it seriously. Officers of the food and agriculture ministry were also on hand to deny Mr Limaye's allegation, that "the government's food and agriculture policy is in total disarray, and the government is desperately planning large-scale food imports during the current year." But even as these denials were being issued, the additional secretary in the department of food, Mr B. S. Raghwan, was preparing the ground for the import of 1.5 million tonnes of wheat from the USA. He secretly flew to Washington in the last week of May for negotiations. Later the deal was finalised by Mr B. C. Gangopadhya, food secretary, in Washington.

WHO WILL CAMPAIGN IN GARHWAL ?

AFTER the Congress(I) has bloodied its nose in the Garhwal by-election on 14 June, anybody who is somebody in the party is claiming that he will be one of the few politicians who will be trusted with the Garhwal campaign the next time around. Leading among such claimants are young MPs belonging to the Sanjay lobby. Mr K. P. Tiwary, recently elected to the Lok Sabha from Allahabad and still a UP minister, has gone one better and even announced who will be in charge of which Assembly segment in Garhwal: he himself for Karnap-

rayag, Nirbhay Narayan Singh for Badri Kedar, Vir Bahadur Singh for Pauri, Srikrishna Goel for Lansdowne and H. K. L. Bhagat for Dehradun. The most interesting thing about this list, of course, is the name missing from it, that of Mr Rajendra Tripathy, UP minister of state for home. But contrary to all these claims, the one point on which the Congress(I) high command has so far decided upon, say knowledgeable sources, is that none from outside UP will be allowed to participate in the campaign.



BAHUGUNA HELPS DELHI POLICE

THE Delhi police should be grateful to Mr Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna for saving them a recurring expenditure of Rs 10,000 per month by deciding to form a new party in league with Mr Raj Narain. Ever since Mr Raj Narain had broken off with Mr Charan Singh, the Lok Dal office at 15, Windsor Place had become a bone of contention between the two erstwhile Lok Dal factions. While the Lok Dal under Mr Charan Singh continued to occupy the building and use it as its office, a permanent police picket had to be posted there to prevent a sudden "takeover" by Mr Raj Narain's faction. But as that group has now merged its identity with Mr Bahuguna's new Democratic Socialist Party, the dispute is over so far as the Delhi administration is concerned and the police picket has been withdrawn. But the police are keeping their fingers firmly crossed. For, Mr Raj Narain is known to break parties and may do it again, putting the police to similar expenditure over some other disputed building.

SLEUTHS AFTER BANSI LAL

VERBAL instructions have been issued in Chandigarh to investigating agencies to dig up old cases against the former union defence minister, Mr Bansi Lal. This is the newest twist to the infighting in the Haryana Congress(I) and comes after legislators and MPs owing allegiance to the Bansi Lal camp have attacked CM Bhajan Lal's camp for the past few months. Initially, it was Mr Bhajan Lal himself who had withdrawn criminal cases against Mr Bansi Lal and his son Surinder Singh. These cases were filed during the Janata regime and Mr Bhajan Lal had then had a hand in getting these cases instituted against father and son. Recently, Mr Dharam Dev Bindal of Hissar was surprised when he was called by a very senior intelligence officer to record his statement in connection with a complaint he had filed in 1973! In that complaint he had charged the then chief minister, Mr Bansi Lal, with corruption and nepotism. But Mr Bindal refused to make any statement, saying that the complaint had become "irrelevant." Instead, he offered information about "corruption" on the part of the present chief minister, Mr Bhajan Lal! The officer refused to oblige him as that was not his brief.

TAILPIECE: After the "successful" showing of the Haryana police at the Garhwal by-elections, the joke making the rounds is that the preparatory committee for the Asian games is seriously considering deputing this prestigious force for duties at the Asian games in New Delhi next year. They are capable of "capturing" all the gold medals for India, it is strongly believed.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN



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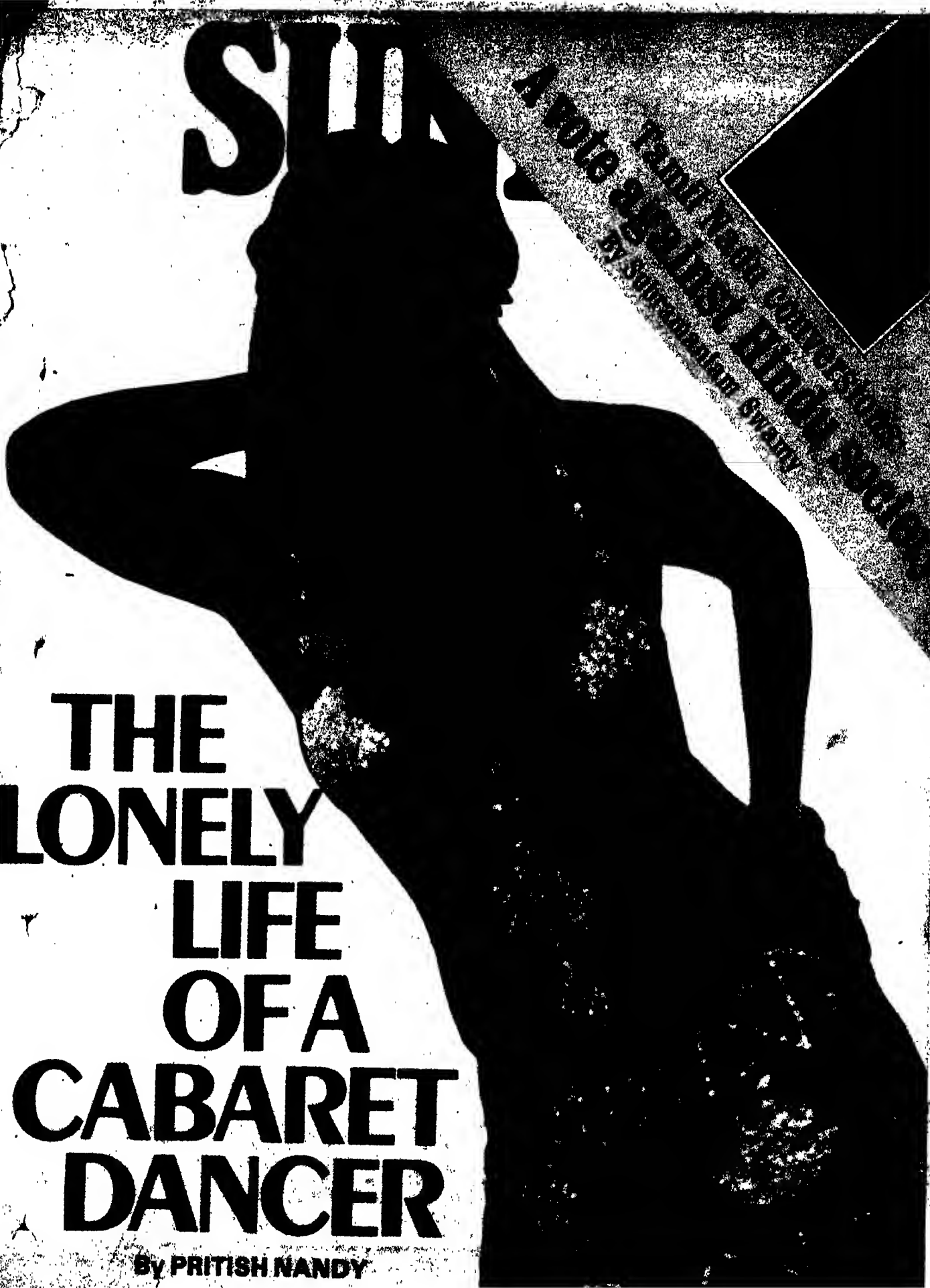
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THE LONELY LIFE OF A CABARET DANCER

By PRITISH NANDY



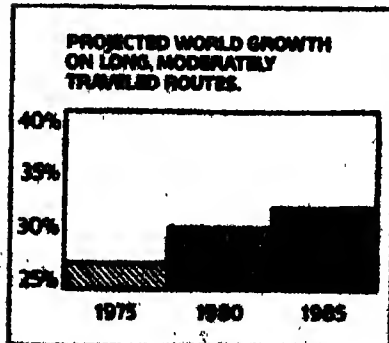


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Look at those long wings on the L-1011 in the picture above. They've been stretched nine feet to help increase fuel efficiency. An exclusive system of Active Controls made this possible. (You'll find

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 **Lockheed L-1011 TriStar**



The words "cabaret dancer" bring to mind images of glamour, burgeoning sex, flashy costumes and flashing lights. But away from the stage the cabaret dancer is a lonely semi-outcast trying to survive on the fringe of society. Pritish Nandy goes behind the stagelights to discover their grey world and finds that having stooped to conquer, they can never rise again. **Page 8**

Did the 1,000-odd harijans in the Tamil Nadu village of Meenakshipuram who embraced Islam in February 1981 fall prey to money and pressure or was their decision a vote against Hindu society? Subramaniam Swamy finds out. **Page 22**

Medhu Limaye asks why the government should import food in a year of record harvest and then goes on to provide some shocking answers: lure of "commissions" and prejudice against the Indian farmer. **Page 28**



If you are living in one of our big cities and, worse, in a high-rise building, what are your chances of surviving a fire? Shockingly little. A survey of the incredibly poor fire-fighting facilities in our cities and veritable deathtraps which they abound in. **Page 18**

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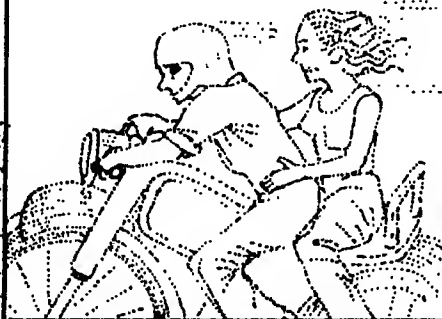
Where the Monthly Deposit is Rs. 100/-

Stipulated Period	Amount paid	Maturity Value
12 Months...	Rs. 1200	Rs. 1250.00
36 Months...	Rs. 3600	Rs. 4208.00
48 Months...	Rs. 4800	Rs. 5911.00
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PRAGATHI CASH CERTIFICATE

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Rs. 7440.00	120 Months	Rs. 20,000
Rs. 610.00	60 Months	Rs. 1,000
Rs. 6100.00	60 Months	Rs. 10,000

Step 3

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You can further reinvest this amount of Rs. 20,000 in a Syndicate Bank Social Security Deposit for 60 months. Your children can get interest income of Rs. 165 every month to meet expenses. When they are 21, they will also have a capital of Rs. 20,000 which will give them a good start in life.



SOCIAL SECURITY DEPOSIT

Deposit	Period	Monthly income
Rs. 5,000	60 Months	Rs. 41.32
Rs. 10,000	60 Months	Rs. 82.64
Rs. 20,000	60 Months	Rs. 165.28

If you are a monthly saver, the three-tier plan is practical. If you save in lumpsum, you can opt for owning a vehicle, owning a house.

Saving for only 5 years makes a world of difference to your children's future.

Does this not make sense?

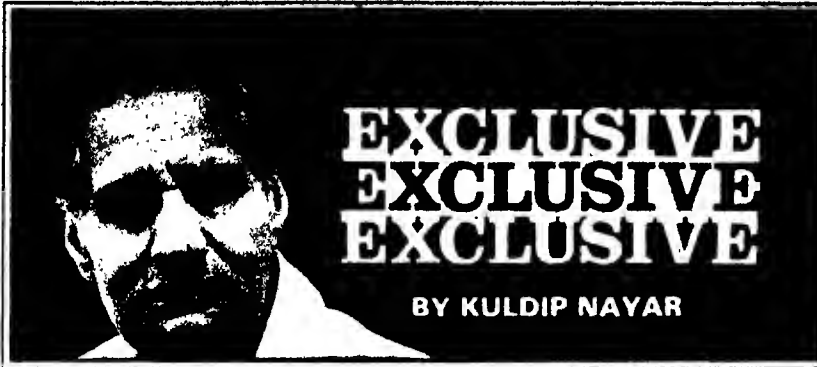
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Why humiliate freedom fighters?

Who is a freedom fighter? My mind goes to an unknown person who died in the struggle against the British, unsung, unwept. According to government parlance, he is a person who has spent "not less than five months" in prison. In the case of a woman or harijan there is a concession of two months. Even a day less than that period in jail means that he or she has no right to the pension of Rs 300 per month which the centre gives.

It is not the pension alone; the government does not recognise those whose "suffering"—a word used in government files—is less than 150 days. Strange that those in power should think that a person's sacrifice can be fitted into a set formula or, for that matter, erased by the government's non-recognition.

This, I suspect, is because many of those who have framed the pension rules have not been freedom fighters themselves. Going through the names of senior central ministers I find that quite a few have never gone to jail. To name some: Mr Pranab Mukherjee, minister for commerce, Mr Shiv Shankar, law minister, Mr Bhishma Narain Singh, minister for parliamentary affairs, Rao Birendra Singh, agriculture minister, Mr A. B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhuri, energy minister, Mr Charanjit Chanana, minister of state for industry, Mr Z. R. Ansari, minister of state for irrigation, and Mr Shankaranand, minister for health. The Prime Minister herself did not spend more than a few days in prison.

The state chief ministers are no different. Mr Antulay in Maharashtra, Mr V. P. Singh in UP, Mr S. C. Mathur in Rajasthan, Mr Jagannath Mishra in Bihar, Mr Gundu

Rao in Karnataka, MGR in Tamil Nadu—none of them ever fought the British. In fact, some of them were part of the establishment at that time.

What is shocking is that not only has the pension for well over 5,000 people been stopped because they did not spend sufficient time in jail, but also action has been initiated to recover the "wrongly" drawn pension. Those who came out of jail within five months but went underground can protect their pension provided they produce a certificate from people who have served "actual imprisonment" for more than five years. Indeed, the bureaucrat has a knack of "disciplining" every situation.

On 15 August 1972, when the pension scheme was introduced, there was talk of giving recognition to those who fought in some of the non-Congress struggles against the British like the Egyptian mutiny, the Central India Horse (21 Cavalry) mutiny, the Hong Kong mutiny, the Telengana uprising, the Kavumbai struggle, the Punappara Vayalar incident, the Moplah rebellion, the Arya Samaj movement and the Harsha Chhina Morcha.

I am told that the matter is still "under examination." Imagine the bureaucrats trying to judge whether any of the above struggles contributed to the country's independence, to what extent, and whether the participants should be given pensions. The matter is already being discussed on files and many officials have put their comments trying to argue why some

Many of those who have framed the pension rules have not been freedom fighters themselves

of these movements, in which many people died and suffered imprisonment, should not be considered part of a regular freedom struggle.

Officials tell me that shortage of funds is the biggest snag—expenses on such pensions have gone up from Rs 21 crores to Rs 45 crores in the last nine years. But then what is the logic in removing the bar on those who earn Rs 5,000 or more? If the pension is meant to help the needy, only those freedom fighters who are poor should get it. And how much time they spent in jail should not matter. In Haryana, MLAs are entitled to full pensions even if they sit in the house for one day.

The issue is moral, not legal. The government has unnecessarily tangled it in a web of procedures. When freedom fighters participated in the struggle they did not think of any personal gain or reward. Theirs was a struggle to enable the country to keep its trust with destiny, as Nehru said at midnight on 15 August 1947. They should not be treated as those seeking charity; with bureaucrats left to decide their eligibility. As of today, more than 37,000 cases have been filed because "acceptable evidence" is not available.

The finalisation of cases of ex-INA personnel is taking even more time. Many of them have not been able to produce evidence in support of their detention (for reasons best known to the government, the minimum detention for INA men is six months). After many years it dawned on the authorities that a senior ex-INA officer could scrutinize applications. But it looks as if the government had a particular officer in view, because after his retirement he has been reemployed for the job.

I also know of the treatment meted out to Mirza Bedar Bakht, descendant of King Bahadur Shah II, who participated in the 1857 freedom struggle and was deported by the British to Rangoon. One can imagine the travails of Mr Bakht after the Nizam stopped his pension when the privy purse was abolished. The government did not want to give him the pension. It was Dr B. C. Roy who took up his case with Nehru and got him a pension of Rs 250 per month. Subsequently, the descendants of Mansur Liaquat Ali of Allahabad, Moulvi Fazl Haq and Tantia Tope were included in the list of pensioners. But four of them got only Rs 25 each a month, one Rs 30, five Rs 50, two Rs 75 and the rest, (eight of them) between Rs 100 and Rs 400 per month.

The pensions given to these people and to the freedom-fighters are ridiculously small, but the government gave the project recently another impressive name: Swatantra Sainik Saman Pension Scheme.



Have mercy

Anil Saari's cover story, *Did Ranga kill?* (19 July), was unique. I cannot help sympathising with Ranga's mother. *Raghu Nath Ghosh, Calcutta*

The report was superb. Regardless of whether Ranga was a partner or accomplice in the crime against the Chopra children, he should be forgiven because he appears to have turned over a new leaf.

W. P. Suresh Paul, Bangalore

I was moved by the cover story. If Ranga was a hardened criminal he wouldn't have denounced the murder of the Chopra children.

D. N. Poddar, Pecharthal (Tripura)

I am convinced that Ranga was not responsible for the crime which he has been accused of having committed *Birendra Singha, Raj Bari (Assam)*

The cover story has proved beyond doubt the fact that Ranga neither intended nor committed the murder of the Chopra children. When a criminal act is committed by several persons in furtherance of the *common intention* of all, each of them, under the law of our country, is liable for the act in the same manner as if it were done by him alone. But in Ranga's case, this is not applicable; he was not cognisant of the intentions of his companion and therefore cannot be awarded the same sentence as the one to Billa. At best, he can be charged with and convicted of kidnapping or being an accomplice to the kidnapping of the Chopra children.

Harjinder Singh, Kharagpur

No one is born a criminal and society cannot disown the responsibility of having produced a man like Ranga. Sending him to the gallows is no solution whatsoever.

Utpal Sen Gupta, Calcutta

The account of Ranga's daily routine in prison may be evidence of the fact that he is innocent. But he has failed to explain how he came to befriend a hardened criminal like Billa.

Nikunja Bihari Panda, Rourkela

If at all his mercy petition earns him a reprieve from the President, Ranga will remain eternally grateful to SUNDAY for putting his case before the people's durbar.

P. V. Ranganathan, Chandigarh

Billa may not have given Ranga the opportunity to kill the Chopra children; but this does not make the latter innocent.

H. S. Krishna, Mysore

It is clear that Ranga is trying his best to escape the gallows. A criminal like him should not be pardoned.

S. K. Sarkar, Ukhrul (Manipur)

Ranga's association with Billa proves beyond doubt the fact that he is not innocent. He should be shown no mercy.

G. S. Agarwal, Darjeeling

Mrs Indira Gandhi's blessings have really helped Ranga to become a *mahan vyakti* (great man) if only in the world of criminals.

Zahida Zareen, Cuttack

It is difficult to believe that Ranga is not guilty of the Chopra murders.

K. K. Nair, Patnagarh (Orissa)

Ranga seems to be very concerned about his life; he should have been equally concerned about the lives of the Chopra children.

P. Sree Hari, Hyderabad

If Anil Saari is to be believed, Ranga has turned to religion in a very big way; but where was his religion when he decided to kidnap innocent children?

Syed Azam Hussain, Buzurgdoar (Bihar)

If Ranga was really against the killing of the Chopra children he could have joined hands with them in their desperate bid to frustrate Billa's plans. It is clear that he made no attempt to save the lives of the children.

T. C. Katrak, Calcutta

Ranga could have thought of some means to dissuade Billa from killing the children.

S. Ghosh, Ashok Nagar (West Bengal)

The cover story reveals a sinister plot to save Ranga from the gallows.

Bibek Banerjee, Bolpur (West Bengal)

On the criminal chessboard Ranga may have been a mere pawn; but that does not prove him innocent.

Parvez Shakil Ayaz, Bangalore

Legal issues are judged on the basis of facts, not feelings; and the facts show that Ranga is a criminal, if only by virtue of being an accomplice in the Chopra murders.

Abhay Tewari, Dhanbad

The report that Ranga has become extremely religious does not come as a surprise to us; it is normal for criminals to atone for their sins when they realise that their fate is sealed.

N. Paul, New Delhi

Ranga's lawyers and family members are expected to defend him regardless of whether he is guilty or not; their views are therefore of no consequence whatsoever.

Sohail Ahmad Siddiqui, Ukhra (West Bengal)

Ranga is entitled to defend himself; but SUNDAY has no right to help him in this respect.

C. S. Raju, Kakinada (Andhra Pradesh)

Why is SUNDAY glorifying criminals like Haji Mastan and Ranga?

I. B. Samaiyar, Ranchi

A cover story on Ranga is, at best, a form of yellow journalism.

Sailendra Nath Mitra, New Jalpaiguri

It is clear that one has to be a criminal to feature on the cover of SUNDAY.

K. K. Ganguly, Patna

The cover story on Ranga was sheer rubbish.

T. L. Dhar, Dehra Dun

I request SUNDAY to stop giving publicity to smugglers, murderers and their like.

Krishna Das, Patna

Cover stories like the one on Ranga can only earn the displeasure of SUNDAY readers.

Mali Roy, Mal (West Bengal)

SUNDAY has wasted six full pages on a criminal.

K. S. Singhwan, Bombay

Will SUNDAY come to Billa's rescue as well?

N. K. Dash, Bhubaneswar

SUNDAY's blatant attempt to draw sympathy for Ranga was disgraceful.

Soumitra Sinha, Alipurduar (West Bengal)

We read about a dacoit, Mohar Singh, who wants to become a politician, and about a well-known smuggler, Haji Mastan, who claims to have turned to social work. Now we are told that a rapist and murderer, Ranga, wants to prove himself innocent. God help us.

M. Mitra, Sindri

Anil Saari's cover story must have been very painful to the Chopra family.

P. V. Siva Kumar, Hyderabad

SUNDAY has once again proved that it has run out of ideas for its cover stories. Surely, Ranga is not a freedom fighter to figure on the cover of a magazine.

Jaya Dutta, Burdwan

If the crime rate rises in the near future, SUNDAY will be responsible for it.

Kishore Mathani, Puri

Letters will be considered only if they carry the full names and addresses of correspondents; nom de plumes will not be entertained—Editor

Plus two, minus who?

Sanjay Das Gupta's *Academic bottleneck* (Opinion, 19 July) failed to throw light on the plight of students from outside West Bengal who are not considered for admission to the plus two course in Calcutta colleges. I, for instance, passed the ICSE examination with 90 per cent marks in the science subjects and 86 per cent on the whole; but St Xavier's Collegiate School did not even give me an application form.

Anjan Ghosh, Bokaro

Admission to the plus two course is not a problem in Calcutta alone. I passed my ICSE examination with 82 per cent marks and applied for admission to Delhi Public School; but my application was rejected; on the other hand, three candidates who had secured 46.1 per cent each in the ICSE examination, were admitted.

Abhay Tewari, Jealgora (Bihar)

Of shops and degrees

Thanks to Tooshar Pandit for his brilliant investigation, *How to buy a BA degree* (19 July). Tutorial colleges and coaching institutes which serve as conduits for the buying and selling of university degrees should be banned.

Sanjay Kumar Dwivedi, Gaya

The report was informative. Thanks to the dubious institutes and colleges, education is no longer of any value in India.

Arun Sarkar, Shillong

Mr Pandit's investigation was praiseworthy; he has exposed the corruption in our education system. If degrees can be purchased, what is their worth?

Nagendra Bihari Panda, Bhadrak

In order to put an end to the buying and selling of degrees, the government should not permit residents of one state to enroll themselves in universities of another.

Rajiv Kumar Sinha, Giridih (Bihar)

I cannot understand how a student from south India is permitted to come to Bihar and take a university examination.

Ejaz Ahmad, Beniadih (Bihar)

I am in no position to pass judgement on the other ten universities on Mr Pandit's list; but I do know that fake degrees can be purchased from Ranchi University. Besides, it is common knowledge that the examinations held by this university are an out-and-out farce.

Gopal Saini, Ranchi

By exposing the degree racket Mr Pandit has rendered good service to the academic community. I have been closely associated with the affairs of Ghatsila College and know for a fact that it is a haven for degree seekers who come from Poona, Bombay, Madras and even Tehran. Most of them are not qualified to appear for the graduation examinations. Whosoever is willing to pay a price can

Heinous crime

For exposing how 60,000 Calcutta schoolchildren were given illegal cholera vaccinations (19 July) Vimal Balasubrahmanyam deserves to be congratulated. CRC director Dr S. C. Pal should be taken to task for the experiment on "human guinea-pigs."

S. K. Mallik, Howrah

Dr S. C. Pal's replies to Ms Balasubrahmanyam's queries were amusing. "The ICMR drew up the project and I carried it out" is not the kind of statement one would expect from a scientist.

B. K. Sarkar, Calcutta

Ms Balasubrahmanyam has proved that the pen is indeed mightier than the sword. Of course, SUNDAY must also be thanked for publishing her report which is bound to force the government to take action against so-called scientists like Dr Pal.

Subrata Das, Calcutta

The report was shocking. What authority does any organisation have to play with innocent lives?

Shaymal Gupta, Burdwan

buy a degree for himself.

Bela Bose, Ghatsila (Bihar)

If university authorities can adopt unfair means why can't students resort to cheating during examinations?

Md Aftab Hussain, Gaya

I am aware of the fact that there are a number of private institutes in this country which help candidates to 'buy' degrees; and correspondingly, there are universities which supply these degrees. But I was shocked to find the names of Utkal, Annamalai and Osmania universities on Mr Pandit's list. All these universities are highly reputed and I refuse to believe that they are partners in educational crime.

S. S. Mahanayak, Berhampur (Orissa)

Utkal University products have repeatedly proved their worth in all-India competitive examinations; this fact is sufficient to disprove Mr Pandit's claim that the university is involved in the degree racket.

P. K. Jena, Rourkela

Mr Pandit claims that it is possible to get a graduate degree on payment of Rs 1,500 without even passing the matriculation examination from some universities and has mentioned Utkal University as one of them. This is absolutely baseless and incorrect because it is not possible for anybody to get a BA degree from Utkal University unless he has gone through the course after passing the preceding corresponding matriculation and intermediate examinations.

M. K. Rout, vice-chancellor, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar

Tooshar Pandit replies: The universities mentioned in my article are those from which degree shops offer to fetch certificates for their clients. The names have been gathered from the prospectuses and advertisements of different coaching institutes and tutorial colleges.

The photograph of Mrinal Sen on page 92 of SUNDAY ANNUAL was by Nema Ghosh and not as credited. The error is regretted.

Defending Mr Nayar

The letters under *Exclusive mischief* (Opinion, 5 July) have misconstrued Kuldip Nayar's *The army's promotion grievances* (7 June) Mr Amod Sharma's allegation that "our men-in-uniform have found a good spokesman in Kuldip Nayar" is ridiculous; army men can do without the help of others, be it while facing bullets on the battlefield or while projecting their views on an issue. What is even more ridiculous is the claim that they have "turned against the IPS, CRP and BSF officers." Mr Nayar's comparisons between the service conditions in the IPS, CRP, BSF and the army was merely an effort to examine ways and means to update rules and regulations related to promotions.

Brigadier Samuel Xavier (Retd), Ambala

Mr D. B. Chetri has conceded in his letter that "the need for a change in defence service rules may be genuine;" but, he adds, this should not be done by making comparisons between the army, IPF, IAS, CRP, BSF. How else, may I ask, should it be done? It is only through comparisons between service conditions of different cadres that the army rules can be effectively modified.

Anil Chadda, Ambala

A flight of problems

Pilots flying away from IAF, low pay (News, 19 July) voiced the legitimate grievances of our air force personnel.

S. K. Datta Ray, Calcutta

If the government fails to take adequate measures against the growing discomfort among IAF personnel, we will soon have a major problem on our hands.

S. K. Chetri, Along (Arunachal Pradesh)

Filmi folly

"The film (*Ek duje ke liye*) is to be made in Madras and her (Rati Agnihotri's) co-star is none other than Rajesh Khanna," claims the *Khaas Baat* columnist in the 19 July issue. To begin with, I would like to remind him that *Ek duje ke liye* is not under production; the film was completed a few months ago and has already been released in some parts of the country. Secondly, its co-stars Kamalhasan, not Rajesh Khanna.

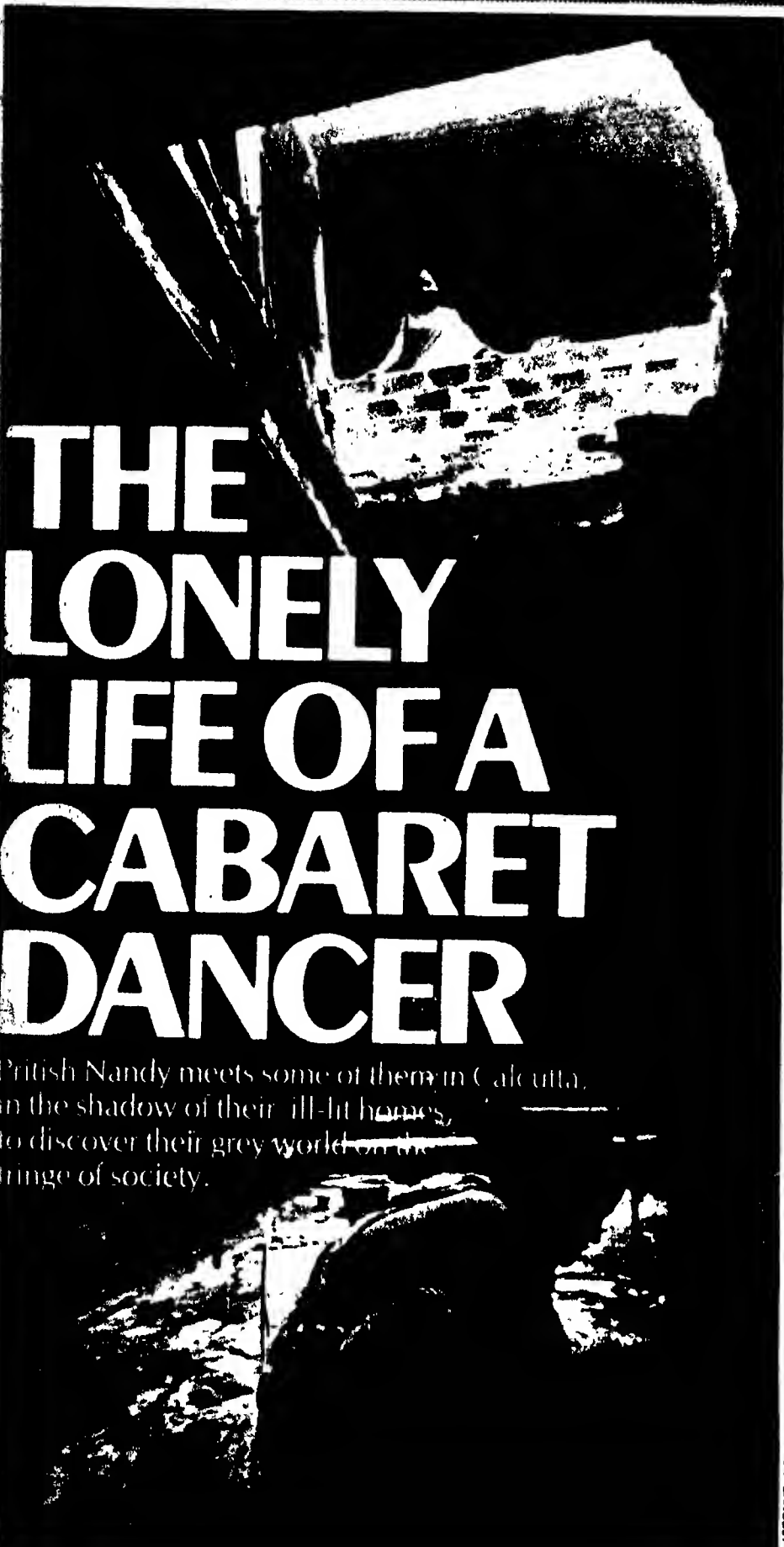
"Poor Hema hasn't acted in a single Madras-made Hindi film opposite her darling, Dharam," claims Piousji in the very same issue. To put the record straight once again, Hema has acted opposite Dharmendra in the Madras-based producer-director Devar's film, *Maa*.

K. M. Mohan Raju, Madras

Last letter

It is a pity that the new 'home' which I. B. Chavan wants to go to doesn't have a back door.

K. R. Govind Raj, Bangalore



THE LONELY LIFE OF A CABARET DANCER

British Nandy meets some of them in Calcutta,
in the shadow of their ill-lit homes,
to discover their grey world on the
fringe of society.

I still remember Maria as a quiet, intense-looking girl with pigtails and a pug nose, who always knew what the square root of 256 was. For someone like me, pimply and poignant, without the slightest clue as to what the square root of nine was, this was like knowing the solution to Fermat's Last Theorem. And that is why I held Maria in such distant awe. I picked up her kerchief each time it fluttered down from her desk; I walked her home on Saturdays, after the scripture lessons; I remember even sharing an ice cream with her one tumultuous afternoon behind the Auckland Square. It was the summer of '62 and the world was much younger, and I suspect I was in love.

Some years later, we all finished school and went our different ways. I quietly entered the portals of Scottish Church College and Maria took the train to Kharagpur, armed with a first class school leaving certificate and determined to seek a destiny for herself. I kissed her goodbye at the railway station—and we parted, both with dreams in our eyes, aware that a brave new world was waiting for us, somewhere outside.

Then came Mita, Sumita, Munmun and Rina in quick succession and the memories of Maria dimmed, as they were inevitably destined to. After a year, the letters stopped and that was the last I heard from her. Not being overmuch concerned with the past, I forgot all about her. Till last year.

It was in Cochin that I met Maria again, staring down at me from a poster 20 inch by 30 inch high, wearing nothing very much more substantial than a G string and a sequined bra in very brave colours. This was in the lobby of the hotel where I was staying and she was performing at the restaurant under the improbable name of Miss Chasme-Baddoor or something like that, I forget exactly what it was. The poster described her as the hottest property east of the Suez and claimed, among other things, that she was scintillating, firebrand and ferocious, whatever that may mean.

For me it meant quite a substantial sum of money down the drain. The restaurant was darklit and slummy. The food was forgettable and I was shortchanged on my whiskey. And Maria, alas, was a terrible letdown. She came in, like a gladiator on skates, to a crescendo of drums, stood in a tattered red spotlight in the centre of the floor and dropped almost instantly the long silk robe she was wearing. Very soon she dropped a great deal more to the sensuous urging of drums and the hoarse whispers of two lecherous-looking Arabs in a neighbouring table.

Even the most imaginative of my enemies would not call me a prude; but I must confess that Maria left me totally unmoved, and not because she refused to recognise me in the stammering strobes. There was something utterly boring about the entire show, starting with the long silk robe. And much as she tried—and Maria tried very hard indeed, I must confess—she



Off stage: the show goes on

looked neither lewd nor nude; all she looked was somewhat pathetic and I kept remembering the misty-eyed face at the window of the railway compartment many years back as the whistle pierced the dark and the train limped away into the night.

There was something quite wholesome and sexless about the entire show: the wriggling, the callisthenics, the synthetic come-hither looks, the clashing of cymbals, the dropping of sequined briefs in the purple spotlight, the clatter of knives and forks as *randoori* chickens kept disappearing on company entertainment accounts, the hushed whispers and Maria's pathetic efforts at panting and simulating the sex act all by herself. At the best of times, any woman looks ridiculous doing by herself what she should be doing with a man in unison. But there, in the tattered spotlight, she looked even worse. Occasionally she would sidle up to an old, harmless-looking man and sit down on his lap, oblivious of the dirty looks from his wife. She would ask someone else, equally safe and decrepit, to unhook a bra or open a bikini knot and then, with the crescendo of drums, she would drop the bit of clothing and move on. It was all too well-practised, too glib and unimaginative—even up to the dropping of the last stitch, at the lure of the petrodollars dressed in qafans and kaffiyehs on my left. Maria always knew her mathematics well!

Maria. Eve. Viola. Delilah. Gorgonzola Cheese or Chasme-Baddoor. They keep changing their names all the while on the night club circuit—moving from one city to another; from one sleazy nightclub to another, equally garish, with plastic chandeliers and tinsel flowers, where the applause is as inauthentic as the tales they tell of broken homes, impoverished upbringings and cancer-ridden fathers dying for want of medicine. If you have the fortune—good or bad, depending on the way you look at it—of persuading one of these delightful ladies of the night to spend some time with you, be sure of one thing: with the slightest encouragement she would be telling you one of those thousand and one hard luck tales she has in her repertoire, would touch you for a quick buck and then disappear into the night, looking for another flatfooted platypus who would fall for her soft-ware.

I have not known too many of them but my experience tells me that even if I did I would never find the *filmi* stereotypes: the whore with the golden heart; the naive country girl seduced by the big city lights; the poverty-stricken lass trying her best to buy the next phial of medicine for her bed-ridden mother in the hovel; the Laila who wants to forget her past, the desertions and the heartbreaks; the dumb beauty kidnapped in her adolescence from some village in Bihar; the classic *devadasi*, schooled



from childhood into the intricate art of cabaret by her performing mother; the lonely, unhappy woman trapped by her circumstances in a world of sin and sorrow. All this is hogwash. Our Meena Kumaris and Rekhas have slogged for years—together with our Helens, Bindus and Padma Khannas—to perpetuate this myth of the waylost woman, hurt and lonely, savaged by a ruthless world lusting for her body and yet clinging on to the truest traditions of Indian womanhood—suffering, and enjoying this suffering on a massive 70 mm screen, larger than life, with the walling coming through in stereophonic. As an excellent example of truth following fiction, most of the cabaret girls have come to believe in these stereotypes themselves. They effortlessly assume roles, alter backgrounds, drop their pasts with the same ease with which they drop their bras, and see themselves as long-suffering objects of both social and male exploitation.

But I have, frankly, seen many more men being exploited in this kind of game. Suckers for sentiment, they are invariably trapped by one of these wily lasses peddling a hard luck tale, and then begins the traumatic tussle between his harridan of a wife and this huckstress of a woman. Fireworks fly. Reputations are mauled. Frenzied scenes take place in respectable drawing rooms and not so respectable dance floors, till the man either dies of heart attack or escapes to the Bahamas. And then the women fight over his remains! I know of several such friends of mine, whose only fault was to invite a cabaret girl up to his hotel room for a nightcap. The rest is history. Rather morbid history at that.

The other day I met Shefali, after what seemed like many ages. She looked tired and well past the age when a woman should be romping around on the stage in the kind of funny costumes these cabaret girls wear. She is no Liza Minnelli and the farthest she has ever gone is into Satyajit Ray films—and she tells you this at the slightest opportunity, within precisely three minutes of any conversation, whether you are discussing *Aimez Vous Brahms* with her or Teilhard de Chardin. Even if you were not discussing Teilhard de Chardin with her, you would find her an interesting woman—intelligent, hard-working and unpretentious. She has no false notions about what she's in the business for and that is why she sounds credible and serious. That is also why she is doing so well on both the nightclub and the theatre circuit, where, despite her age, tyres and the fact that she's been around for as far back as you can remember, she is still considered *numero uno*.

You should see her flat. Down Circus Avenue, a little further down the road from the Bangladesh High Commission, on the other side, in a pale yellow building that has seen better days. She's on the second floor, with a demented neighbour next door who calls every person in, to tell him the story of his life. Her flat is so dark that



even in the daytime you need the lights on. People of the night prefer it that way, I guess. A thin, diaphanous white curtain splits the dark room into two—one for sitting; the other side crowds in an oversized dining table. Prominent on the wall, you will see a Marubeni calendar with exquisite geishas moving in and out of soft focus. *Great Expectations* and *Pride and Prejudice* rub shoulders in her bookcase, in expensive library editions. There's a photograph of Sai Baba on one dwarfed almirah and a rather macabre painting of Kali on another, with a thin, jasmine garland callously draping one edge of the frame. Further down, if you draw aside the diaphanous curtain or even if you

TAPAKA BANERJEE

Two faces of Miss I



TANAPADA BANERJEE

don't, you will see many of her own photographs lining the wall—with one of, strangely enough, an ex-Governor of this state! Looking down on all this is, predictably, Rabindranath Tagore with his flowing white beard reaching down to the only door through which light creeps into the room, however hesitantly.

There are countless young, attractive girls flitting in and out of the room, offering tea and picking up the empty cups. All of them, I am told, live there. Her friends. And at almost any given time you will find the drawing room packed with people waiting for a *darshan*: someone wants to put up a show; someone else wants her to act in his film or his play; someone perhaps wants something else. They are all there, waiting for her to emerge from the dark innards of her bedroom—to spare a date or spurn a request, to smile her acquiescence or frown in displeasure. Small-time directors, photographers, chisellers, favour-seekers, some boorish fool with wads of notes in his pocket—they are all there.

She usually has a friend with her if you are from the press. And he fields the questions, wearing a shirt with Christian Dior mis-spelt on its pocket. He is slightly foolish to look at—again, perhaps predictably—but he is respectful in ample measure to both outsiders and the lady of the house. I am always with her, he whispers confidentially to anyone who cares to listen but never sounds particularly convincing. Before him, a well-known Calcutta photographer played this role for a couple of years before, by Archimedes' Principle, he was displaced by the man with the Christian Dior shirt.

Miss J, on the other hand, is quite different. She is younger and looks it too. One hears she has been going steady with a nightclub musician for many years. This lends her respectability in a profession where transi-

ence is the norm. Her residence is in the very heart of the Rajabazar *basti* (slum) and she lives in a tumbledown house that looks right out of a Mrinal Sen film. You enter through the doorway where the doors are missing and the first thing you see in the central courtyard is an old woman bathing stark naked in the community bath, right under an open sky.

To reach Miss J's room on the first floor, you have to climb up a broken staircase that would put the Tughlak ruins to shame. It is dark, dangerous and stupid to attempt it during load shedding. The most insidious ray of sunshine has never reached that staircase, even during its heydays—you can sense that, feeling the damp of decades, watching the moss in the crevices, the broken stones. Even at mid-day you have to feel your way up, and you could effortlessly miss a step or break an ankle without really trying. You wonder how Miss J manages to negotiate its dangerous curves at midnight, particularly in her green-glass stiletto heels.

It requires much more than just poverty to live in a place like this. It needs guts and an elemental love for life. And this is what Miss J seems to have in ample measure. That's why, I am told, she is the fastest climber on the cabaret circuit—despite her conservative, old world Bengali upbringing. The upbringing that is so poignantly reflected in the place where she lives, where her helpful neighbours speak highly of her and will always keep a message for you if she is away.

It is not just Miss J who is accepted so well by her conservative, north Calcutta neighbours. Cabaret has found a massive following in this city. I know of charming octogenarians travelling all the way in overcrowded buses to the theatre district in the north to catch a glimpse of a cleavage or watch the baring of a well-rounded thigh. Retired school marms, old Sanskrit pundits, lecherous Bihari cops, grand-

aunts with an itch and stern spinsters caterwauling through their twilight years—sometime or the other, they all reach Bishwarupa or Circarina, Pratap or Kashi Biswanath Mancha to satisfy their innate voyeuristic tendencies suppressed by social taboos and personal inhibitions. By moving away, slowly but surely, from the Park Street restaurant circuit to the professional Bengali stage in the north, cabaret has found itself Fort Knox—a much, much wider audience and a damned sight more money. And all those who were hesitant to go to an expensive, fashionable restaurant to watch a flash of legs or a sumptuous bosom now find it much simpler, cheaper and more respectable to buy a five rupee ticket and walk into a theatre hall north of the city. The middle class pretence at respectability remains intact; the equally natural human curiosity for desires of the flesh are fulfilled, without any self-doubts, qualms or moral anxieties. In fact, given half a chance, the audience will wax eloquent on the artistic merits or demerits of the play—a typical cultural pastime for the Bengali middle class.

A friend of mine, Mukul claims he has an unmarried aunt who tips the scales at around 300 pounds and has remained unmarried for the better part of her 60-odd years, who makes it a point to see every play in town with a cabaret sequence, not once but several times. Be it at Star or Minerva, Bishwarupa or Mahajati Sadan. Each time, she sees a bit more. And the hope that one day she will see a woman stark naked prancing around on the stage continues to inspire this matron's journeys into the north. She goes along, when she cannot persuade Mukul to join her; sits cross-legged on the chair, or tries to, as much as is feasible; and then, stuffs herself with goodies like vegetable chops and devilled eggs while watching Shefali's callisthenics. This is the typical syndrome, the kind of people who flock to the theatre in search of cabaret and cheap thrills,



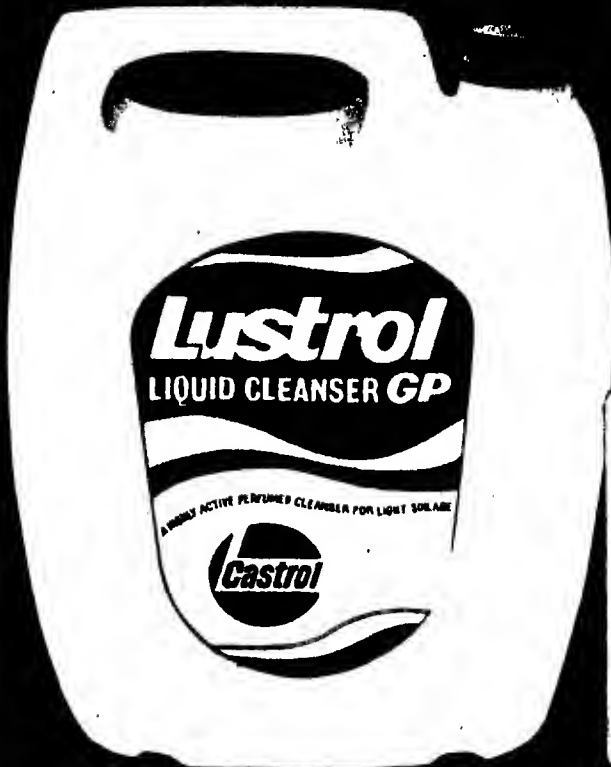
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plete moral upheaval. Even the arrival
of Sarat Chatterjee on the literary
scene did not spell such a dramatic
change in the sexual mores of the
bourgeoisie. And yet everything is
under wraps. Theatre—the opiate of
the masses—is the pretext. Bird-
watching becomes a cultural exercise.

Meanwhile, the coarsest of lan-
guage enters the stage. The choicest
epithets are exchanged at the slightest
pretext. Bras keep unhooking for one
reason or the other. Conscience comes
onstage in the sparsest of clothing. Sly
innuendos; sexual leitmotifs; cheap
thrills galore. It's all great fun. The
turnstiles keep clicking while middle-
aged aunts, mothers-in-law on broom-
sticks and venerated grand-uncles sud-
denly discover that beyond their rep-
ressed universe exists the exciting,
lascivious and riproaring world of the
cabaret—delightfully sinful, out-
rageously outre. In the process, the
company executive with his entertain-
ment account has lost the keys to the
kingdom. The big, bad world of night-
time entertainment is slowly losing out
in the furious rat-race. The stage is
collecting all the lucre.

This is quite different from the
West, where the stage and the night
clubs often peddle the same erotica—
but differently. *Hair* or *O Calcutta*, to
take two celebrated examples, offered
a lot of nudity onstage. But the theatre
could never woo away night club audi-
ences—just as the zaniest night club
erotica could never woo away, let's
say, audiences from the blue movie
theatres. The Reeperbahn has its own
clientele; so has the Chez Andres. In
some glorious way they all celebrate
the body beautiful! And there's no
stigma attached to any of them.



NEMAI GHOSH

A friend of mine who spent a few
years in the cabaret circuit final-
ly made enough money to buy herself
a penthouse apartment and respect-
ability. So she quit the game, married a
quiet tea estate manager somewhere
in the Dooars, and went off to bear fruit
some children and enjoy the scenery.
Years later, she came back to Calcutta
with her husband and three children
and settled down in her flat some-
where south of the city, hoping against
hope that people would have forgotten
her by now. This was all the more
important for her because her hus-
band, though otherwise a liberal, knew
nothing of her background, particu-
larly her night club years. Four years
later, she met one of her casual para-
mours from the past—who, coin-
cidentally, happened to be her hus-
band's third cousin or clerk, or some-
thing as remote. The marriage instan-
tly collapsed and the language outside
the courthouse should have been
heard to be believed.

This is what happens. This is what
straps the cabaret artiste to her wheel
of fire. She knows that there is no real
getting away from it—even though
some of them often dream of escape
from the drudgery of their lives. The
past will inevitably catch up with you
sometime, their friends, colleagues
and professional associates warn
them. And more often than not, it
does. There is no place so far away
that you can hide there safely for an
entire lifetime. At some stage you will
come out—and there will be someone
there to recognise you from among the
millions who see your shows and ap-
plaud. On the other hand, there are
few men who will marry a cabaret girl,
knowing and accepting her past. The
social sanctions are far too severe.

So, unless you can retire with a neat
package, you will have to go downhill
with age. And we all know where *that*
road leads to. The cabaret girls know it
too, all too well. They live under its
shadow through all their colourful
years, knowing fully well that one day
the muscles will tire, the sinews will
yearn for rest. They know that some
day the applause will die down and
even as the wrinkles on their faces
grow deeper and the crow's feet
around their eyes spread their dark-
ness, they will have to search for new
securities, new dreams. Once you have
reached the top, there is only one way
you can go. Downhill.

That may explain the furious pace
of their lives, the frenetic zeal to make
as much of their present as they possi-
bly can. The alternative is too terrible
to live with, consciously. Somewhere
on that bookshelf in Shefali's darklit
drawing room lies the truth of their
lives—sandwiched between *Great Ex-
pectations* and *Pride and Prejudice*, a
strange loneliness, waylost and wound-
ed. The loneliness of women who
stooped to conquer and discovered
that no conquest was ever possible, in
this imperfect world of ours. That once
you flick a *khota sikka* you must be
prepared to have damnation written
on both sides.

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"Who will marry girls like us!"

Miss Chaitali



NEHA GHOSH

MISS SHEFALI—Shefali Das in real life—is certainly the prima donna among cabaret artistes in Calcutta and by far the most successful. A refugee from erstwhile East Pakistan (she is yet to get over her East Bengali accent), she now lives alone in a central Calcutta apartment. Her parents live in Sodepur in 24 Parganas. She has now moved away from the restaurant circuit and is determined to become a stage artiste. She is also planning to open a dance school, "though not solely for cabaret." But, she admits ruefully, this may not be possible. "It may not succeed for people have made Shefali and vulgarity synonymous," she says with startling honesty.

MISS BOBBY (her off-stage name is Rina Bhattacharya) is a popular cabaret artiste, though not at the top. She lives with her parents in a comfortable house in central Calcutta. Her sister, too, is a cabaret dancer, frequently appearing in the smaller

hotels of Calcutta, while her two brothers have taken to acting. "Our family is devoted to the performing arts," says Miss Bobby. Like Shefali, she too intends to start a dance school and has already started giving lessons to aspiring cabaret dancers in her apartment. But, unlike Shefali, she does not intend to make a career on the Bengali stage as she feels she has been given raw deals on two occasions by producers. Sometimes she moves out of Calcutta: "I have made a bit of a name in Delhi where I am paid handsomely," she says.

MISS J or Jayashree Sarkar comes after Shefali and Bobby in the popularity ratings. She was among the first cabaret dancers to venture onto the Bengali stage. "Remember it was I who first appeared on the stage wearing a two-piece. Before Shefali, I was in Rashbharari Sarkar's *Chowringhee*...He didn't allow me to appear in actual cabaret costumes. Then one day, without tell-

ing him, I amazed the audience, and him, with my dazzling two-piece. When I returned to the green room, Mr Sarkar was too stunned to say anything, she says proudly. Miss J who hails from the Barishal district of Bangladesh, does not have any desire to become an actress and as, she admits, she does not have the necessary talent. "I am content with remaining a cabaret star," she says. But she knows that her days as a dancer cannot last for ever and she has already started saving for her old age. "Who will marry girls like us," she laments.

MISS JEMY (Rakhi Mukherjee to her friends) used to dance in a central Calcutta hotel but gave up dancing in restaurants when she was asked to strip on stage. "Being someone's wife (she is married to a government employee), I could not go that far and finally gave up that line," she says. She lives with her husband and two children in Baranagar. She now has her own troupe—Casanova—and appears regularly in cabaret programmes at Calcutta's Ordnance Club. But her family does not depend solely on her earnings: "Yes, my earnings help the family but that does not mean that we will go unfed if I stop dancing." And she might well give up dancing, ("for people think that in our real lives we are as cheap as we appear to be on stage").

MISS CHAITALI (Chaitali Das off-stage), is Shefali's sister-in-law and a newcomer to the commercial theatre. She is yet to make an appearance on the restaurant circuit. A housewife from Sodepur (24 Parganas), she is earning to look after her child, husband and in-laws. And her relatives do not mind. "They have no inhibitions about my appearing scantily clad on stage." It is also her love for the theatre that has drawn her to performing on stage. She will do anything that the play demands and hopes to get important roles one day.

Miss J

Miss Bobby



NEHA GHOSH

JUST R CITIES BURN?

□ 15 January 1972. At around 8.45 pm a fire breaks out in the 20-storeyed State Bank of India's administrative building in Backbay Reclamation, Bombay. It is first noticed on the fifth floor but soon spreads to the 19th floor. By the time it is finally put down four and half hours later, the fire has taken its toll: four firemen die fighting the blaze.

□ 16 January 1974. In the early hours of the morning a fire breaks out in the five-storeyed Central Bank of India Building at BBD Bagh, Calcutta's busy office area. Though firemen arrive shortly, it takes about ten hours to bring the fire under control. Not only is the building completely destroyed, two officers die trying to rescue some of the documents from the building.

□ 11 July 1975. At around eight pm a fire is noticed on the 11th floor of the 14-storeyed Life Insurance Corporation Building on Mount Road, Madras. At once the fire brigade is informed. But it takes full 36 hours before the last embers of fire, which had by then destroyed most of the building, die down, in spite of 40 fire fighting units and 300 men being on the job.

□ 28 July 1979. A fire is noticed on the sixth floor of the Jeevan Deep building on Middleton Street, Calcutta. The time is around four in the afternoon. Firemen arrive shortly but the remaining five floors on top have caught fire. The fire is finally brought under control by 18 fire engines three hours later. By this time the sixth floor is completely gutted.

□ 3 March 1980. A fire is noticed at around 6.45 pm at the one of the four godowns of the Central Medical Stores in Rabindra Sadan in Calcutta. The fire brigade is informed. Firemen find it difficult to approach the interior of the godown, surrounded by high walls and narrow gates. Eventually, the fire is brought down by 18 fire engines using 15 pumps and 15 jets at 10.30 pm. But an entire block of the godown complex is by then completely gutted.

□ 9 March 1980. At around four in the afternoon, a fire breaks out in the Patna station of All India Radio. The fire rages for three hours completely destroying five recording and broadcasting studios and two dubbing rooms before it is put out by six fire fighting units after firemen manage to reach the interior of the building braving the smoke and the flames. The total loss to property is estimated at Rs one crore.

□ 29 June 1981. At three in the morning a powerman on duty at the power station of the Supreme Court, Delhi, sees smoke coming out of the record room on the ground floor of the Court. He immediately rushes to the guard room to inform the guard, who in turn informs the firemen. Three hours later the fire is brought under control. But the entire record of disposed cases lying in the record room has been burnt to cinders and five court rooms, including the Chief Justice's court, have been extensively damaged.

Jeevan Deep
building in Calcutta

CALCUTTA

If could happen to you. You could be in one of those blazing buildings and be burnt to cinders along with the furniture. Recent fires have proved that buildings in most Indian cities are veritable death traps. The nightmare of the *Towering Inferno* is a reality lurking around the corner and the existing fire fighting arrangements in our cities can do nothing to prevent it.

Why are our cities so helpless against the onslaught of fire? Recently, one fire could not be put out because fire engines could not get to it; the road was blocked! In another instance a building was gutted because there was no water in the hydrants. The fire in the *Hindustan Times* building in Delhi in February 1980 illustrates all the problems tellingly. First, safety devices were hidden behind cupboards and could not be traced and hydrants were equally inaccessible due to carelessness. Had the fire broken out on a higher floor and had the building no water supply of its own, the fire would have become a classic disaster story.

What then is the solution? As any fireman will tell you, it lies first in scrupulously sticking to safety regulations, which are now blatantly ignored. The authorities are of course responsible for implementing the various fire safety regulations but residents and the housebuilders should abide by them in their own interest; for their lives are at stake.

But even if all rules are adhered to, fire risks will remain because fire-fighting facilities in our big cities, which are rapidly sprouting high-rise buildings, are totally inadequate. For example, fire-fighting equipment available with the Calcutta fire brigade can reach only up to eight storeys but the corporation merrily allows much taller buildings to be built. This makes a few actions imperative: first, a new emphasis should be laid on incorporating internal fire-fighting facilities and plans for rapid evacuation of buildings; second, vastly stricter checks should be carried out on whether fire safety precautions incorporated in sanctioned plans are in fact implemented; and, lastly, fire services should be reequipped and modernised most urgently.

S. Samanta, a fire official who fought the Jeevan Deep building fire in July 1979, recalls the difficulties firemen had to face: the main entrance to the building was shut, firemen had to break open windows to enter; though there was a main rising, its tapping valve in the sixth floor had been hidden by an almirah and could hardly be used; the lifts did not work and firemen had to climb six floors with heavy pump sets to fight the blaze; firemen burst into smoke-clogged rooms without wearing any masks simply because they did not have any.

THE alarm bell ringing with sudden urgency deafens all other sound. From the director's room, to the barracks at the far end, to the offices on the first floor, the bell reverberates everywhere in Calcutta's huge fire brigade headquarter complex. The effect is electric. The station officer-in-charge, leaving his sentence half complete, picks up his helmet and gumboots, and rushes to the control room. Firemen on the top floors slide down a gleaming brass pole beside the staircase; the stairs are avoided to save time. Panting men scurry from the barracks. In less than the mandatory 30 seconds the engine is off to attend yet another fire call, yet another battle against "impossible odds."

"Impossible odds, yes," stresses Mr. K. K. Dasgupta, director, West Bengal Fire Services, "because, firstly, there is no water in the city to fight the fires. It's a miracle, I think, that Calcutta has survived so long. I can't imagine how we would face a fire as big as the one that erupted in south Bombay recently." But water is not the only factor crippling Calcutta's fire services. Dasgupta lists a horde of other reasons which are responsible for incapacitating the eastern metro's fire brigade. The city's legendary traffic congestion, for one, erases such thoughts as making it to the spot on time. And fire calls themselves are delayed, thanks to the sorry telephone network. "The city's infrastructure to fight a fire has entirely collapsed," sums up the exasperated director "And what's worse, we just can't do anything about it."

The collapse began decades back. For well over a hundred years a very efficient, very elaborate hydrant network, ready with highly pressurised water, served the city, considerably stamping out fire risks. Every street corner, every ward had at least one hydrant installed at a strategic point; in all there were 2,700 of them within the corporation limits. Besides being utilised by the fire brigade, the corporation used the hydrants to wash the city's streets. But that was a long time back.

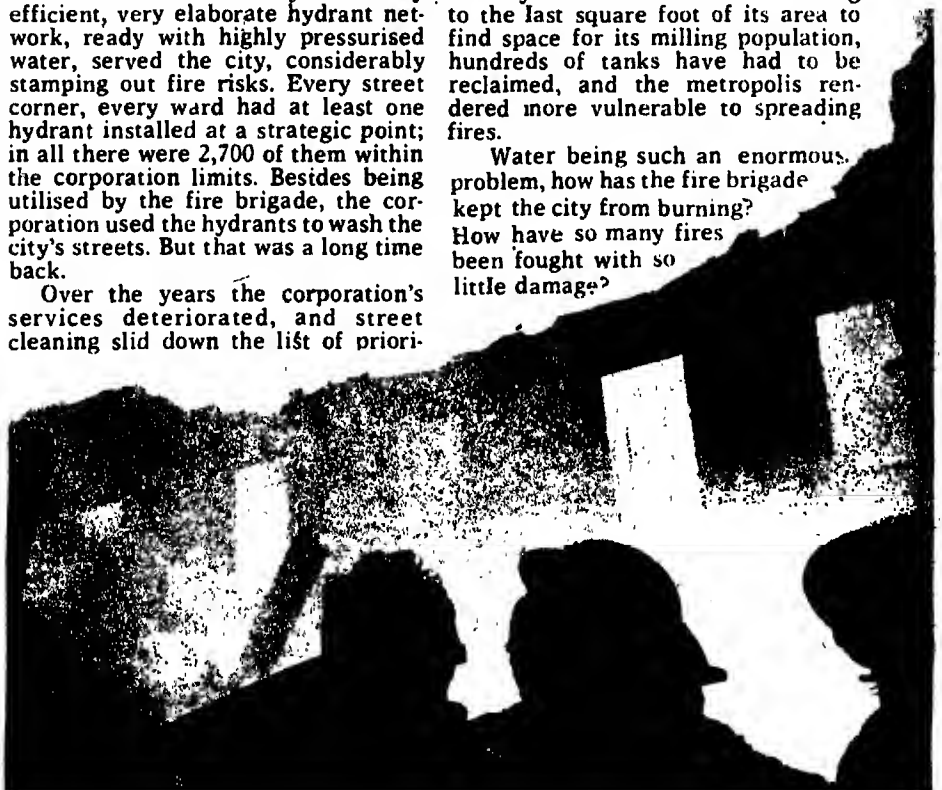
Over the years the corporation's services deteriorated, and street cleaning slid down the list of priori-

ties. The hydrants consequently fell into disuse and disrepair, and repeated complaints to the corporation from the fire authorities did little to help matters. But worse was to follow. With the growth of slums, slum-dwellers looked to the hydrants as a solution to their water supply problem. They broke the hydrants open, damaging the valves and couplings and rendering them absolutely useless, for the fire services' needs. But even those hydrants that work today cannot be used sometimes. Why? Mr Sachin Senguta, OC of the main Calcutta fire station said: "Often, even though there are working hydrants located conveniently, we cannot use them, for the hawkers stall would then have to be dismantled, and that, well..."

The fire services had some years back submitted a scheme to the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA), the agency engaged in a last-ditch struggle to save India's largest city, to install 6,000 new hydrants. The CMDA consented, as an experimental first stage to build only 100, and of those only 48 have come up so far. These are large modern hydrants, says a fire official, but the problem is that they are fed by the older pipelines which are narrow and so can't rush up as much water as the hydrants are built for. Another problem: the hydrants are all fed with unfiltered water leading to the clogging of valves and damage fire equipment by the silt in the water.

Hydrants apart, the other primary source of water for the fire brigade had been the ponds and lakes dotting the city. But with Calcutta stretching to the last square foot of its area to find space for its milling population, hundreds of tanks have had to be reclaimed, and the metropolis rendered more vulnerable to spreading fires.

Water being such an enormous problem, how has the fire brigade kept the city from burning? How have so many fires been fought with so little damage?





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RANBAXY'S GARLIC PEARLS The natural way to all-round health

Warehouses, chocked with a maddening variety of stores, including inflammable chemicals erupt in flames every other week. And there have been major fires in so many of the city's buildings during the past few years—the multistorey Jeevan Deep on the Chowringhee, at the Oberoi Grand, the Central Bank office at Dalhousie Square.

The way out has always been to requisition far more fire tenders than should have been necessary, and thus often imperilling other areas of the city. It isn't uncommon, for instance, for 20 or more fire engines (the city has about 50 engines in all) to fight

one fire, when with adequate water sources, only five would have been sufficient. Each fire engine has a water tank, holding between 400 and 600 gallons, and in the absence of hydrants, it is this tank water that the firemen use. "This is no way to put out a blaze. Can you imagine what will happen if two major fires erupt at the same time?" asked a troubled Dasgupta.

Besides water, the other problems faced by Calcutta fire service range from telephone to power cuts. About 15 years ago, the city had a network of what are called fire alarm pillars—a hotline system linked to the fire sta-

tions. A glass covering had only to be broken and a handle inside the pillar turned, and the fire bell would ring in the fire station. "It was an excellent system," recalled one fire official. But this, like the hydrant, fell victim to Calcutta's pretty thieves. By the '70s none of the pillars were left intact.

Besides, the Calcutta Fire Brigade suffers from another serious handicap—lack of modern fire-fighting equipment—a disadvantage shared by other fire service departments in India.

Partha Banerjee

BOMBAY

Bombay with its 8.1 million population and over 437 sq kms area presents an enormous challenge to the city's 800 firemen. As the slim, smartly turned-out fire chief Meherwanjee says, from a large number of high-rise stone and concrete buildings in the south to the mainly wooden framed and closely built century-old residential and commercial premises in Kalbadevi, Mumbadevi, Bhuleshwar, Vadgadi, Bhat Bazar area and from the large number of textile mills in central Bombay to a wide variety of medium and heavy industries in the suburbs and extended suburbs, every conceivable fire situation is contained in Greater Bombay with its vast harbour, massive airport complex, two large-sized oil refineries, gigantic fertiliser factory, atomic energy establishment and thermal power station at Trombay. What the fire chief very modestly does not talk about is the illegal storage of inflammable goods in godowns that are overlooked, perhaps for a price, by the municipal corporation or government agency in charge of inspection, or residents, particularly of high-rise buildings, who don't seem to care about the internal fire-fighting system of the buildings.

Two of the recent major fires highlight the main dangers that the citizens face. One was the fire in Dantad Street, in the city's overcrowded Mohnadati Road area which started in a godown owned by a transport company. The fire spread rapidly, having started from the chemicals stored in the godowns and engulfed within a few minutes about a dozen buildings. Nine people were charred to death including three firemen who

were crushed under the debris. The casualties were not higher, because water was available got from nearby wells.

In the case of the Vaibhav building fire on Warden Road, the apartments on the 17th and 18th floor, belonging to actress Mumtaz, were reduced to cinders. The servants who looked after the house were not aware of the fire in a corner of the sprawling apartment. It was a resident in a building 300 yards away who spotted the fire and called the fire brigade. One reason why the damage was total was the fact that the fire-fighting equipment in the building had corroded due to lack of maintenance. As Mr Vasant Nigam, the deputy fire chief said, "People spend lakhs on interior decoration of flats and constructions of buildings but they don't want to spend Rs 20 a month to look after the fire fighting equipment and keep it in readiness. The apathy of the citizens is appalling." Residents of high-rise buildings often blame the fire brigade for not having ladders to reach higher than 45 metres. Fighting fires in skyscrapers, however, is different. There are two important aspects to be observed: one is having safeguarding measures of extinguishing fires during the planning of the building and second an in-built fire protection system. In a majority of skyscrapers in the city, these rules are not observed and the building bylaws as they exist today do not provide for penal action for habitual offenders.

Water is also scarce in the city. Water is available for barely one to two hours a day and that too is staggering throughout the city. The result is

that the water mains are never charged and water is never available immediately when it is needed to quell a fire. When the alarm rings at the fire station, the firemen immediately get into a drill which involves informing and alerting all the concerned essential departments like waterworks, electricity, gas etc. and in less than a few seconds the firemen are on their way to the 'hot' spot, many of them clinging precariously to the vehicle while putting on their uniforms.

However essential, Bombay just cannot afford to keep the mains supplied with water throughout the day. One way of getting round this major handicap is the proposal of the Bombay Fire Brigade (BFB) to have a fleet of 1,000 gallon tankers ranging between 7,000 to 9,000 litres, which arrive on the spot as soon as the fire brigade is summoned. The BFB has five tankers of 1,000 gallon capacity and are to get 26 in a year's time. Included in the BFB's equipment are two hydraulic platforms commonly referred to as snorkel ladders and two more are expected shortly. They are imported and cost around Rs 67 lakhs each. There are 19 fire stations in the city and plans are afoot to set up some more stations in the suburbs. Stations are already being set up in Marol and Malad.

Bombay is a chaotic city for the fireman and in most cases it is the human element that is the cause of devastating fires. But strangely, fire chief Meherwanjee says "There is no cause for alarm."

Olga Tellis

The Shantinath Silk Mills in Surat after the fire



DELHI

Nearly 80 per cent of the high-rise buildings in the nation's capital are unsafe—if a fire once breaks out, it will be difficult to stop it from spreading. Most of Delhi's old, crackling government buildings are also potentially dangerous. Imperial remnants like the Rashtrapati Bhavan, the magnificent North and South blocks with their maze of corridors and more lately, buildings like Shastri Bhavan could go down like the proverbial pack of cards in case of a fire. Even if they do have the requisite fire preventive arrangements, these are ill-maintained and for all practical purposes useless. And the mountains of files are good fuel for the fire.

Delhi has potential towering infernos in the high-rise buildings which are cropping up like mushrooms in the centre of the city. Most of them do not have the required certificates of the Fire Brigade. Firemen consider it a miracle that there has not been the kind of fires which one sees in the disaster films these days. "The DDA (Delhi Development Authority) looks the other way... they close their eyes and pass the buildings without our certificates," claimed a disgruntled fire official. And this despite the fact that in 1976, there was a draft buildings bylaw for the Union territory of Delhi which formulated certain additional fire safety and prevention arrangements.

Before 1976, there were no rules or bylaws and the fire officials were not consulted by promoters or the local bodies. But the decade of the Seventies saw a few major fires in high-rise buildings like the one in the State Bank in Bombay and the LIC in Madras. The decade also saw the high-rise boom in Delhi, when the city started to grow vertically as well. The panel to formulate the '76 bylaws was constituted by the Indian Standards Institute and had as its members such organisations as the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, the DDA and the Public Works Department.

By palm-greasing, influential contractors and real estate promoters found their way around this legislation which requires the enforcement of a certain number of fire safety measures.

Fire brigade officials believe that at least four per cent of the cost of construction of the buildings should be spent on fire protection measures. Strangely enough, the emphasis on aesthetics can prove detrimental. Luxurious carpets, plastic material and fibre glass furniture are highly combustible. Instead, fire officials maintain, money could be spent on smoke-stop doors and lobbies and on automatic fire breaks. High-rise buildings are required to have such built-in arrangements as wet risers, automatic sprinkler and drencher systems, automatic carbon dioxide systems and automatic fire alarm systems. The fire should be detected at an incipient stage with the help of these devices and contained immediately. Delhi's fire brigade officials also insist that high-rise buildings should have a well-

oiled evacuation system, including public address systems to tell residents how to make their way out when a fire breaks out. Again, skyscrapers should also have automatic alternate power supply arrangements to provide power to fire pumps and fire lifts.

The real miracle, given the precarious nature of fire-safety measures, is the fact that no major disaster has yet taken place, that the last major fire was in the timber market in Pahar Ganj in which there was a Rs one million loss of property, but no lives were lost. "These high-rise buildings are a place for mass cremation if you ask me," says a frustrated fire official. "There will only be an awakening after it happens...it is like locking the house after the thieves have fled." Hotels, too, are potential fire hazards. More frightening is the fact that even hospitals are not adequately protected, except perhaps the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. The consequences of a major fire in a hospital are too terrifying to imagine.

Sometimes, even when the requisite fire prevention measures exist they are not used properly. For instance, the Palika Bazaar underground market in the heart of Connaught Circus has all the devices, but the sensors of the automatic fire system placed in the ceiling are often covered by show pieces or false ceilings by the shopkeepers. Negligence and the use of substandard construction materials are other causes of fires in Delhi. "In winter, the heaters are put on, in summer the air conditioners. Now if

the electricity were to go off in a government office, the staff would leave as usual, probably forgetting about switching things off. The stationery, files, etc are all there. A fire is not impossible," says a fireman who often has to visit government buildings on such calls. Moreover, the fire extinguishers are in such damaged conditions in the government offices that they fail to work in an emergency.

There is another problem firemen face in Delhi which is also faced by firemen in other metropolitan cities: they are dependent on the main water supply, which is as unreliable as the monsoon. In many areas the main water supply is cut off during a major part of the day. If for instance a fire were to break out during this time in Ajmeri Gate, it would take at least 20 minutes for the water to travel from Jhandewallah to Ajmeri Gate after the water supply has been turned on. Fire hydrants are, oddly enough, connected to the drinking mains. There are however 250 underground static tanks for exclusive use of the fire brigade.

Delhi's fire fighters are now facing a new obstacle: the fancy community centres or piazzas which have steps leading up to them. There is no way for the fire engines to clamber up the steps—real life is not a stunt movie—to the buildings in the interior. The community centres in Vasant Vihar, and Nehru Place are not approachable because of the piazzas.

Madhu Jain

MADRAS

The LIC building fire in Madras, which was compared to the fire disaster of 1930 involving oil tankers in the Royapuram area, underlined the fact that fire fighting facilities in the city were not only antiquated but also inadequate. The fire service in the city is now richer by a snorkel—a huge fire fighting unit has been imported from the UK, which has a reach of up to about 125 feet. The number of fire stations has also been increased. It now has a relatively better average of one station for a radius of every 50 kms. Fire service officials say that their recommendations to provide at least one station for a radius of every 25 kms would be met over the next few years.

Shortage of water has often been a handicap to fire fighting. In the recent fire which destroyed a part of the Spencer's building, the snorkel unit, which arrived on the scene of the fire 15 minutes after it was reported, took more than an hour to operate effectively. Even with its three hydraulic holding ladders stretched fully, the snorkel proved unequal to its task and its performance was further hampered because of shortage of refill water. In both these major fires (Spencer's building and the LIC) lack of readily available water proved a handicap in preventing the fire from spreading. At least in the

case of the fire in the Spencer's building, high-reaching ladders were not needed but it is doubtful whether, even with the facilities available today, a multi-storeyed building like the LIC can survive a fire with minimal losses.

Fire service officials felt that the corporation is not strict in enforcing fire prevention laws. It is mandatory that all multi-storeyed (more than three-storeyed-buildings) store on the terrace two lakh litres of water exclusively for use in the case of a fire in the building. Movie theatres are especially guilty of breaking this rule with impunity. Further, to make water readily available for fire fighting operations, the fire service recommended to the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority (MMDA), a mandatory provision for fire hydrants in busy thoroughfares. Thirty or forty years ago, it was contended, Madras city had 569 fire hydrants. These were systematically removed without being replaced when roads were widened and today only 148 fire hydrants exist. A majority of these are inoperative and the 20 of them which do function are, curiously, located only in the secretariat area.

Ashok Kamath

Indo-Soviet relations may stumble on Afghanistan

In South Asia, the turbulent 1980s opened their score with a bang, both literally and figuratively. The region has already become a focus of superpower interaction. Inevitably, recent developments have churned up the foreign policy moulds of the principal countries in this area. Bilateral relations, friendly as well as hostile, sedulously nurtured over the last two decades or more, are under visible strain of recent happenings. No wonder, the security environment has visibly deteriorated. The situation is in a flux and there are no fixed points any more in terms of national relationships.

Indo-Soviet relations grew from small beginnings in the mid-1950s to their present strength and magnitude. The process survived unscathed the vicissitudes of numerous changes of government leadership in the two countries. But the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan introduced an element which has underlined the basic incompatibility of Indian and Soviet strategic interests unless the process is quickly reversed.

India has taken steps to proclaim her interest in normalising relations with both China and Pakistan, two fixed points of hostile equation in our immediate neighbourhood. This development need not necessarily be to the detriment of Indo-Soviet ties. As a matter of fact, the positive indications from China provide an ideal context for a truly non-aligned foreign policy.

Turning to Pakistan, Mr Agha Shahi takes particular delight in talking of the "two-front situation" that confronts Pakistan—India on the east, the Soviet Union on the west. The formulation is totally fallacious insofar as India is concerned. There is neither a cause nor an issue which should impel India to invade Pakistan. Pakistan's adversary perception of India in the contemporary context is altogether untenable.

The statement made by Mr Shahi to the *Economist* of London envisaging "an Indian grab for the last Pakistani chunk of Kashmir in the north" is a wilful distortion of a manifest reality. Mr Shahi cannot, indeed, be ignorant of the rationale of the prolonged and tortuous negotiations which preceded the de-

lineation of "the line of actual control" in Jammu and Kashmir after the 1971 war. Obviously, it does not suit this man for all seasons to acknowledge a manifest truth. If Pakistan is worried over Indian intentions in regard to Azad Kashmir, then it need do no more than get in touch with New Delhi and learn that whenever Pakistan is willing to formalise the present ground realities in Kashmir by converting the LAC into an international border, India would readily respond.

As for the Soviet threat to Pakistan, the latter's actions do not seem to reflect the concern voiced by its leaders. On the contrary, Pakistan has tended to adopt a course which serves to accentuate the crisis which it avowedly wants to avert.

Dr Henry Kissinger made a "horrible example" of Bhutto because of his refusal to fall in line on the nuclear issue. After giving to his successor what the USA considered "reasonable time" to render satisfaction on its "principal policy concern", the Americans began to tighten the screws on Gen Zia in 1979. Even the humanitarian aspects of economic aid were not considered.

Pakistan insists that there is no quid pro quo between the desperate American effort to release military supplies and provide economic assistance to her. Past behaviour of the USA, however, strongly indicates that this statement does not represent the whole truth. There are enough indications that USA's heart is set on "escalating the cost" of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. That requires that Pakistan should stop queering the pitch by refusing to serve as a conduit for the supply of arms and equipment to the insurgents in Afghanistan.

The more crucial component of the USA strategy in South-West Asia is its resolve to "save" the Gulf for which port facilities on the Mekran coast in Baluchistan are necessary. Now, if Pakistan delivers on this, she will be providing a

There is neither a cause nor an issue which should impel India to invade Pakistan

cause of provocation to the Soviet Union. If on the other hand, if she refuses the USA, the latter would pull the rug from under her feet.

This was the backdrop of foreign minister Narasimha Rao's visit to Pakistan last month. His public statements before he left for Islamabad made it clear that he was not going in search of any specific agreements. Those would come in good time. The objective was to speak out loud and clear India's interest in fostering friendly ties with Pakistan. He was able to deliver the message unambiguously by reiterating the assurance given earlier by Mrs Gandhi last November in the course of a letter to Gen Zia-ul-Haq that India did not covet Pakistani territory, that it respected Pakistan's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty and that it was not insensitive to Pakistan's security concern.

The foreign minister visit to the Soviet Union last month was a natural sequel to the tentative opening made with the Chinese and the determined diplomatic efforts made to reassure Pakistan about India's perception that a strong and stable Pakistan is vital to her own security. India would like to spare no effort to ensure that its divergence with the Soviet role on Afghanistan and efforts for normalization of relations with China do not lead to clouding of Indo-Soviet bilateral relations. Obviously, two will have to play this game and it is important to handle this matter at the highest level lest signals get mixed up.

It is worthwhile to recall that on the conclusion of his talks with Mr Brezhnev and Mr Gromyko in Moscow last year, Mr Narasimha Rao had told the Lok Sabha that "the Soviet Union seemed to have fully understood and respected the views held by India, recognising that it is but natural for a non-aligned country like India to have a different perspective on some international questions." India, naturally, cannot afford to immobilise its diplomatic options by acquiescing into a situation that if she wants to remain friends with the Soviet Union she must maintain the present uneasy state of relations with China.

Tamil Nadu Conversions: A vote against Hindu society

BY SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY



A harijan kid: one among the convert

I first heard of the Meenakshipuram conversions to Islam sometime in April, and was then in two minds whether or not I should visit the place. In a secular society, why should a politician take an interest in conversion from one religion to another? The Hindu in me was urging me to go.

Finally I overcame my political inhibitions, and decided to go to Meenakshipuram to see why people would leave a religion like Hinduism and opt for another religion, namely Islam. What I saw and learnt there was a revelation. That is why I am going back there soon and will keep going there till I am able to understand "the Meenakshipuram phenomenon."

I reached Meenakshipuram on the morning of 16 July. The village was at the end of a newly carved-out approach road which led off from the National Highway to Quilon in Kerala. I urged the Janata Party workers accompanying me to park the vehicles on the highway; and from there we walked to the village. The half-mile approach road led us through luscious green fields, past a newly-constructed shed which serves as a mosque, skirting a small municipal school building (four classrooms) and straight to the Kali-Durga temple.

Villagers, mostly Hindu women (50 per cent of the 1,000-strong population had converted to Islam), came out to peer at us. I did not exchange any greetings, but went straight to the temple, and squatted in the courtyard. I asked the party workers to do likewise. Slowly the village population, (of course those who were still Hindus), began to filter into the courtyard. They squatted at a distance first. But I asked them (in Tamil) to come nearer. The Tamil words pleased them. It signalled to them that I was no "foreigner." One of the younger boys came and sat just opposite me and asked if I was the same person who during the Emergency entered Parliament and then ran away after making a short speech. I told him that I was, and this pleased him.

I started the conversation by asking them why there were so many thatched leaves (usually used for squatting) lying around. The elderly woman in the group answered that the previous day there was a big meeting of *samiyars* (swamis) in the temple cour-

tyard, and the leaves were used by them.

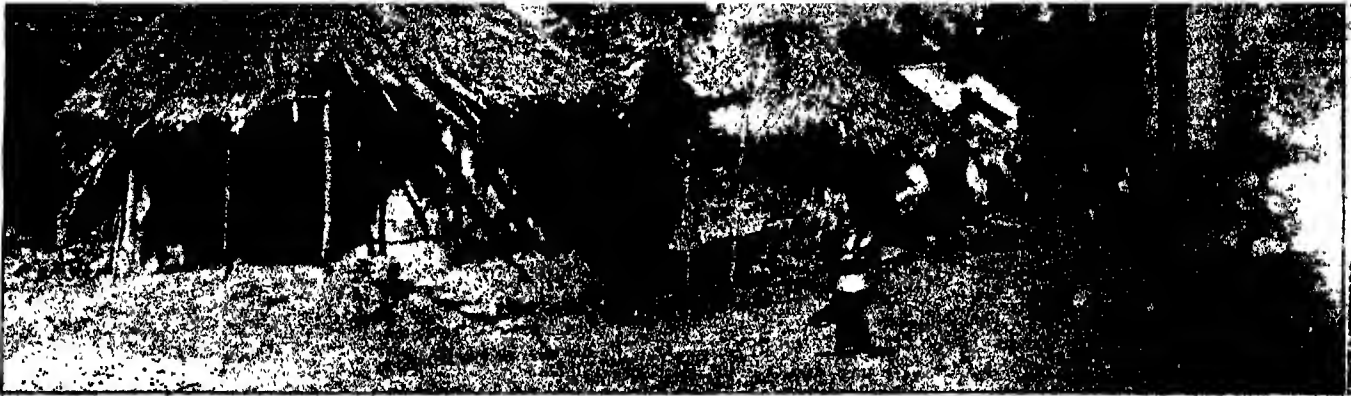
I then informed them that I had come all the way from Delhi to find out about the Islamic conversions. There was no response from the group. Then I asked them to answer my questions on only two points, after which I would not bother them. The first point was why those who converted to Islam did so. I asked them if there was force, bribery, or whether somebody had motivated them. The second point was why they had not converted to Islam.

The old woman signalled to the youth sitting near me to explain. The youth began his narration with the remark that I was the first person to sit with them and discuss with them on an equal footing. He said: "We have been given sermons by others." The old woman interjected to say, however, that the *samiyars* had explained everything nicely to them. They had told her that Hinduism does not support untouchability. Therefore, we still retain faith that improvement would come. She added: "I believe them, but what about the Thevars?"

The Thevars are a prosperous agricultural community who are caste Hindus, but only slightly above the harijans in the caste-hierarchy. They had been troubling the people of Meenakshipuram. I said to the lady: "Your's is a 100 per cent harijan village. No Thevars live here. How do they trouble you?"

The youth answered my query: "You see that approach road. We cannot walk on that without being humiliated by the Thevars." Then he added: "Ever since the murder, the police have been raiding our village regularly, and taking away villagers. They are returned with broken bones and after severe beatings. There is nothing we can do because police are in the hands of the Thevars."

"What murder"? I asked. It appears that there had been a counterfeit currency racket in which a local Congress(I) personality was allegedly involved. This was discovered by two persons. Later these two were found murdered. Since the local Congress(I) personality is a harijan, the police suspected his accomplices were from Meenakshipuram. So the regular raids. It was an odd way to conduct a murder investigation, but this was how the police had distinguished them-



A view of the harijan settlement at Meenakshipuram

selves in Meenakshipuram.

I asked the youth: "Why didn't you complain?"

They asked, "To whom?"

"Aren't there any political workers in your village?" I asked.

"None at all," they answered.

The old lady now interrupted to say: "Who cares for this village. No development has taken place here since my mother's birth."

Anybody could see that. Meenakshipuram was straight out of the eighteenth century. The youth continued: "We felt humiliated, surrounded, and suffocated. We had been noticing for the last two to three years that the Thevars respected only the Muslims of the area. The Muslims of the area told some of us that they can protect only Muslims, not Hindus."

"How do the Muslims have so much power?" I asked.

"They have become rich because of Gulf money, which their relatives bring from abroad. So they can purchase the police," the youth answered. "Therefore, some of the young persons in our village suggested that the only hope lay in conversion to Islam."

"Did they offer money?" I asked.

"That is quite wrong," the youth protested. Turning to the assembly, I looked at their faces to see if anyone wanted to contradict the youth.

"What do you say?" I asked the old woman.

"Why do people think that only harijans are purchasable?" she asked. The people seated before me were all Hindus, the ones who had refused to convert. Yet they were saying emphatically that money was not responsible. Since this was a major point, I pressed.

"I hear that Rs 600 was offered to every convert," I said.

"Why don't you offer Rs 700 and see if they re-convert?" the youth asked. I felt ashamed at having pricked his pride. After all, the brothers and sisters of these people had converted. I asked them if I could do anything for them. Another middle-aged man rose to say that now their problem had become more complicated. I asked him how. He said "The newly converted Muslims are now harassing us, and saying that we better convert soon. They are also demanding their share of money invested in building their temple when they were Hindus..." While he was

narrating this, four well-dressed Hindus with the unmistakable appearance of the Madras middle-class turned up in the temple courtyard. They gave me a courteous *namaste*, and introduced themselves as belonging to the local chapter of a Hindu organisation which was responsible for the Hindu *sammelan* (gathering) of the day before. The Hindu harijans who were chatting with me, all rose up and began to disperse. I could sense that something was wrong.

"We got no advance information of your arrival, otherwise we would have received you," one of them said.

"That's all right," I said, and added, "These people tell me that there was no coercion or bribery."

"No, no. This has been established," they chimed in.

"But these people are Hindus and they are saying so," I persisted.

"We have given a complete report to the authorities," they retorted.

"I am not convinced," I replied.

These four gentlemen knew that they were not getting anywhere with me, so they got up and left.

The village's Hindus began to trickle back. It was time for me to go, but I was not satisfied. I said to them that I would come back and live with them for two days to see things for myself. They were pleased. One of them said, "Can you get us a water pump?" I was taken by surprise. "Next time, we will discuss your village's development," I told him.

As we were leaving, the road took

Hut which serves as a mosque



us past a hastily-constructed hut which serves as a mosque. I walked in, and asked to meet with the Muslims inside.

"This is *namaz* time. We cannot see you," one of them said.

"All right," I said, and left.

Halfway down, one of my party workers who had stayed behind in the mosque, rushed up to me and said, "They will see you now."

"How did you manage it?" I asked.

"I am a Muslim, so they accepted my recommendation," he said.

We went back to the mosque and squatted on the floor. The leader of the group was a young articulate Muslim, recently converted, but he looked every inch the West Asian variety.

"We are fed up with outsiders, all asking the same questions. Let me tell you, we don't want to be untouchables. Since we cannot convert to brahmins or vaisyas, we have converted to Islam."

"Is there no other way?" I asked.

"Not after all the abuse poured on us. Will you meet Mr Vajpayee in Delhi?" the leader asked.

"I shall run into him in Parliament," I said.

"I never met a bigger liar than him," he persisted.

"Why do you say that?" I asked.

"Yesterday he was here like you, and he sympathized with us. An hour later he gave a speech in the temple saying that we had been purchased by Arabs for money." I didn't contradict him, because on the Moshe Dayan affair, Vajpayee had propounded the principle that he told lies "in the national interest." Maybe some national interests were involved here too.

"You please ensure that we are protected," the leader added.

"But the Hindus tell me that you are pressuring them to join you" I said.

"Oh, that is because they want to get some money from you people," he replied.

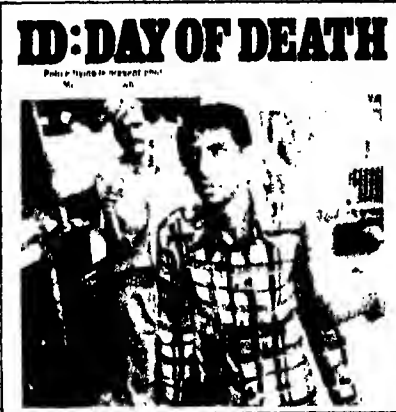
Wonderful, I thought, it is always the other person who is purchasable. Even at the national level! Mrs Gandhi alleges "foreign hand" and CIA in anything that goes against her. The RSS thinks that Muslims have been purchased by Arab money. My God, I thought, the whole country is up for purchase!

MORADABAD REVISITED

Id prayers were again held this year at the Idgah, the place where last year the day of joy turned into the day of death. Shubhabrata Bhattacharya found that the old hurt remained though people were trying to make a new beginning.

Moradabad, the district town in Uttar Pradesh situated 155 km from New Delhi, is known primarily for its brassware. But this year all eyes were on it on Id day, 2 August, for a very different reason. Id day last year (13 August 1980) had been marked by police firing on the *namaazis* at Moradabad's Idgah maidan. A pig which had strayed into the *namaaz* congregation had infuriated the Muslims and Uttar Pradesh's infamous PAC (Provincial Armed Constabulary) had opened indiscriminate fire at the *namaazis* soon after the prayer meeting ended.

But this year the auspicious day passed off peacefully and the govern-



SUNDAY cover of 24 August 1980

ment heaved a sigh of relief. The importance that the government attached to the Id prayers at Moradabad was evident from the presence of a camera team from Delhi Doordarshan, led by Mr Ashok Dube, which filmed the Id celebrations (a TV report was telecast that very evening). At Lucknow, the UP chief secretary waited with bated breath for an "all's well" telephonic report from the district administration. The chief minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, had sent a young Muslim deputy minister, Mr S. N. Naqvi, to attend the prayers at the Moradabad Idgah. Mr Naqvi who belongs to Lakhimpur Kheri, has been the minister-in-charge of Moradabad since the communal holocaust



Namaz at Moradabad's Idgah

Photographs by Kamal Sahai

in that town last year.

For the district administration, the day began early this year. From five in the morning the DM, Mr Bipin Behari Sinha, and the senior SP, Mr Jagmohan Saxena, were supervising the precautionary arrangements in the city. The municipal staff, armed with long sticks, was deputed to clean all the open drains around the Idgah and to ensure that there were no pigs in them. The day before, the DM had ordered a door-to-door census of pigs in the areas around the Idgah; the census included the names of the owners of pigs, the number of pigs owned by them and their house numbers. The pig owners were told to keep their pigs locked till the Id prayers were over. In case any pig strayed into the *namaaz* area, the district authorities were even prepared to count everyone's pigs to find out whose animal was the culprit. Fortunately, the pigs did not stir out on 2 August, nor did a single bull or cow drift into the area. The precautionary measures were foolproof.

Those who had campaigned against the PAC's role last year were also kept happy. The PAC was not posted at Moradabad this year, though in three sub-divisional towns of the district—Sambhal, Chandausi and Amroha—PAC units were deployed. Two battalions each of the BSF and the CRPF were posted in Moradabad. Together with the local police, some 4,000 of them in all were deployed at Moradabad on Id day. Police were posted on rooftops around the Idgah and they had wireless sets to warn the troops on the streets below if any incident occurred. No tents were allowed to be erected around the Idgah. The DM and the SSP were present with other district officials at the gate of the Idgah at prayer time. After the *namaaz*, the joyous *namaazis* rushed to the senior officers and embraced them in the traditional manner of conveying Id greetings. This certainly was in sharp contrast to the scene last year.

The fact that the Id prayers passed off peacefully in Moradabad this year does not mean that all's well with the city. Muslims were initially reluctant to hold the prayers at the Idgah. A *rabta* (coordination) committee of all Muslim political and social organisations was formed under the chairmanship of Dr Shamim Ahmed Khan, president of the UP unit of the Indian Union Muslim League. The *rabta* committee had appealed to the Shahr Imam, Kari Kamal Fahim, to hold the prayers at the Idgah so that normalcy could be restored. The *rabta* leaders had appealed to Muslims to attend the *namaz* and pray for the departed souls. They had advised that children and the infirm should not attend the *namaz* as a precautionary step, in case trouble broke out. Muslims had been advised not to wear the festive new clothes on Id this year to mourn last year's dead. But while the *rabta* leaders pleaded for the *namaz* to be held at the Idgah, the Shahr Imam was unable to make up his mind. To add to the

confusion, the three *muftis* attached to the Shahr Imam issued a *fatwa* on 27 July laying down conditions for holding the prayers at the Idgah. The *muftis* wanted the Imam to ensure that the district administration should guarantee the safety of the *namazis*, that no police force would be deployed near the Idgah (the force was posted a bit away from Idgah on 2 August) and that nearly 1,400 cases launched against Moradabad's Muslims after last year's incidents, would be withdrawn. The demand for the withdrawal of cases had also been made by the *rabta* committee, which had met the



Young and old came together at the *namaz*

state's home minister, Mr Rajindra Tripathi, on 25 July when the minister visited Moradabad. Mr Tripathi told the *rabta* delegation that if they helped the government to screen the cases, the baseless ones would certainly be dropped.

The Shahr Imam made the announcement about the venue of the Id *namaz* only at 2 am on the morning of 2 August. Due to this, the attendance at the Idgah was very poor. The *namazis* from the neighbouring villages, who flock to the Idgah every year, could not come this year because of the late announcement. The villagers offered prayers in the village mosques instead. The late announcement about the venue has soiled the image of the Shahr Imam and there is a demand from a section of the Muslim leadership in Moradabad for the removal of Kari Kamal Fahim from the post. Tension was created by the late announcement as rumours started floating in the narrow lanes of the Muslim localities in Moradabad that the Imam was delaying the announcement because he was striking some 'deal' with the government. The nature of the 'deal' being unclear, apprehension mounted, till the announcement came late in the night.

Many senior Muslim leaders were arrested under the National Security Act during the past year and these arrests have left a bad taste in the mouths of the Muslims of Moradabad. Usman Ahmed Khan, an advocate, who had been booked under NSA last year (he regained his freedom by going to the Supreme Court), narrated an incident which shows how arrests were made indiscriminately. There are two brothers, Kazi Nusrat and Kazi Musarrat, sons of Kazi Ishrat, who stay in the Faizganj area of the town. Both are advocates. The order for arrest under the NSA was issued for the elder brother, Nusrat, but the police picked up Musarrat, instead. The elder brother rushed to the then SSP of Moradabad, Mr Mehta, to enquire why his brother had been arrested. The SSP was aghast. The man whom he wanted to arrest was sitting right in front of him. He telephoned the concerned police station and reprimanded the officers for the mistake. "Nusrat means 'helper' and Musarrat means 'pleasure'. This case clearly shows that arrests are made at the *musarrat* of the police," Mr Usman Khan commented.

The former SSP and DM of Moradabad, Mr Mehta and Mr Madhukar Gupta, respectively, were transferred out three months back and the new SSP-DM team of Mr. Saxena and Mr. Sinha was brought in. The reason why the earlier team was unpopular with the Muslim community became clear from an incident which was narrated to me by a district official. The Kathghar area has a Hindu majority and the few Muslim families which resided there fled after the last year's riots (which took place after the 13 August incidents). These families returned to



Senior superintendent of police Saxena exchanging Id greetings outside the Idgah (inset) Moradabad lane which featured in photographs last year, cluttered with chappals.

their homes after the town limped back to normalcy. But when they went back, the Hindus (belonging to the Baghwan community) told the Muslims that as it was unsafe for them to stay in the locality, they should sell off their property and shift elsewhere. Very cheap sale deeds were suggested. When the Muslims refused to sell their homes at throw-away prices, things started happening. Almost every night, Muslim houses in that locality were attacked with bombs. The gang leader of the miscreants was none other than Jagan, who had been appointed a special police officer (SPO) after last year's riots. (In all 250 civilians were appointed SPOs in

Moradabad. The SPO is appointed under a provision of the code of criminal procedure and has police powers. If he commits any offence, he is tried under the Police Act). The appointment of a man like Jagan certainly did nothing to help the district authorities win the confidence of the people. Jagan was apprehended after two of his gang members broke down during interrogation and revealed the truth. After that, the Muslims in the Sigman Hazari area of Kathgarh locality have been living in peace.

Though the prayers passed off peacefully at Moradabad this year, apprehension was writ large on the faces of Muslims. After the *namaz* was

over and the *khutba* was to begin, the entire congregation looked back to see if everything was all right. It was at this juncture last year that the PAC had opened fire at the congregation. The Idgah was barely full. The street outside, which used to be crowded with people unable to find a place in the Idgah maidan, was empty. The scar of 1980 will take long to heal. The judicial enquiry on last year's firing is yet to begin. Justice M. P. Saxena of the Allahabad High Court, who is conducting the enquiry, had scheduled the first sitting between 15 and 18 July, but due to Ramzan, the sittings have been postponed to 18 to 20 August.



BOMBAY DYEING 

OVER 100 YEARS OF FASHION EXCITEMENT

Why import food in a year of record harvest?

Because, says Madhu Limaye, imports mean cuts in foreign exchange for those who arrange them and we would rather pay the American farmer the price we deny our own.

If India's agriculture were organised so that the farmers could be as productive as Egypt instead of producing a mere 1010 lbs of foodgrains per acre (as against Egypt's 3550 and Taiwan's 3320 lbs), India's foodgrains surplus available for export would exceed the total world-wide trade in foodgrains. International and national officials would then be frantically trying to prevent the collapse of the world foodgrains market rather than trying to prevent hunger.

THIS is not a trip to fantasia. This is the conclusion which Edger Owens of the Agency for International Development, with wide familiarity with the progress of agriculture in developing countries, reached five years ago (*Public Administration Review*, March-April 1976).

And yet five years after Edger Owens wrote this and four years after

the Janata government discontinued foodgrains imports for the first time, we have been subjected to the humiliating experience of the government of India going in for large-scale purchase of foodgrains in a year of what has been acclaimed as "record harvest." Nothing illustrates the total incapacity of Mrs Gandhi's government to solve the country's problems as the collapse of its food policy. Apart from the unprecedented rate of inflation, rise in the cost of living, failure to maintain law and order, prevent outbreak of communal riots, curb social strife and cope with the secessionist tendencies in the north-east, the most serious indictment of the government is import of foodgrains, sugar and edible oil.

It has been claimed by Mrs Gandhi that it was she who made India self-sufficient in foodgrains. The facts are otherwise. On the one hand in the last three years of Mrs Gandhi's first innings as Prime Minister, over 18.66 million tonnes of foodgrains were imported. (This has been conceded by the Finance Minister in the *Economic*

Surveys placed by him before the Lok Sabha) On the other hand, in the three years of Janata-Lok Dal raj not only were food imports discontinued, in the three-year period between 1977 and 1979 India actually exported 1.54 million tonnes of foodgrains.

Right from the days of independence big business has been pressing the government to keep down the procurement prices of foodgrains, exploit the farmers, lower the cost of food in the urban areas and put down the wage levels. They also induced the government to go in for food aid from the USA and large-scale food purchases abroad.

Food imports as a percentage of total export earnings in India rose (from the 1962-65 average of 32 per cent) to as much as 51 per cent (in 1967). The results were disastrous for Indian agriculture. Gale Johnson in *World Food Problems and Prospects* has admitted that "the lowering prices that result from food aid have some disincentive effects for farmers in developing countries... We should realise that food aid in normal times has few,



real long term benefits for the recipient countries." What he has said about food aid, applies equally to food purchases at high prices in international markets at the cost of the indigenous farmer and consumer.

During the days of food shortage immediately following the World War II, Gandhiji was much concerned about this problem. His advice was not to go in for food imports but to take a series of austerity measures to conserve our food resources and adopt effective programmes to augment rapidly our food production. This was consistent with his general policy of self-sufficiency and *swadeshi*. Among the many crimes that the government of free India committed undoubtedly the most serious was its neglect of agriculture and its increasing reliance on food aid and food imports. Billions of rupees have been spent on this item, when a fraction of the amount would have enabled India to produce a huge food surplus years ago.

It is not as if Indian agriculture has no potentiality for rapid growth or that our farmers are lazy or averse to change. It was in the middle Sixties that modern agricultural technology, including use of improved varieties of seed, application of irrigation and fertiliser, was introduced. In the next seven years a veritable revolution in output of wheat took place in India although this transformation was confined to a restricted geographical area. Lester Brown in his book *By Bread Alone* has remarked that "over a period of seven years—1965-1972—India has expanded its wheat production from 11 million to 26 million tonnes—an increase in production of a food staple unmatched by any other country in history."

These increases were matched in other sectors of agricultural production. India used to spend around Rs 100 crores per year on purchases under PL 480 or at commercial prices of long staple varieties of cotton till the first half of the Seventies. Constant prodding from the critics of government's agricultural policy ultimately led the government to formulate an intensive cotton development programme with the result that India made considerable progress in the production of long and extra-long staple varieties of cotton. Production now is not only adequate to meet the internal demand but also leaves a surplus for export.

In the matter of sugarcane the record is equally spectacular. Between 1972 and 1979 a breakthrough was achieved in rice production in the states of Haryana, Punjab and Maharashtra. The figures are very revealing. Production in Maharashtra, Punjab and Haryana was 7.4, 9.5 and 4.6 lakh tonnes respectively in 1972. It shot up respectively to 22, 30.7 and 12.4 lakh tonnes in these states in the year 1979. All that remains to be done is to universalise the gains of the green revolution through effective land reforms and adequate development and extension effort.



Huge amounts of wheat purchased by dealers for FCI were transported to high price areas of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra where the prices of Punjab and Haryana wheat were anything between two and 2½ times the support price fixed by the government. Ministers, bureaucrats and trading interests have made over Rs 180 crores in these shady transactions.

I AM not saying that the Janata government was free from blame in the matter of agricultural policy. While it discontinued import of foodgrains it endorsed the ruinous policy of importing edible oils and scuttled self-reliance in the matter of oil seeds. The Indira government has compounded the mistake by not only maintaining edible oil imports at the same high level but also by going in for wheat and sugar imports despite record indigenous production.

Imports are popular in government circles because those involved get cuts and commissions of anything between five to ten per cent in foreign exchange. That the national interest suffers is of little consequence to them.

What was the reason for the failure of the government's procurement drive this year? The main reason of course must be sought in the low support prices which the farmers found unprofitable in view of the steep rise in the cost of cultivation.

The demand of the farmers for a higher procurement price was totally justified. Even an economist of urban bourgeois sympathies has admitted that "the farmers would not have gone on the offensive but for continuous decline in the terms of trade for agriculture in relation to industry that took place from 1975 till December 1980." This incidentally is also an indictment of the Janata government's price policy. In 1978 prices of agricultural commodities slumped and the farmers were compelled to make distress sales of sugarcane, cotton, wheat and so on.

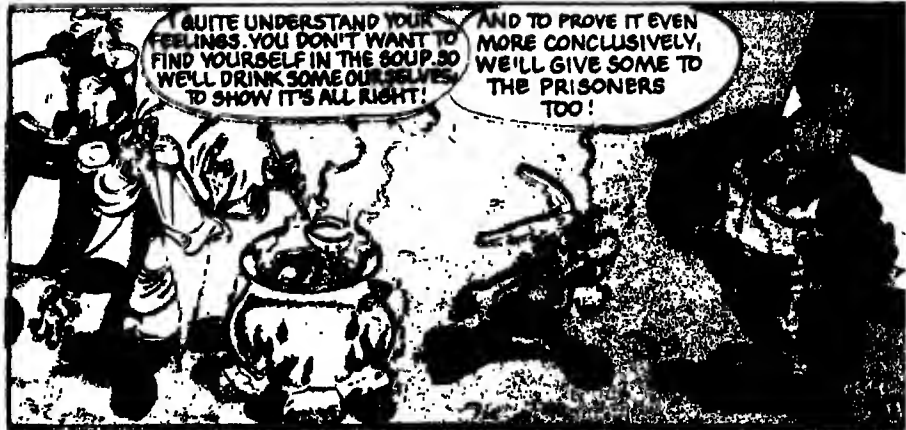
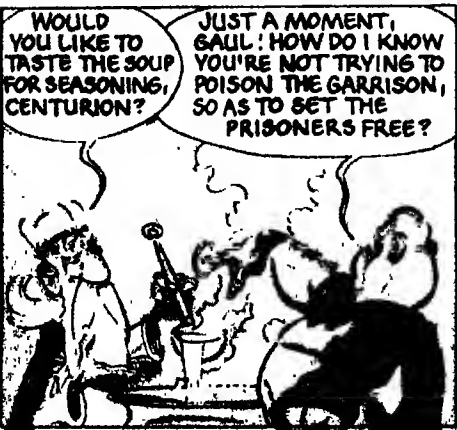
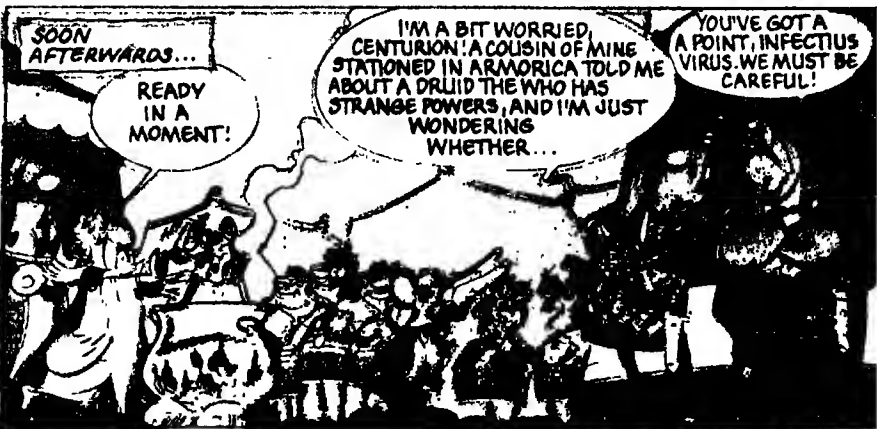
Whatever the support prices, small and middle farmers, who have no staying power, have no other alternative but to bring their produce to the market immediately after harvest. It is only the big landholders who can withhold their produce. Besides, there are agricultural produce marketing laws which make it obligatory for the farmers to sell produce only in authorised markets.

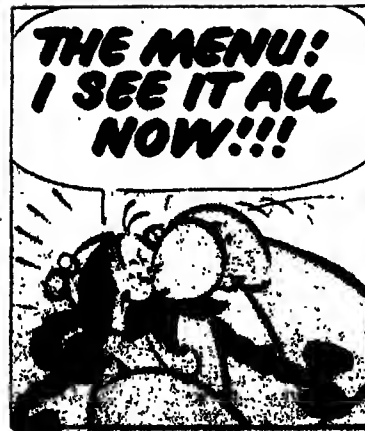
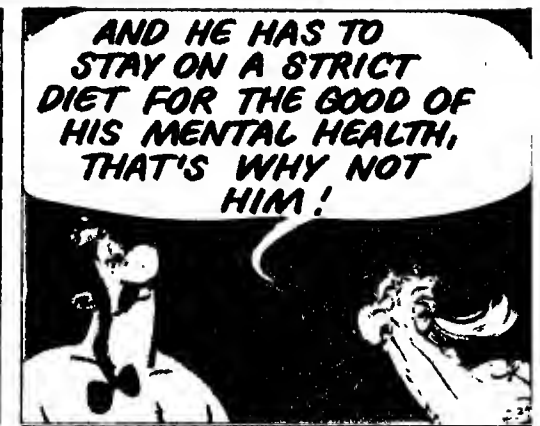
Another reason why the government was not able to achieve the procurement target was the organised sabotage by the government of Haryana and Punjab who, in collusion with trade interests, diverted the produce brought by the farmers to the marketing yards into private channels. Huge amounts of wheat purchased by dealers for FCI were transported to high price areas of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra where the prices of

Punjab and Haryana wheat were anything between two and 2½ times the support price fixed by the government. Ministers, bureaucrats and trading interests have made over Rs 180 crores in these shady transactions. Since corruption is being practised by the ruling party as a deliberate policy, the administration's will to govern has been sapped. Honest officers who care for the public interest are thoroughly demoralised and are no longer prepared to stick out their neck.

On the basis of information I received from officers in the ministry of food and agriculture, I had in a statement as early as 22 May 1981 charged that the "government's food and agriculture policy was in total disarray and that the government was desperately planning large-scale food imports during the current year." My allegations were, of course, refuted by the ministry, but they have come true within a few weeks. The government is priding itself on having made profitable deals in the US foodgrains market, but in this the significant figure would be the landed cost of the imported wheat. In any case, it will not be less than Rs 180 to Rs 190 per quintal. Further purchases would inevitably be at higher prices, and the landed cost would also increase. The irony is that the government prefers to pay more to the American farmer and shipowner than to giving our own farmers their due. If our demand for a procurement price of Rs 160 had been conceded, government godowns today would be overflowing with wheat. But there appears to be an in-built anti-farmer bias in our administration, including the political executive. With such a bias Indian agriculture cannot thrive.

At present we are importing crude oil and petroleum products, all sorts of machinery and, on the top of this, a wide variety of agricultural commodities. The trade deficit is mounting. We are only living off the remittances sent by our hard working emigrants abroad. With the deterioration of the international situation, deepening economic slump in western societies, and consequent social tension and racial riots, these remittances may go down. What happens then to our balance of payments? Who will foot the huge import bill? The future is dark. The country may go bankrupt. Unless we bestir ourselves widespread destitution cannot be averted. The warning bell has been sounded. Time for remedial action is now.





Doctor who makes the cripple walk

Dr Pramod Karan Sethi of Jaipur who has won the Ramon Magasaysay award (the Asian Nobel Prize) this year for community leadership, is much more than a "surgical genius," as the citation describes him. He personifies hope for thousands of cripples. He has not done anything dramatic like transplanting a heart or producing a test tube baby. He has only been making artificial legs—Jaipur Foot, as they are known after the city where he has his rehabilitation centre. And, these legs have helped over 2000 cripples last year to start a new life. MADHU JAIN and SANJAY MITRA report:

THE dupatta covered half the forehead. But she did not hesitate to lift the gathered folds of her Rajasthani blue ghagra to show her trim, jewellery-bedecked ankle. There were bells on her toes—and each toe nail was painted a bright magenta. It was only when Rajani Devi lifted her skirt a bit higher that it was possible to tell that the foot was not her own. She lost it when she was knocked down by a cement truck four years ago. She was then four months pregnant.

Her husband took her to Dr P. K. Sethi's Rehabilitation Centre in the SMS Hospital in Jaipur. It took 45 minutes for a trial limb, a week longer for the foot, and Rajani Devi was back to her original life—with only a barely perceptible difference to her walk. She dances at all the festivals. When we met her at Durgapur, 12 kilometres outside Jaipur, she was supervising the construction of her house.

Rajani Devi is one of nearly 2,000 who have been given a new limb, a new life really—at Dr Sethi's rather unconventional clinic. Known as the Jaipur Foot, the culmination of 20 years of research, the artificial foot is mostly made of rubber and wood. It is flexible and hollow enough to be light and to allow in air. And, what is crucial for the Indian climate and pocket: it can be worn without a shoe. The traditional foot designed in the West cannot. The Jaipur Foot costs Rs 35, a western limb costs Rs 150.

More important still, the wearer can squat, ride a bicycle, swing his legs over, trudge through water and slush, operate a Persian wheel, climb trees, do anything in fact. A Scotsman, who had borrowed a "foot" to test it re-

fused to return it because he had put it on to go hiking in the Scottish highlands. Hiking had never been so easy.

The head behind this foot is the remarkable orthopaedic surgeon Dr P. K. Sethi of the SMS Hospital in Jaipur. He joined the orthopaedic department in 1954. After getting his FRCS in Edinburgh in 1959, he took over the department. But, he soon realised that something was definitely wrong with the artificial limbs they were making.

He recalls: "Jaipur is a small town. I kept running into people who had abandoned their artificial limbs and were on to crutches again. Our farmers and the rural poor cannot afford the shoes; nor can they sit cross-legged on the floor, or go through water. So, we decided to try and change the foot."

The first step was to make it flexible and cheap. Dr Sethi experimented with several theoretical designs. But, the formally trained limb makers could not translate his unorthodox ideas. "They were too rooted in the traditional method. People even accused me of introducing quackery into the profession," he remembers. Watching, rather amused, was Masterji, a 58-year-old craftsman who had designed the *charis* of the Jaipur royal family as well as the beautifully carved banana tree in Amber temple. He volunteered to put the doctor's ideas into practice. And the Jaipur Foot was on its way to being born.

Until 1975, they used to make 60 limbs a year. Last year the figure reached over 1,500—only 180 less than the annual number of limbs made by the Army run Limb Institute in Poona. In fact, the Jaipur Rehabilitation Centre makes more limbs than all the civilian centres in India combined. For



Dr P. K. Sethi: surgical genius

these limbs people come from as far as Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal.

There are two faces of Dr Sethi. The conventional, and the unorthodox. He heads the traditional orthopaedic centre, a five-storeyed building contributed by a philanthropist. There is not a spot of dust anywhere.

This Centre offers sophisticated cures: from water therapy (a pool), to heat and electric therapy and now ice. The physiotherapy section has imported equipment, but the locally made ones are practical and cheaper. There is a wing for spastic children and for those with spinal injuries.

BUT, the other side of Dr Sethi, the unusual one, is the informal centre. Here, the doctor is most at home. The Jaipur Foot is made here. Most of the workers are ordinary craftsmen and many of them are amputees who initially came for artificial limbs and stayed on.

The atmosphere is alive. There is a kind of collective existence and a bonhomie unimaginable in a hospital. The centre which is within the confines of the hospital grounds was originally built as a *dharmashala* for the relatives of the amputees. Garages used for ambulances now form informal dormitories.

There was no air of despondency here; there was hope. Even Mohammed Sajid, 35, from Bhagalpur, who lost both his arms and feet in a railway accident some months ago was optimistic. He had even lost his tea shop after the accident. Sajid's mother, the frail Bibi Husna, who sat next to him in the dormitory had physically carried him to the railway station, put him on the train and brought him to Jaipur.



In Dr Sethi's rehabilitation centre: hope for the hopeless

After the two sets of limbs are fitted, Sajid will be able to eat by himself. A teaspoon will be fitted on to his leather belt around the arms.

Sajid's is an extreme case. Others were luckier. There were other faces that day from Madras, Karnataka, Punjab, West Bengal and Bihar. Most of them, 60 per cent of the amputees, were actually involved in accidents; 43 per cent of them in railway accidents. Most of the others lose their limbs from gangrene and other infections which have been neglected.

Ranjan, 16, lost his leg in an accident in Ranchi. Mother Teresa had sent him to Jaipur. In front of his little corner, he had drawn a portrait of Jesus. The other walls were not bare. There was Shivaji on one, a Hanuman on the other.

More than hope, there was something else present here: human dignity. Amputees normally arrive at the end of their tether, many having had to borrow or steal to get here. Most of them are ticketless travellers. On arrival each one is given a "kit": two plastic bowls, two cakes of soap, two towels, and a soap dish. Those with tattered clothes are given a set of new clothes; the women get white saris with green borders.

Human psychology is also at work here. The patients are given postage for letters to be sent to their families; those who can't write are taught to sign their names. Adult literacy classes are held each morning, organised by the dedicated and charming Sudha Gupta. "We want these people, some of whom are hostile and think that society has done nothing for them," says Sudha.

When the limbs are fitted, usually

two to three weeks for the entire operation, the amputee is given his return ticket. "We don't want them to do anything dishonest and this is the first step towards rehabilitation in society," says Dr Sethi. He is also given a small packet of food. "Each day six or seven patients leave us; there are families who pack that many lunches a day for the centre."

Many of them send *rakhis* to Gupta. Some even send Rs 10 a month for the Rehabilitation Centre. Friendships formed here often become more permanent. A few of the amputees even found their mates here; some have stayed on to work.

The centre has 40 apprentices. Apart from the formally trained technicians there are highly skilled but illiterate workers. They work under the benevolently shrewd eye of the indomitable Masterjee. There is a

plumber who has designed a wheel chair which cost only Rs 800—Rs 600 less than the chair made by Amilco; a cobbler who makes leather straps to fit the artificial limb, a blacksmith to work the aluminium sheet metal for the upper part of the limb.

Many of the apprentices are, in fact, sons of the local craftsmen. Dr Sethi has combined the traditional unrivalled skills of these craftsmen with the conventional techniques of limb-making. To finance this unprecedented collaboration between the hospital and the local craftsmen, he has roped in several voluntary organisations. This pays for the salaries of the unskilled workers. A voluntary organisation, set up mainly by the Mahavir Society, has made an initial investment of Rs two lakhs. The Centre runs on the interest from this capital as well as from individual donations.

Says Dr Sethi: "What I would like to see is the day when hospitals are not needed for this. A simple Primary Health Centre should be enough. Why should the villagers have to come to the city? It should be possible in any rural economy where there is a carpenter, cobbler and a blacksmith."

As we were about to leave, Mr Swami, who used to run his own switch gears factory, came to borrow a wheel chair. He had lost both his legs because of gangrene the year before. But his wife was suddenly paralysed and he wanted to visit her in the hospital. Ms Gupta brought out a wheel chair for him. While the son was wheeling his father away, she put a small packet in his hand. It included a jar of coffee, some Amar Chitra comics and some biscuits.

A rickshaw puller with his artificial leg



Give me my coffee house.
Give me my friends.
Give me a cause.



And give me the taste
of toasted tobacco.

Toasted taste made milder.
That's the way I like it.



Discover the taste of toasted
tobacco enjoyed by millions the world
over. Now made milder and captured
for your smoking pleasure in
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MEDIA

Power struggle at the *Indian Express*

Is Arun Shourie on his way out?

New Delhi: By the time you read this, the fate of one of the most controversial journalists in the country could have been sealed. The confrontation between the latest editor of the *Indian Express*, Mr S. Nihal Singh, and its ebullient executive editor Mr Arun Shourie, has become public knowledge now. Three out of the four articles written recently by Shourie were not printed, and the one that was printed got through without the editor's knowledge (it was published in the *Sunday Standard*). The editor wanted certain deletions made in the articles, and Shourie withdrew the pieces rather than allow mutilated versions to be published.

Arun Shourie joined the *Express* after the coming of the Janata government; he was the Blue-Eyed Boy of the owner, Mr Ramnath Goenka, and with time he only seemed to get bluer-eyed. Nobody would dream of either cutting or rejecting his articles. Even after 1980, Shourie continued his bitter denunciations of Mrs Gandhi and all that he wrote was dutifully published, even if Mr Goenka chose to take the precaution of welcoming Mrs Gandhi and Mr Sanjay Gandhi in signed articles in his paper. Then, this year, in a messy massacre, Mr Goenka removed some top-notch names from his paper (for example, Kuldip Nayar) and brought in S. Nihal Singh to replace the retiring editor S. Mulgaonkar. Shourie survived that massacre, and there were no indications then that Nihal Singh or Shourie would have problems with each other. But life was scheduled to soon turn difficult.

As is inevitable in the *Express*, a great many staff members are convinced that the imbroglia has been inspired by Mr Goenka himself. Would Mr Nihal Singh alienate an effective number two man in the newspaper, ask *Express* staffers, without Mr Goenka's tacit approval? It is also argued that this clipping of Arun Shourie's wings could be a part of a Goenka-Mrs Gandhi deal. Oldtimers on the staff had said soon after Mrs Gandhi's sensational Lok Sabha triumph in 1980 that Mr Shourie would not be ousted immediately, when his exit from the *Express* would have appeared as a scandalous compromise on the part of Mr Goenka but a year or

so later, when his exit could not be linked directly to Mrs Gandhi's return to power. This argument seems most plausible today because the central government has already sent its warning signals to Mr Goenka. The State Bank of India, who are also bankers for the *Indian Express*, have publicly refused to give a bank guarantee to Mr Goenka's newspaper. The *Express* needed such a bank guarantee in pursuance of its case in the Supreme Court against the new newsprint levy and has certainly been cornered without it. Relations between the newspaper company and its bankers have deteriorated otherwise, too. The other consideration that might influence Mr Goenka's mind about retaining Arun Shourie, who is no favourite at all of Mrs Gandhi, is that the *Express* group has imported photo-offset and sophisticated printing equipment worth Rs five crores. The import and the installation of the machinery has not yet been cleared by the central government.

The latest flap arose on 1 July. Shourie had submitted a piece on Karnataka's unusual minister for planning Mr C.M. Ibrahim, entitled "Where nothing else works, will this?" This question was addressed to the Prime Minister, and the article also quoted Mr Ibrahim making an obviously abusive remark about the PM.

Arun Shourie: no longer blue-eyed



Shourie was in Bangalore that day, and the report was duly dispatched, in the normal course, over the teleprinter lines, to all the editions of the *Express*. It reached the desk in Delhi at 4.30 in the afternoon, and immediately created a flutter: in the very opening sentence, Shourie had repeated what the stupid Ibrahim had often said when he was in the Janata Party—that Mrs Gandhi was an "international prostitute."

When the senior journalists on the *Express* desk saw the piece, they began wondering what they should do. Finally resident editor (the *Express* has all sorts of editors with all sorts of designations, and nobody quite knows where whose jurisdiction begins or where whose ends) Prabash Joshi and news editor S.K. Verma decided to consult the editor-in-chief. The entire article was read over the phone to Mr Nihal Singh, and on his instructions messages were flashed to all branches of the *Express* that the first paragraph and some other portions should be deleted. It was around 11 pm by now.

The Bangalore office also got these instructions, and Shourie learnt of the deletions. He immediately telephoned the resident editor at Delhi, and told him that if the *Express* did not publish the whole article, he would like to withdraw the piece. He added that in case an abridged version was published, he would call a press conference about self-censorship in the *Indian Express*.

The article was promptly withdrawn—but not before the early editions of the Chandigarh and Cochin editions had gone to press with the edited piece. What disturbed Shourie was that the controversial portions of the article had been cleared by Nihal Singh over a 10 am telephone call in the morning. He was also amazed why Nihal Singh should have censored the more biting portions some six hours after the article reached Delhi. Since Karnataka chief minister Gundu Rao was meeting Mrs Indira Gandhi on 2 July, Shourie believed that the publication of the article would have led to Ibrahim's dismissal that very day and notched yet another triumph for the *Indian Express*.

Normally, such confusion would never have arisen—because normally Mr Ramnath Goenka would either have been in Delhi or contactable on the phone anywhere in India. On 1 July however Mr Goenka was in the United States of America, and therefore not available for any tense decision-making.

1 July saw what might be called the culmination of a three-month long power struggle between Mr Nihal Singh and Mr Shourie, a struggle for a definition of their roles in the *Indian Express*. For the record, Mr Nihal Singh denied, in a conversation with SUNDAY on 14 July that there was any rift with Mr Shourie. Mr Shourie, on the other hand, refused to discuss this "power struggle" but he did concede that he wished matters would come to a head soon. "I have always told Mr



S. Nihal Singh: censoring Shourie



R. Goenka: warned by the centre

Goenka that if he wants me to leave he has only to ask me to do so and I will leave," Shourie told SUNDAY. But presumably as long as Mr Shourie stays in the *Express* he would like to stay on his own terms, and not Mr Nihal Singh's.

The first hint of a rift between them was, according to *Express* insiders, visible when the story of women being bought in Madhya Pradesh was exposed by the *Express*. It is said that Mr Nihal Singh was not taken into confidence about this story, and he felt that his authority had been undermined. It was this, they say, that led him to overtly display his right to cut Shourie's copy. We also learnt that Mr Nihal Singh made it a point to ring up the news desk every evening between 10 and 10.30 to find out what contribu-

tions had been sent by the senior staff, and if there was anything in them that he should know about. Mr Nihal Singh told us that this has been his practice throughout his career as an editor, and there was nothing unusual about him doing this in the *Express*. He denied that this practice had anything to do with Mr Shourie.

If Arun Shourie leaves the *Express* (or if he has already resigned by the time this appears) it shall be a major setback to investigative reporting in the *Indian Express*. After the exit earlier in the year of Kuldip Nayar, Arun Shourie remained the only editor to support investigative reporting and marshal it into a weapon mightier than the sword.

A Correspondent

A. K. Subbaiah. And Mr Ibrahim let out his own bag of tricks. He proclaimed that Mr Subbaiah was an RSS Hindu fanatic who was gunning for him because he was a Muslim. Could Mr Subbaiah afford to talk the way he did when he himself had blood on his hands, he questioned. Ibrahim accused Mr Subbaiah of being the architect of a murder at Polibetta and Somwarpet in Kodagu district. He did not elaborate on the charge but hinted that he would "expose all" at a later stage when he could speak freely of the ministerial straitjacket.

Ibrahim's frank comments met with equally ferocious invectives from Subbaiah. "You are a rogue, a 420, a sandalwood smuggler..." Subbaiah was heard saying amidst the deafening thumping of tables and loud protest from members of the startled House. "Cheat," "sandalwood smuggler," "Arab spy," were some of the sobriquets Mr Ibrahim had earned during his political career. Today, he prefers to see himself as an object of persecution: a member of the minority community put up on the rack by Hindu fanatics, a frank and honest man drawn and quartered by a press with vested interests. He views himself also as a disciplined soldier of the Congress(I) who was asking to be relieved of his post not because he had admitted his guilt but because as a minister he was "fettered by many constraints" and "could not adequately and effectively deal with the tirade" against him.

Said Mr Ibrahim in his prepared statement: "Is it because I happen to be an unfortunate person belonging to the minority? Have not there been in the past so many serious allegations levelled against ministers belonging to majority communities and still no demand for their resignations made?" On the face of it, however, Mr Ibrahim must take the dubious credit for a majority of the scandals which earned Gundu Rao's government the epithet of "scandals-a-day-government."

Mr C. M. Ibrahim had dirtied his hands in a Rs 30 lakhs flour mill license deal the night before the government clamped down on the further issue of licenses; he made money through cement and steel contracts. He has been charged with spying for the Arabs (SUNDAY 5 April). He shielded a brother who was suspected of murdering a Hindu Mahasabha activist. And recently, he wrongfully confined a Bhadravati midwife who had allegedly been abducted by Mr Ibrahim's brother (SUNDAY 12 July).

Though Mr Gundu Rao would not like to admit this, Mr Ibrahim's resignation will go down as a triumph for the opposition, which is confident about its ability to take effective broadsides at the government. And with about 60 per cent of the cabinet under the cloud of corruption scandals, the question that is being asked now is: Two down (Mr Ibrahim and Mrs Renuka Rajendran), how many more to go?

Louise Fernandes

KARNATAKA

C.M. Ibrahim resigns

Bangalore: The sun has set on Mr Chand Mahal Ibrahim's controversial career as cabinet minister in the amazing government of Karnataka's Gundu Rao. Exposed by the press, hounded by the opposition and, towards the end, shunned by his own partymen, Mr Ibrahim finally resigned from his post of planning and wakfs minister on the evening of 4 August. But in keeping with the aura he had built around himself during his 13 scandalous months in power, he enacted his resignation in a most dramatic fashion.

At 1.15 pm on 4 August, Mrs Basavarajeshwari, the chairman of the Karnataka Legislative Council, prepared to adjourn the House sine die. That was to be the end of a particularly hectic 20 days of arguments and fierce demands for Ibrahim's resignation. And leading the demand for resignation was Mr A. K. Subbaiah, flamboyant Bharatiya Janata Party state president and chief baiter of the Gundu Rao government. Even as the chairman rose to speak, Mr Ibrahim stood up with a modest request that he be allowed to read out a personal statement. Not being a member of the legislative council (he is an MLA), the

request was out of procedure. However, the request was granted—probably in deference to the person who had borne the brunt of criticism from all and sundry for the last 20 days. In the four page statement (later released to the press) Mr Ibrahim lashed out at his "witch hunters"—the corps of detectives investigating the cases against him, the press, former chief minister Mr D. Devaraj Urs and especially Mr

C. M. Ibrahim: going down fighting



The ban on *Midnight Express*

Bombay: It is almost two months since information and broadcasting minister, Mr V. P. Sathe, made his controversial decision to "suspend" for two months the commercial release of the American film, *Midnight Express*. Now that the suspension period is virtually over, will this highly acclaimed film, which has won many international awards, be finally screened in the country?

Midnight Express was initially passed by the censor board and the external affairs ministry, with a few cuts. Then, just when it was about to be shown in Indian cinemas—one theatre had already announced a charity show—the Turkish government made an official protest to the Indian authorities. Following the protest, Mr Sathe saw the film for himself and, at first, decided to ban it altogether. Subsequently, for undisclosed reasons, the I & B ministry declared that *Midnight Express* would be "suspended" for two months.

Given Mr Sathe's adverse reaction to the film, it is a safe bet to assume that he is hoping to make the suspension indefinite. Only a hue and cry from cinema-lovers and from the opponents of arbitrary and irrational censorship will put *Midnight Express* back on the rails again, as happened some years ago with M. S. Sathyu's *Garm Hawa*. That celebrated film, too, was initially banned and would have been rotting in some I & B ministry godown had the Prime Minister herself not seen it and given it the green signal.

Why all the fuss over *Midnight Express*? The film tells the true-life story of Billy Hayes, an American youngster who was caught in Turkey while trying to smuggle some hashish out of the country—like so many foreigners do from here in India and for which offence, when caught, they usually get a few days in prison or a nominal fine. Hayes was not a professional smuggler of drugs, and yet, partly because the Turkish government wanted to make an example of him and partly because of their slow-moving and—by implication—corrupt judicial system, he was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment.

Midnight Express concentrates on the ordeal of Billy Hayes in a Turkish prison, where the conditions were unbelievably brutal, many of the prison guards being sadistic, homosexual torturers. Billy realises that he will either go mad or become a degenerate savage, as happens to some of his prison mates, if he continues to be incarcerated much longer. So, he decides to escape, which he succeeds in doing by a combination of bribery and sheer

luck. The film was clearly an embarrassment to the Turkish authorities and tourism to Turkey suffered after it was released in the West. The Turkish government even persuaded several Islamic countries to ban it.

I saw *Midnight Express* a couple of years ago in London and it shook me up as few films have ever done. Ankara claims that the film is "anti-Turkish," and there is little doubt that most of the characters portrayed in it are revoltingly dishonest or plainly brutal. However, a careful scrutiny of *Midnight Express* shows that it is more an indictment of the barbarity of Turkish prisons than of Turkey itself. Critics have also praised the film's realism, a quality which the director was obviously able to capture, largely because the story was so completely authentic.

Admittedly, many of the scenes in the film are horrific—and a few of these must certainly have been scissored by our censors. But they aren't there just for the sake of sex and violence; their shock-value is very much an integral part of *Midnight Express*. In one scene, Billy Hayes is permitted by the prison authorities to see his girl friend but a glass partition separates them; he begs her to take off her blouse, so that he can masturbate. In another, Billy is shown succumbing to the homosexual advances of a prison mate.

Most films are meant to entertain. Great films, like great books, however, go further by shaking their audiences out of their apathy and by trying to

change society. They often do this by portraying reality and protesting injustice. *Midnight Express* is one such film.

The "suspension" of *Midnight Express* raises other, perhaps even more important questions. How far should the Indian authorities go in accommodating the sensibilities of so-called "friendly countries?" One recalls how the Soviet authorities, betraying a singular lack of humour, pressurised the I & B ministry to re-title the James Bond film, *From Russia With Love* to *From 007 With Love* (thereby drawing even more attention to the word "Russia!") and also to obliterate all references to the Soviet Union in the soundtrack of *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*.

The case of *Midnight Express* is, however, quite different. Recent newspaper reports in the Indian press—which have not been contradicted by Ankara—have revealed that Turkey has been supplying Pakistan with millions of dollars worth of equipment to help it make a nuclear bomb. Is this the act of a "friendly country?" Why should the I & B ministry supinely accede to the demands of a government that is acting in such a brazenly hostile manner to us? It is almost as if Kabul were to protest to Pakistan about a film showing the plight of the Afghan refugees and General Zia agree to ban it!

There are other pitfalls in the I & B ministry's decision. Would it, for instance, have banned the recently screened Soviet film *The New Centurions*, which depicts the Russian version of the overthrow of Chile's Salvador Allende, if the Chilean and US authorities had protested? And how about Costas Gavras' famous political films *Z* and *State of Siege*, which graphically describe the overthrow of democracy in Greece and Uruguay? **Rahul Singh**

Will Calcutta turn green?

Calcutta: If the initial enthusiasm shown by the members of the Calcutta chapter of the Friends of Trees, which was inaugurated on 30 July, is any indication, there should soon be more specks of greenery studding the cityscape and whiffs of fresher air displacing the smoke saturated atmosphere.

The government on its part, as chief minister Jyoti Basu assured, would extend all help. It has already enacted laws to prevent large-scale deforestation. Mr Prasanta Sur, minister for local self-government, said that all those who wanted seedlings could approach the gardens and parks wing of the forest department on condition that they would be nursed. The Vana-mahotsava having degenerated into an annual farce, the responsibility for nurturing trees now rests solely with

the Friends of Trees.

The campaign that the Friends of Trees carried out in Kerala under the leadership of Mr Joseph John to save the Silent Valley is well-known. Though a final decision is yet to be taken, observers feel that with the interest the Prime Minister has shown in this case, the Silent Valley will be protected from the intrusion of concrete monsters.

Calcutta is one place where the absence of an organisation which really cares for trees was keenly felt. But, thankfully, at this late stage there is total agreement on aims and objects among all concerned. Said Jyoti Basu, the Marxist CM of the state, turning to the chief patron, Mr Russi Mody, managing director of TISCO, "On this, our aims are absolutely the same."

No more US uranium

New Delhi: From US President Reagan's point of view, Egypt is a friend of the USA. And so the US-Egypt nuclear deal is justified. From the same point of view, Pakistan may be pursuing a nuclear weapons programme, but since Pakistan falls in the category of "friends" the USA is quite willing to look the other way. That Pakistan is planning to explore a nuclear device is by now a well-known fact. The clandestine way Pakistan went about acquiring the know-how and the materials for its nuclear programme makes it clear that its motive is not exactly a peaceful one.

In comparison, there is nothing secret about India's nuclear programme. But the USA does not trust India because this country apparently does not fall in the category of "friends." As for India, President Reagan's nuclear co-operation policy discriminates between the nuclear haves and have-nots. It imposes fresh conditions on

even old bilateral agreements like the Indo-US nuclear co-operation agreement of 1963.

Under this agreement the USA has been supplying enriched uranium for the Tarapur atomic power station. But for quite some time it has been dilly-dallying on these fuel shipments. Basically the USA wants India to subject all its nuclear installations to what is termed "full-scope" safeguards. India is fully justified in refusing to accept this unilateral condition. It is a bilateral agreement relating only to the Tarapur station. And since India is not accepting the additional terms, the USA is not releasing pending shipments of enriched uranium. India has often stated that it "cannot accept any extraneous conditions on the fulfilment of obligations undertaken by the USA under the Tarapur agreement."

One overdue consignment of 19.8 tonnes of enriched uranium, applied for in August 1979 and scheduled to

have been supplied between February and September 1980, has not yet been received from the USA. According to the agreed schedule, another application for 19.8 tonnes was made in September 1980 for deliveries between March and September 1981. Under the 1963 agreement, which ends in 1993, India cannot obtain enriched uranium for Tarapur from any source other than the USA as long as the 30-year agreement is valid.

With the impasse created by both nations refusing to budge from their positions, a suggestion was made that a graceful and practical way out would be to terminate the agreement with the least possible damage to relations between the two countries. Later, foreign minister Mr Narasimha Rao stated in Parliament that the question was how to give the agreement a "decent burial." The modalities were discussed when an American team visited New Delhi in the last week of July.

Once the treaty is abrogated, India can approach other nations for enriched uranium. The alternative to this is mixed-oxide fuel, for which Indian scientists have developed the technology.

A Special Correspondent

Sorry we forgot; we'll ban lockouts too

New Delhi: Even before the opposition could have grilled the government on the strike-banning ordinance in Parliament, the government conceded that it had committed a faux pas while hurriedly promulgating the ordinance in the early hours of 27 July. Perhaps without going through the contents of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, Mrs Gandhi had told a gathering of INTUC workers at her residence on 28 July that it also banned lock-outs and lay-offs in essential services. It was a rainy day and the PM addressed the workers wearing a raincoat, but the contents of her speech could not be washed out by the rain. They made headlines the next morning. Embarrassed at the slip-up, the government announced within the next 24 hours that the ordinance would be amended to include lay-offs and lock-outs as well. It lacked those provisions when first promulgated.

SUNDAY met the union labour minister, Mr Narayan Datt Tiwari, on the evening of 30 July. "The implicit intention has been to include lay-offs and lock-outs," Mr Tiwari said. He added: "If there is any lacuna in the ordinance (on this score), it will be rectified when the bill comes before Parliament." The same evening the home ministry issued a similar statement. This, perhaps, was one of the rare occasions when the government officially admitted that an ordinance promulgated by it had inaccuracies.

"Essential services have to be maintained. Even during the tenure of the Janata government they had contemplated an industrial relations bill, which had such clauses. One of the attacks of the opposition is that

we have done through an ordinance what the Janata wanted to do through a bill. It is the same thing. The government of the day has to ensure that the essential sectors of the industry are not disrupted. So, there could be no basic opposition to an act of the government restraining strikes, lock-outs and lay-offs in essential services," said Mr Tiwari. The intention of the government was to keep a law ready to deal with disruptions in essential services as a whole rather than to act in a hurry on the eve of a strike, lock-out or lay-off.



N.D. Tiwari: 'Intention was to include lockouts'

As he was also the planning minister, Mr Tiwari had to keep in mind the implementation of the sixth plan as well. So, any disruption in economic activity had to be avoided. He referred to an "extremist" section in the trade union movement, due to which, the promulgation of the ordinance became necessary. "I would like to say that we have very responsible central trade unions. A vast majority of them are responsible. But there is

an extremist section also, and the union leaders also know that the multiplicity of trade unions create extremist points of view. Their (the extremists') concern is not purely in the field of trade unions. They utilise the unions for furthering, in some cases, ideological and in some cases, personal ends. They are not concerned with the sixth plan or the rate of growth. They just disrupt production. I am not saying that the ordinance has to be used tomorrow. It is only an enabling power, to meet the distant threats from the people who want to disrupt essential services."

Asked to elaborate on what the government meant by the term, "substantial retardation" in production (which has now been turned into a definition for "strike") Mr Tiwari replied: "It means a go-slow action. Go-slow, from the point of view of productivity, is worse than a strike. In a strike, the results are known, but the results of a go-slow action are unknown. So, it is more dangerous." By the time these lines appear in print, the Parliament would be discussing the ordinance. In all likelihood, it will be the onerous task of the home minister, Gyani Zail Singh, to defend the government since the ordinance has been issued under the aegis of the home ministry. Mr Tiwari may just help Mr Singh on the floor. But what the government may find difficult to explain will be why the ordinance was promulgated just 21 days before the monsoon session of the Parliament? The notification summoning the Lok Sabha on 17 August was signed by the President close on the heels of the ordinance.

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

Homes for pavement dwellers till 15 October



Bombay: The poor pavement dwellers of Bombay have been given a reprieve from being hounded out of Bombay till 15 October following a suggestion by Justice Lentin of the High Court, which the government of Maharashtra has accepted. And many of the 10,000 men, women and children who were herded like dogs being taken to a dog pound in inclement weather are returning to the city.

But the stark reality is that the lives of nearly six lakh people hang on the perilous peg of uncertainty. This is made more piquant by the statement of Justice Lentin who clarified that the pavement dwellers had no fundamental rights to put up dwellings on pavements. Said he: "On the last occasion (24 June) I had specifically enquired of Mr Ashok Desai (counsel for the three pavement dwellers who had filed the petition of Fatima M. Shah and others versus the state of Maharashtra), whether any fundamental right could be claimed by them to put up dwellings on footpaths and Mr Desai with his habitual fairness replied in the negative and rightly so."

Also on the anvil is the 'work permit' system to restrict entry to Bombay only to those who have confirmed jobs. As Sharad Joshi of the Shetkari Sanghatana commented, "The idea of work permits exists only between nations and Bombay is very much part of India. It just shows the government's absolute hopelessness in solving problems. It's a Godsend because it makes the division between 'India' and 'Bharat' clearer. The (state) government wants the problems to be confined to the limits of 'Bharat' and the pleasures to the limits of 'India.' Pushing people back from the pavements may be their policy but where are they to go? I was not surprised to read that many of them were dry farmers from Sholapur. As I have always said the solution to problems and poverty of dry farmers is remunerative prices for crops like jowar. As long as agriculture continues to be uneconomical, the influx of refugees from 'Bharat' to 'India' cannot be stopped. Bombay already has problems of providing civic amenities and soon they won't be able to provide air. This can be solved only by making rural India's economy more attractive. As long as you do not provide work in villages the cities will provide a hope of good luck to people who may land a job and live in comfort."

This is borne out by Dr. P. K. Muttagi of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. In a series of surveys on pavement dwellers he found, "Dwellers were rather satisfied with their lot and in a good majority of cases it was because they had just enough to carry



Pavement dwellers thrown out on a rainy day

on from day to day, together with helplessness to improve their lot. They say it is always possible to find some sort of occupation in the city and if all else fails, rag-picking or begging can always be resorted to." According to Dr Muttagi's survey 86% of pavement dwellers had migrated from different parts of India, 39 per cent were Marathi-speaking and only 13% were from Bombay itself. Fiftythree per cent of the pavement dwellers were self-employed, mainly hawkers, vegetable and flower vendors, toy and balloon sellers and vendors of knick-knacks like pins and needles, buttons and bows, hairpins, clips etc. Over 38% included casual labourers working in docks, mills and construction sites and as domestics and coolies. Only 1.7% were unemployed. The monthly income of those employed was between Rs 250 and Rs 500 in 56.1% of the cases, while 31.2% earned less than Rs 250.

These people can now stay in Bombay till 15 October. Where will they go? What will they earn and where? Chief minister Mr A. R. Antulay is ruthless about clearing Bombay's pavements. We are told Mr Antulay "was pricked by his conscience" before he came to the meeting on 13 July where the decision to remove the pavement dwellers was to be taken.

He was stated to have carefully weighed the merits and demerits of the decision as a result of which he was late at the meeting by an hour, only to perform a somersault and declare, "I think my decision has to be carried out and I want quick action." So belligerent was he that those MLAs and others who were opposed to the demolition move kept a cowardly silence.

Tough times are ahead for the homeless and the unemployed. As Kartoon, Jaipriya, Ganpat and a host of others said they came to Bombay because there were no jobs in the villages. Many of them came 30 years ago; victims of drought, famine, floods or huge development projects like dams. Mr Dahanuka, appearing for the state of Maharashtra, had in court expressed a hope that the Peoples Union of Civil Liberties would not resort to litigation on behalf of the pavement dwellers after 15 October since the government was 'good' enough to stay its operations till then. The Bombay municipal corporation has a Rs 25 lakh budget to remove encroachments, which it is itching to use. It will be interesting to see how the chief minister who took a Gandhian oath of wiping every tear from every eye deals with the homeless. Olga Tellis

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Overseas budget cut: Indians lose jobs

New Delhi: The all-American cowboy sure is lassoing in those greenbacks back to the homeland. When President Reagan's over-active scissors got to the budget for overseas projects, they made Texan-size cuts: 20% of the overseas staff of the United States International Communication Agencies (USICA) were struck off the once-bountiful payroll.

Sixty-four positions at the USICA offices in India have been abolished. For a while, a few months ago, there were even strong rumours that *Span* magazine would be wound up. Several members of the staff, including a couple of editorial writers and artists have already left *Span*. Others, remain a bit insecure about the future of this increasingly interesting and well-produced, subsidised monthly publication which has a complimentary list of 50,000 and sells about half that amount.

The USICA in India appeared to be affected the most because this country has the largest staff: 300 people. When the cuts were announced, the Indian staff came to work with black bands around their arms. But it is calm now, all passion spent. Twenty-three of the 64 posts were vacant. Out of the remaining 41, most of the people have been pensioned off or retained on contract.

The American Embassy had sent suggestions based on the rather generous compensation schemes carried out by IBM, Ford and other American organisations in India, but Washington did not accept them. Although the cuts have not been directed against India specially the insecurity within the USICA is quite marked. The USICA is like an airconditioned cocoon for many who are afraid of being thrown out into the competitive world. Many of the Indian employees have risen from the ranks and fear that is just where they will have to go back to once they are in the "open market."

"People are insecure. In fact many of the editorial staff were typists to begin with. In some ways, this is just like a government office; even donkeys can survive here," said one of the employees.

Several organisations from the more well-known ones such as USAID, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation to vague ones like Wheat Associates have either closed down or been reduced to skeleton strength.

It was in the early Sixties with the flush of the PL 480 rupee funds which was boom-time for the American organisations. The PL 480 funds were like the magical basket which filled up automatically each time it was emptied. But PL 480 has passed on

from the infinite to the finite. There is probably enough money left to last only five years. The American organisations were being run on just the interest of the capital. Even the interest could not be exhausted.

"Do you know that at one time, the PL 480 funds comprised 60% of the Indian currency in circulation?" said another employee of the USICA, who believes that many of the organisations will gradually be closed down or reduced drastically when the PL 480 funds finish. *Span*, in fact, was started because of these rupee funds. It now seems that there will also be a cut in the dollar-spending budget of the magazine. Fewer articles and photographs will be commissioned from abroad; more from India. In fact, a reprint of an article from a magazine like *Fortune* can cost as much as \$400.

The USICA used to publish a number of magazines in several countries; but now *Span* in India and *Topic* in Japan are probably the only ones left. *American Illustrated*, a glossy magazine circulated through the Soviet government in USSR still exists, but it is published from America itself.

Some of the other organisations which have been affected by the budget cuts are the Library of Congress activity in India, the Education Resources Centre in Defence Colony which has joint programmes with American universities, the US Education Programme under which groups of American school teachers were brought to India and the Fulbright scholarship programme. Even the textbook printing projects—they were printed in India and sold for less than a fourth of the price in America—have been affected. The pinch first came when Daniel Moynihan in 1974 wrote of India's rupee debt of Rs 1,664 crores. Before then, the capital of the PL 480 funds had not been touched. The remainder is now in the Reserve Bank gathering an interest of one per cent.

Some of the employees of USICA see the cuts as part of American's withdrawal symptoms from India. "In the mid-60's," said an employee, "all the American programmes like the USIS, the Peace Corps the USAID, which had 500 people at one time, were expanding. It was the era of the Democrats. But the enthusiasm began to flag. The Republicans thought that India was in the pocket of the USSR. And India also realised that the US favoured Pakistan. The US strategy used to be ideologically oriented towards democratic governments. But now only those countries are suitable for global strategy."

Madhu Jain

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The Government

The "Tarapur trap"

It looks as though the government has been caught irretrievably in the "Tarapur trap." Tarapur has been the odd man out among India's nuclear power projects; while other plants use natural uranium directly as fuel (heavy water type reactor), Tarapur uses light water as moderator and enriched uranium as fuel. The enriched uranium is supplied by the USA under an Indo-US nuclear cooperation agreement. But for quite sometime the USA has been doling out the fuel in dribs and drabs and wants India to subject all its nuclear installations to "full scope" safeguards, to which India is not agreeable. As the USA will not terminate the agreement India cannot obtain enriched uranium from France and the USSR; under the 30-year 1963 agreement India cannot obtain enriched uranium for Tarapur from any other source other than the USA. India could use plutonium 239 which is fissile material and could be produced in our reactors. India has already successfully experimented on lab scale with MOX, a mixture of plutonium oxide and uranium oxide. But here is the catch: India cannot use its plutonium for Tarapur because of its limited stocks. If India uses its stock of plutonium for charging the fast breeder test reactor, then it won't have enough for Tarapur if the Americans decide suddenly to terminate the agreement for the supply of fuel. And if we choose to use our stock of plutonium for another Pokhran type test then again there will not be enough for Tarapur. And so, India is hardly left with any option, other than continuing to depend on the USA. Meanwhile, work at Tarapur has come to a standstill.

No seat for railway conductors

The "upper class" conductors on trains, who maintain the booking charts and are each in charge of the work of four travelling ticket checkers (TTC), do not even have an assigned place to sit on in trains. The coach attendants and the TTCs are allotted seats, but not the conductors. For this, the main sufferer is the public; when passengers need to contact the conductor they do not know where to find him. So, till the railways decide to assign a place to the conductors, they have to continue travelling in any compartment where they can find a place to sit and be largely unavailable to the public.

Who is afraid of Pranab Mukherjee?

Who is afraid of union commerce and steel minister Pranab Mukherjee? Certainly not Mr K. C. Khanna, chairman of Steel Authority of India Ltd (SAIL), who has put Mr Mukherjee in a quandary: he has had a resolution passed by the SAIL board that the Vijayanagar steel plant near Hospet in Karnataka be approved; the two representatives of the steel ministry, Mr R. Ganapathy and Mr Ramaswamy Iyer, were not present at the meeting. The SAIL chairman, who is at loggerheads with Mr S. Samaddar, the steel secretary, did not stop there: he rushed to Bangalore without informing the steel ministry of the board decision to inform Mr Gundu Rao, the CM of Karnataka, that the centre had approved the Vijayanagar steel plant. Mr Rao lost no time in announcing this in the Karnataka Assembly. Steel ministry sources say that they came to know of the SAIL resolution only from the newspapers and are now faced with a problem. As the ministry is busy arranging for the Rs 3,000 crores needed for the Paradip steel plant, it does not know how it will get another Rs 3,000 crores for the

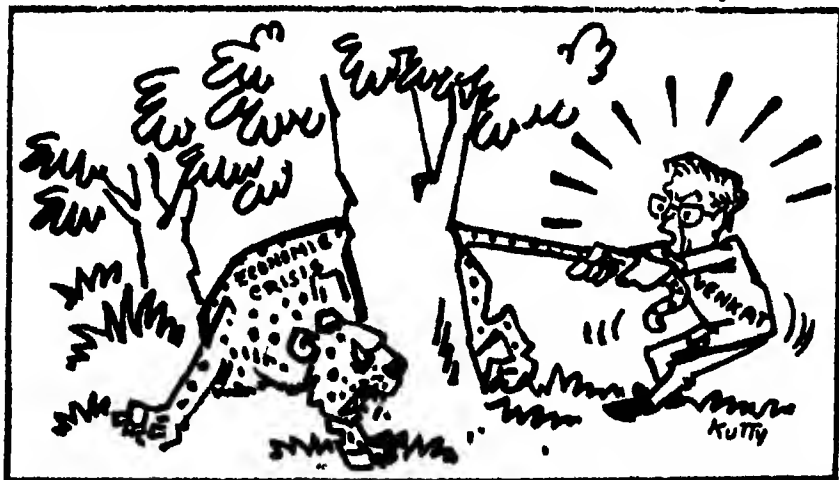
Vijayanagar plant. Moreover, since Vijayanagar is not near a coal belt, it will have to import coal from Mozambique and for this a 600 km railway line will have to be constructed between the coal mines and the port site in Mozambique, which would cost another Rs 1,000 crores.

Mr Khanna has of course put a lot of thought behind this move. He knows that the government is morally and politically bound to carry out the decision as Mrs Gandhi had laid the foundation stone of the Vijayanagar steel plant as early as in 1971, when the late Mohan Kumaramangalam was the steel minister. And this is precisely what has put Mr Pranab Mukherjee in a quandary—he was to somehow collect the money, for which he has to seek the approval of the Public Investments Board (PIB). Mr Mukherjee, who has been skillfully avoiding taking sides in the Samaddar-Khanna tussle for so long is now at his wit's end. He cannot afford to enrage Congress (I) MLAs in Karnataka. Mr Khanna, besides, is close to the 1 Safdarjung Road. So Mr Mukherjee cannot even complain.

Objective behind sugar import defeated

For the second consecutive year, India has opted to import sugar. The import is primarily meant to meet the demand for sugar during the festive season (around October), but the objective may be defeated. The reason: STC, which is handling the 2.14 lakh-tonne imports, has rescheduled the shipments. The first ship carrying 11,000 tonnes of sugar is to leave Brazil only on 15 September; the second ship, carrying an identical amount will leave France on 18 September; the third ship carrying 11,800 tonnes will leave France

even later. Add to this the time taken for the voyage, unloading and distribution. Obviously, the sugar is unlikely to reach consumers before or even during the festive season. Officials, however, are still claiming that the first ship will reach Kandla on 10 August. Also, no decision has yet been taken on how the sugar is to be distributed. Last year, the imported sugar was handed over to the states for distribution at prices ranging from Rs 6.10 to Rs 6.15 per kg. But little of it eventually reached the consumer. Only the states made profits.





The making of Silsila

By A CORRESPONDENT

The Amitabh and Jaya marriage was on the rocks. A grand affair was going on between Amitabh Bachchan and Rekha. Rekha was the other woman and Jaya had become the object of national sympathy. Month after month, gossip magazines dished out sensational scoops about the three filmstars; a growing number of readers absorbed everything that was being written: good or bad, true or fictitious.

But even as these rumours made brisk rounds Yash Chopra, the maker of films like *Kaala Patthar*, *Kabhi Kabhie* and *Deewar* was looking for a subject for his next film. After a relentless hunt he found one. It was the story of a man, his wife and the other woman. Its writer: Sagar Sarhadi, a friend of Yash. Sagar had reserved the subject for Yash Chopra because "something inside me" told him that the only filmmaker who could tackle the delicate subject was Yash Chopra, the only true romantic after Raj Kapoor.

Yash "fell madly in love with the

subject" according to Sagar and decided to make the film. His only problem was the cast. Amitabh Bachchan had already been decided upon. Yash wanted Amitabh to project an image different from that of the stereotyped angry young man and asked him to play a romantic poet—something like the Amitabh in *Kabhi Kabhie*. Sagar had his own ideas about the cast. Originally he wanted Amitabh and Smita Patil to play husband and wife and Padmini Kolhapure to play the other woman. But Yash would not agree. Serious misunderstandings followed and Sagar decided to have nothing to do with the film.

Within a matter of days Yash went into action. He started with the music. Yash did something that hardly anyone had expected: he signed two famous classical musicians—the flautist Hariprasad Chaurasia and the santoor player, Pandit Shiv Kumar Sharma—to score the music. The two formed a team, called it Shiv-Hari, and accepted the challenge. The excitement started from the very first day

and continued for the next few days at the HMV recording studios in Bombay. Three songs were sung by Amitabh Bachchan. It was an extraordinary move by Yash. Lata Mangeshkar joined Amitabh and sang two duets with him—for the first time. Five lyricists, Hasan Kamal, Javed (of the Salim and Javed team) Nida Fazli, Rajinder Krishan and Amitabh's father, the famous Hindi poet, Dr. Harivanshrai Bachchan wrote the lyrics. Soon everyone in the industry were talking about Yash Chopra's recording sessions. In a matter of days Yash completed recording all the songs. The first major step had been taken.

But the main problem was yet to be solved. The cast was of primary importance, on it depended the success of the film. Gradually, everything fell in place. There were talks of Smita Patil and Padmini Kolhapure being signed. Padmini was given a screen test, costumes were made for her; she was even given the cassette of the music. But was ultimately dropped. Smita too was almost finalised but replaced at the last minute.

Then things happened in quick succession. Yash signed Rekha to play the other woman and a wave of wild talk went through the industry. Soon after Rekha had been signed in, Yash confirmed the title. He was going to call it *Silsila*. With the signing of Rekha he had finished a big job but a bigger one faced him. He needed an actress who was also a star to play Amitabh's wife. He crossed out a number of big names. Then one day something unexpected, almost dramatic, happened. Jaya Bhaduri (Bachchan) joined the cast to play Amitabh's wife. Amitabh was to play the husband, Jaya his wife and Rekha, the other woman. Yash had achieved the impossible, said people who heard all about it. Jaya who time and again made it clear that she was not willing to make a comeback had come back and how!

The coming back of Jaya led to a number of questions. How did Yash manage this grand show? Why did Jaya make this dramatic decision? How did Amitabh who was firm about Jaya's not coming back allow her to return to films? How will Yash manage the three temperamental big stars? Will the film ever be made? But there was no one to answer them. Yash with Amitabh, Rekha and Jaya was already in Kashmir shooting what many in Bombay felt was going to be the most memorable film of his career. Needless to say buyers came from all over the place the day Jaya was signed. The film was a sellout in the distributors' market.

There are many stories told about Jaya's joining the cast. One says that one night Jaya just walked into Yash's house and said she wanted to talk to him. She said she wanted to play

Amitabh's wife in the film. Yash was stumped, stunned. A few days later all the problems were thrashed out and Jaya was in.

Even with stars as busy as Amitabh and Rekha in the film, Yash was able to complete his *Silsila* in the shortest possible time. It was a record. It was shot mostly on locations in Kashmir, Delhi and Amsterdam where Yash took his entire unit just to catch the tulips in season: romance with tulips around is really beautiful, Yash believes like Raj Kapoor.

Strangely enough not a single person not even a spot boy who was around during the making of *Silsila* talks about what happened during the making of the film. So gossip writers were once again at their inventive best and spun stories about the hard time and tension Amitabh faced to keep wife and girlfriend in real life at peace. There were stories about how Rekha had walked off in a huff and flown down to Bombay because Jaya was given some better lines to speak. Some even talked about how Yash cursed himself for bringing the three together. What the truth about the actual shooting of *Silsila* is not many know and few will know anything at least till the second week of August when the film is due to be released.

As is his normal practice Yash has not shown the film even to his closest friends. Consequently, enthusiasm and excitement about *Silsila* is rapidly rising. When provoked, all that Yash says is: "During the shooting I had no problem of any kind. Amitabh, Jaya and Rekha worked like thorough professionals all through the film and when there are professionals around there is nothing to worry."

Yash vehemently denies the fact that he signed the three to cash in on their popularity and all the things written about them. He is a very close friend of the Bachchans and would never dare to take advantage of their friendship for money. "I really don't know why people are seeing parallels in the film and the lives of the three stars. Anyway I am not saying anything at this stage. Let the film be released and you will find the truth" Yash says.

Today Yash Chopra is a relaxed man. He has completed what many called a difficult dream. Expectations are running high. Will Yash be able to fulfil these expectations? Will *Silsila* take Yash, the director to a new height? Will filmgoers accept the story of *Silsila*? Will they accept Amitabh as a romantic? Will Jaya continue to work after *Silsila*? Will Rekha's value as an actress rise? Will the release of the film tell on the personal lives of Amitabh, Jaya and Rekha? What will the impact of *Silsila* be on the industry?

These are some serious questions that are haunting many minds. Answers to these questions will be found in fifteen days. There is so much involved in *Silsila*. The industry is waiting expectantly to see what happens to one of its best directors, its number one star and two fantastic



Jaya and Rekha: enacting reality?

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Basic Drugs made by Glaxo

There are at present 15 drugs and drug intermediates manufactured by Glaxo from the basic stages. These include:

- Betamethasone—the most advanced of the glucocorticoid group of drugs.
- Methdilazine Hydrochloride.
- Vitamin A.

Glaxo has plans to manufacture nine other drugs right from the basic stage. These include drugs for treatment of heart diseases, intestinal worms, diarrhoeas and dysentery, allergy and diseases of the joints. Manufacturing sites have already been located and/or purchased and Government permissions are being sought.

Glaxo
a concern for health

THE WORLD

David against Israel

He's in his mid-twenties and speaks Arabic with a soft Scottish burr. He says his name is David; but his comrades call him Kassim. He's a PLO guerrilla based in Beaufort Castle in southern Lebanon.

David prefers not to divulge too much about his past. All he admits to is that he is a Scot and a former student of Edinburgh University where he studied politics and econo-

mics before getting involved with international socialism in a big way. He was in France when he came into contact with a number of PLO commandos and fell for their cause. "After a while I felt the need to express my support in more than just political terms. It was no longer enough to discuss the Palestinian struggle while people were dying for it. So I became a fighter," claims David.

Spot-the-kill laser



The US Hughes Aircraft Company has developed a laser device called Ground/Vehicular Laser Locator Designator which is capable of pinpointing military targets for attack. It can be mounted on fire-support armoured vehicles or on a ground tripod and will be delivered to the US army later this year.

Diana's 'feudal' father

Earl Spencer was busy preparing for his daughter's marriage to Prince Charles when Britain's National Union for Agricultural and Allied Workers (NAAAW) decided to sue him for his "feudal instinct." As the story goes, Bill Russell (38) had worked on Earl Spencer's Althrop estate for ten years as a farm foreman; in April this year, he suggested to his manager that he might want to leave the farm and two weeks later he came across an advertisement in *The Farmers' Weekly* inviting

applications for the job which he hadn't given up. He was subsequently ordered to sign an undertaking that he wanted to leave Althrop estate. Russell refused and the NAAAW promptly came to his rescue. However, the general secretary of the union, Jack Boddy, was not happy with the timing of the episode: "All the world loves a wedding and I wish the royal couple well. But we certainly have no love for a lord when he can do this to a decent, hardworking man."

OPEC oil for S. Africa?

Someone is supplying South Africa with 300,000 barrels of oil every day. He is one of the world's richest men: Dr Marino Chiavelli, the Italian oil tycoon who now lives in a sprawling £6 million mansion in Johannesburg. Dr Chiavelli is a middleman; he charges a two per cent commission on the oil he supplies to his client country. But where does he get the oil from? There are a host of pressmen and Soviet undercover agents in Johannesburg who are willing to pay any price for an answer to that question. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has clamped an embargo on oil supplies to South Africa; but Dr Chiavelli claims that his supplies are procured through "one of the biggest oil contracts from a Middle East country." This country is a member of OPEC. Is it Saudi Arabia which has struck an under-the-counter

deal with South Africa in return for a 'political premium?' A Dutch anti-apartheid organisation claims that 50 tankers sailed from Saudi Arabia to South Africa in the 15 months since January 1979. But this report remains unconfirmed. And now Dr Chiavelli is involved in a legal wrangle; a Greek businessman, Taki Xenopoulos, has taken him to court on the grounds that he has been charging illegal commission on the oil supply to South Africa. However, for those who believed that now at last the international oil racket would be busted, it turned out to be a damp squib. On the opening day of Dr Chiavelli's case at Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg, Justice Coetzee ordered the courtroom to be cleared and the case file discreetly marked "Not to be divulged to members of the public and the press." So the mystery remains.

Briefly

CIA's feverish pitch?



Dengu fever has hit Cuba, claiming 113 lives till the time of our going to press. While this is bad news in itself, Fidel Castro's allegation in this regard is really alarming: "We share the suspicion of the people that this plague could have been introduced into our country by the CIA."

PLO admitted

The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) was admitted to the World Chess Federation (FIDE) as a provisional member at Atlanta (USA) recently.

Zaheer whips Viv



Pakistani batsman Zaheer Abbas' devastating form in the county fixture this summer has made headlines; but what has gone largely unnoticed is the single-wicket contest at Bristol on 28 July which Zaheer won by heating West Indian run-machine Vivian Richards, considered his better. According to the rules of the contest, the batsmen lost 10 runs each time they were out. Zaheer slammed 178 and was dismissed once in the process. Viv lost his wicket six times while struggling to reach 190.

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UNICEF helps Orissa orphanages

The UNICEF has donated equipment worth Rs two lakhs to five orphanages in Orissa. The orphanages, situated at Jeypore, Cuttack, Berhampore and Balasore, are run by the Utkal Balashran central committee, an organisation which is patronised by the state governor. More than 450 young people live in these orphanages. The equipment provided includes 16 sewing machines, four sets each of tools for carpentry, radio repairing kits and kits for electricians. The UNICEF is also funding the purchase of barbed wires, pump sets, seeds, fertilisers and gardening tools for the orphanage gardens. All this will go a long way in enabling the orphanages to impart vocational skills to their young inmates.

Integrated circuits for North Korea

The Electronic and Technology Development Corporation (ETDC) has bagged its largest foreign contract, from North Korea, to manufacture integrated circuits. The contract has been awarded by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) and is valued at 3.5 million dollars. In addition, the ETDC is expected to net two million dollars for materials it exports for the project. The project envisages training of Korean technicians and the setting up of a pilot plant to produce integrated circuits. ETDC's achievement is all the more remarkable as integrated circuits are right in the forefront of modern technology.

Rehabilitation of illegitimate children

The government of Maharashtra has appointed a three-member ministerial committee to look into the problem of illegitimate children, including those of *devadasis*. The committee, which has to suggest measures for the care and rehabilitation of such children, will submit its report within three months.

Orissa's soil conservation efforts

The Orissa soil conservation organisation has launched a massive campaign to combat soil erosion. A survey conducted recently has shown that 47 per cent of Orissa's land area is exposed to soil erosion, with Keonjhar district being the worst affected. It is in this district that the soil conservation organisation is concentrating its activities. The soil conservation authorities are trying to wean away tribals from shifting cultivation which is a major source of soil erosion. The other anti-erosion and ravine control measures include steps to educate the farmer about the harmful effects of erosion and construction of terraces.

GOOD NEWS

Photocomposing in Telugu

A photocomposing system for Telugu has been developed for the first time in the country by the Computer Maintenance Corporation (CMC), a government of India enterprise. Hitherto, the only other south Indian language in which photocomposing

Help for Bihar's farm hands

The Bihar government is taking steps to ensure payment of minimum wages fixed by the government to all farm labourers. For this, it is to set up soon a high-powered committee. Last year, at the instance of the government, landlords in Bihar paid wage arrears to the tune of Rs 7.64 lakhs. In addition, 4,600 quintals of foodgrains were given to farm labourers during the same period.

could be done was Tamil. R. Narayanswamy of CMC explains that Telugu, with hundreds of characters in its script, relies on phonetic spelling which is more logical than spelling in English and thus more easily adaptable to electronic applications.

Industrial development in the NE

The central government has launched an intensive two-phased programme for industrial development in the north east, to enable the region to reach an industrial take-off stage soon. The first phase is aimed at immediately drawing up and implementing plans

and projects while the second phase will look into perspective plans. It has also been decided to set a time table for industrialisation to coincide with the completion of each infrastructural project and to promote optimum industrial development from area to area.

Indian sets world record

On 5 July, 23-year-old S. Mahadevan of Mangalore set a world record in "memory computerising" by reciting from memory 31,811 numbers in three

hours and 39 minutes. According to the Guinness Book of World Records, the record so far has been 20,013 numbers in nine hours and 14 minutes.

Vocalists Awarded

Pandit Mallikarjun Mansoor and Pandit Semmangudi Radhakrishna Srinivasa Iyer, eminent vocalists of Hindusthani and Karnataci music, respectively, have been presented the Kalidas Samman award for 1981. Instituted by the Madhya Pradesh government early this year, the award was set up to encourage maestros in the field of the plastic and the performing arts. The

Kalidas Samman is in fact India's highest national award in this field, and it consists of a cash prize of Rs one lakh and a decorated citation plaque. This year's recipients, both of whom have received the Padma Bhushan, were each presented with a cheque of Rs one lakh by the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, at a function held in Bhopal on 20 July.

Pandit Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer with Madhya Pradesh CM Arjun Singh.



KHAAS BAAT

The inevitable has happened, finally. Much as they tried to hold up the dual fort together, things soured up between the once inseparable team *Salim-Javed*. Reason: repeated failure at the box-office which gave rise to resentment and accusation between the two. What with Javed's hot tempered outbursts and Salim's slick-operative style, it did not take much for the once envied partnership to go the way many other such teams have gone. Now that the split is complete, I wonder if the next inevitable thing will follow: each will start talking about the deep secrets of the other.

What do you think is the latest about *Deepak Parashar*? The actor is going around with none other than *Rakhee*! And all because, the two have worked together in a film. Strange though it may seem, a bit of calculation and deduction proved that the rumour was spread by *Deepak* and his own clique. Reason: instant publicity, of course. Incidentally, an insider when told of the incredible link up, sneered and said calmly, how can he have an affair with a woman in the first place? Well being an insider, he should know *Deepak* thoroughly.



Rakhee: 'You know why I don't like Deepak'

Hema Malini had made herself famous as much by her pride as by her other achievements. Of course, she is no longer the number one she used to be, neither is she the attractive unmarried star she used to be. But the pride is yet to leave her. After all, she belonged to an Iyengar family and had a

man with an impeccably honest and unfilmy background for a father. Besides, now that she is married, and no longer the withering spinster that people feared she would turn into, she does little to conceal her conceit for unmarried girls not belonging to her own circle.

Raj Kiran, Rekha and Sashi Kapoor in a still from *Baseraa*



Established actresses at the box-office are feeling the chill run down their spines, now that *Parveen Babi* is back. *Parveen*'s fantastic performance in off-beat films has given her a new dimension, is what publicity—most of it by lip—amounts to. Naturally, stars like *Rekha*, who used to pride herself on being able to win the confidence of *Hrishikesh Mukherji* and thought she would replace none other than *Jaya Bhaduri* by dint of her talents; are feeling rather shaky. As for *Parveen*, she has started to imitate *Jaya* in every respect, and is angling for the position that *Rekha* held so long in the industry.

If *Raj Kiran* does not watch his figure and face, which is like a waxing moon at its peak, he will soon have to play roles of wrestlers, or play father to stars like *Shashi*, *Amitabh* or maybe even *Dev Anand*! In fact, in a film awaiting release, he looks like *Shashi*'s father and was doing the role of *Shashi*'s son. And *Shashi*? He looks trim and handsome, and now that he has mellowed with age, he outshines the performance of his colleagues and sometimes even his own earlier performance.

Ah, what wouldn't one give to become a superstar. For the privileges strung to superstardom are countless. And the others who crave for the status of a superstar just hanker for the privileges. Take the case of the superstar who has this special makeup room in the *Seth Studios* in suburban *Bombay*. The room is the best and is naturally coveted by all the stars who go there. While others may go on wanting the room, our superstar will not budge an inch from the room when he is around. But hold your breath! Our superstar has a standard of his own when his partner superstar, *Rekha*, visits the studios. The room is easily available to her. And do you know what her excuse is when she is asked why she likes making-up in the superstar's room? Well, she says she can work better because his *khushboo* (air) is in the room

The annual Filmfare awards night turned out to be a bit of a family affair, what with *Suhasini* grinning and blabbering incoherently, presumably to impress *Amitabh Bachchan* who was there; and her father *Charuhasan* making himself busy distributing pictures and PR material about daughter *Suhasini* and brother *Kamalahasan*. Of course, *Pratap Pothan* was there—looking somewhat uncomfortable in a suit—to receive his award for *Chamaram*. But, none of the other big names were around. While *Bhanuchander* was not even invited, *Bhagyaraj* and *Rajnikant* preferred to spend the evening elsewhere which provided *Suhasini* with the opportunity to shower *Amitabh* with her charming smiles. Perhaps, she was trying to say that she too would like to try her luck in *Bombay* and could Mr *Bachchan* help!

KHAAS BAAT



Swapna and Kamalhasan in Tick, Tick, Tick

asking me to strip or do love scenes as yet... not even my controversial *Savitri* director *Bharatan*," said *Menaka*, whose acting in *Oppol* won her more than one Kerala state award and four national awards. The film has just completed a hundred days in Kerala. "I am often tempted to chuck the whole thing up, pursue my studies and become a doctor." However, that appears to be her second choice. For wasn't it a year ago that she was saying that she wanted to become a teacher or a private tuteess. Next year she might want to become a lawyer!

Here's what *Jayamala* has to say about two of her colleagues: "*Anant* and *Shankar (Nag)* are fine as artistes...but they'd be a lot finer if their wives didn't interfere with their work!"

BRIANJI

Menaka: high ambitions



"A docile woman kept on a tight rein by a miserly husband bursts out in a moment of femininity against him. And feminists down south feel they've chalked up another movie for themselves," said *Swapna* laughing. *Swapna* in reality is *Manjuri Dhody* and she acquired her screen name, *Swapna*, as heroine of *Dasari Narayana Rao's* film, *Supna*. *Dasari Rao* entered the *Kannada* screen with this film also starring *Raana* and *Ramji*. It has turned out to be a small hit in *Karnataka*.

Rajnikant: better things to do



Once upon a time the south's film industry-men thought that *Radhika* was being foolish by moving around with *Sudhakar*, her co-star of many flops. They were under the impression that *Radhika* had a bright future while *Sudhakar* urgently needed vocational guidance. Tongues, however, stopped wagging when *Radhika* lost interest in *Sudhakar* and the romance faded into the past. Although now she has got rid of *Sudhakar*, *Radhika* does not seem to be doing too well and what is more embarrassing is that newcomers like *Menaka* and *Sathyakala* are far, far busier than her.

Sujatha, the sappy-eyed star of *Sujatha*, *Guppedu Manasu* and *Gorintaku* who suddenly appeared on the *Telugu* screen after fairly successful roles in *Tamil* and *Malayalam* films, found her rating shooting up till her clash with *Dasari Narayana Rao*. With her popularity rating quite low now, *Sujatha* is hoping that *Seeta Davi* and *Ramaapuram Lo Seetha* directed by *Iranki Sarma* and *Dhavalas Satyam* will turn out to be hits so that she can find her name among the greats once again.

"I am still surprised at the decency of the *Malayalam* movie industry. No one has even thought of

Suhasini: running for Amitabh?



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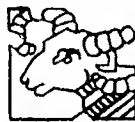
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VC/EIL/051D/81

By **AMRITLAL**

Beginning **23 August**



ARIES (15 April—14 May) Stars forecast a bright week ahead of you. There will be progress on all fronts. So make use of every opportunity that comes your way. Those in service will win the praise of people who matter. There are chances of windfall gains through a lottery. A secret association will prove helpful. **Good dates:** 23, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June) This is going to be a fairly fortunate week for you. A good time to undertake risky ventures, so forge ahead with your plans. There might be some changes in your personal life: you may have to change your place of residence. Your good fortune may induce you to be extravagant. It will be better if you can check such tendencies. **Good dates:** 24, 26 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 8. **Favourable direction:** North.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July) A very bright week, financially. You will get several opportunities to increase your income. However, it would be better for you to consult your elders before taking any decisions. Also, your good fortune will tempt you to be extravagant. A few words of advice: conserve your energy and do not take anything for granted. **Good dates:** 25, 27 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



CANCER (15 July—14 August) This will be a good week provided you rely on your intuition on all matters. Careerwise this is going to be a good week provided you can forge ahead with your plans. Watch out for sudden bursts of temper, which can ruin the good work that you have been putting in. You might have to undertake a journey towards the end of the week. **Good dates:** 23, 26 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



LEO (15 August—14 September) A week for love and romance. Those in love can start thinking about marriage. Those yet to find the right person, be on the look out, for the person of your choice is not far away. For those in service, the time is ripe for a promotion. However, take care to keep your employer in good humour. **Good dates:** 24, 25 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and North.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October) Your health might cause you some problems during the course of the week, so take no chances with the weather. The domestic front will remain peaceful. You will, however, not be left in the lurch: friends and relatives will visit you regularly and help you pull through the monotony of lying in bed. **Good dates:** 25, 26 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November) This week relatives will prove particularly helpful. They will assist you in your work and see that you succeed at the end of it all. A word of caution: much as a relative might help you, a newly acquired friendship might result in incalculable losses. So, take the advice of elders instead of that of friends. Do not take anything for granted. **Good dates:** 23, 26 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December) This is a week of steady and occasionally rapid progress. A promotion is not altogether impossible. Financially, this is a bright week too. You are likely to gain either through property or through insurance policies. A very good time for romance, but you will have to depend on your intuition for the affair to work out well. **Good dates:** 24, 28 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January) Courage, fortitude and faith will help you solve most of your problems this week. Those in service are likely to receive transfer orders. However, wait for a letter before you take an important decision. This is a good week for romance. So go right ahead if you have any marriage plans. Start matrimonial correspondence. **Good dates:** 26, 28 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** Southwest.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February) This unfortunately is not a very good week for you. If you are in service, you must be extra cautious not to displease your employer. Businessmen are advised to pay attention to the minutest detail of contracts and deals they enter into. This is the time to seek the advice of friends and relatives. **Good dates:** 25, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March) This may turn out to be a fairly good week provided you take the necessary precautions. Be on your guard: friends are out to deceive you. Do not take any important decisions. This is not a good week for romance either, so do not be in a hurry to strike up a new friendship with someone of the opposite sex. **Good dates:** 23, 28 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 2 and 4. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



PISCES (15 March—14 April) A pleasant week lies ahead of you. A beautiful new friendship will develop and may ultimately lead to romance. Young people will have a hectic time: there will be parties and invitations. The financial front does not seem particularly bright. Do not worry about legal matters. A letter at the end of the week will bring you good news. **Good dates:** 25, 26 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 8. **Favourable directions:** North and South.

For those born between 15 August and 14 September: This coming year will be excellent for those involved in athletic pursuits. Prizes and honours in national and international meets will come in. You like to travel and in the coming months many of you will get a fair share of travelling to distant places. One of your habitual traits is dressing well and being very neat and clean in your appearance. You are also interested in acting and music. In fact, many of you are quite talented in drama and music. Above all these qualities you like to keep yourself busy in reading. In your professional sphere you are known for your bold decisions and high quality of leadership. You are liked by your elders and employers for your stable attitude and your excellent self-control. For these same qualities you will gain a lot of prestige and honour. But these

qualities will make enemies of your relatives who will not be able to bear with your high prestige and egotism. Socially, too, you will gain honour and prestige.

Financially, many of you have gained a lot of money from an unexpected source. But this is in the early part of your life. Towards the middle of your life you will have to face financial difficulties. However, there is nothing to worry because by the age of 42 you will gain financial equilibrium again.

This year will be a good time for those doing business in forest produce, stones, foodgrains, engineering instruments, gold, paper, cotton and copper. Others who will do well are those involved in the mortgage, agency business and brokerage. But a word of caution: do not enter into partnerships.

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BOMBAY: The Bombay fire-brigade today performed an off-beat job. Someone dialled 101 to complain that a monkey was "troubling" a child in a second floor apartment at Kandivli in north-west Bombay. None dared to go near the animal. The fire-brigade personnel, however, chased away the monkey as onlookers had a hearty laugh—*Times of India* (Sweety, Gaya)

TRICHUR: Vijayan, a 30-year-old tusk, is doing penance in the Bhagavati temple at Cherpu near Trichur. He was naughty and his owner Mr K. R. Yasudevan Nambudiripad of Macchad decided the fellow should be subjected to divine discipline. It was a week-long observance—Vijayan should go round the temple in the mornings and evenings, eat the Devi's *prasad* and do *namaskar* to Her. The penance ended on 13 July. Mr Nambudiripad hopes Vijayan will be a good boy hereafter—*Indian Express* (E. P. Unnikrishna Panickar, Malappuram)

AHMEDABAD: The lacunae in the Bombay Stamp Act, 1958, has enabled some unscrupulous men to easily acquire mistresses without fear of being prosecuted for bigamy. All that a man has to do is to just make a contract deed with the woman and get it registered with the registrar's office here—*Times of India* (Anand R. Deshpande, Solapur)

BANGALORE: Mr B. S. Horatti, ruling Congress(I) member, today complained in the Karnataka legislative council that he had not been able to sleep in his room at the legislators' hostel for the last eight nights because of "unbecoming activities" in the neighbouring room. "The whole of last night I did not sleep a wink," he told the chairman who promised to inquire personally into the matter—*Times of India* (S. P. Bakshi, Patiala)

NEW DELHI: Large-scale absenteeism among women operators is one of the main reasons for the poor performance of the trunk and the special services of the telephone departments in the four metropolitan centres. According to the

Sarin Committee on telecommunications, the absenteeism is very high—30 to 35 per cent—against the leave reserve of 10 per cent. In the evening shifts and in the holiday season, the absenteeism rises to as high as 50 per cent, crippling operation of the services—*Times of India* (Aftab Hussain, Gaya)

RAXAUL: The principal of the Parsa degree college was caught redhanded while allegedly manipulating the marks in the answer books of Bihar University intermediate mathematics examination at M. S. College, Motihari, according to East Champaran district magistrate, Rajkumar Singh. Mr Singh said that he had recommended to the Vice-Chancellor of the Bihar University for immediate suspension of the principal who had been debarred from further evaluation work. After this incident other examiners boycotted their work—*Hindustan Times* (Rajesh Karnik, New Delhi)

NEW DELHI: A local journalist who, armed with a revolver, went to a gambler's den on an investigative scoop assignment, was not only beaten up but also landed himself in police custody on charges of robbery and attempt to murder. Relating his experience to newsmen from his hospital bed in Faridabad, near here, the journalist, G. K. Singh, said he had gone to the den on the Delhi-Haryana border on a tip off that gambling was taking place there under police protection. He managed to enter the den but the gangsters became suspicious and beat him up. Later, they handed him over to a passing police party—*The Daily* (Dr Priti, Chandrapur)

KAPURTHALA: Shibbo, the sandwich seller, lived like a pauper but he died a rich man. His small *khokha* on the road used to be an attraction to many passersby. He fell ill about four months ago and his condition deteriorated for want of treatment. Some kind-hearted persons took him to the civil hospital. There he told the doctors that he had some money in his *khokha*. They found a small box full of currency notes and the amount added up to Rs 78,610. Notes worth Rs 3,000 were so damaged that these had to be sent to the Reserve Bank of India for exchange—*Indian Express* (Daljit Singh, Chandigarh)

JAIPUR: A woman of Samel village in the Lalsot *tehsil* area of Jaipur district gave birth to a child on a tree during the floods. At Morel and Dhund rivers. The Gyarsi, whose house was almost completely flooded, had a bed made for her on the tree—*Indian Express* (Sumer Koul, Srinagar)

What happened during the Emergency, which is not happening today?—Ram Jethmalani

Lathi leke hamare peeche padi thi (She was after me with a lathi)—Sheikh Abdullah on Mrs Gandhi's attitude to him

I should have much preferred to have waited a couple of years before going to Parliament—Rajiv Gandhi in an interview with *Der Spiegel*

I have brought you a message from Madani who says she would like you to give up your job—Hari Shastri, son of former Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, to T. N. Singh, Governor of West Bengal, quoted in *India Today*

I do not want to be a hindrance or a stumbling block in an administration which is under the most able and determined stewardship of our chief minister (Gundu Rao)—C. M. Ibrahim on resigning as Karnataka planning and wakf minister

It (the public interest) cannot be what the Prime Minister thinks is public interest with no reason asked or given—H. M. Seervai, jurist, before the Supreme Court in the Judges' transfer petition case

She (Mrs Gandhi) is not addicted to any ideology and knows full well that only if she can bring about economic improvement will Rajiv have a chance—S. Nihal Singh in *The Indian Express*

In a way the Lok Sabha today truly reflects the shoddy texture of national life—its opportunism, its pettiness, its narrow loyalties, its topsy turvy priorities, its penchant for focussing on the trivial while ducking the big issues—Sham Lal in *Imprint*

The intelligence men can't sleep without bugging my telephone—Jagjivan Ram in an interview with *Weekend Review*

I am giving a blanket assurance that we will not enforce the (striking) Ordinance—West Bengal labour minister Krishnapada Ghosh

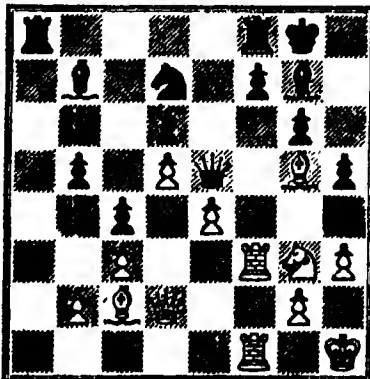
Banning *Mein Kampf* would be like shooting sparrows with a cannon—West German justice minister Juergen Schmude

Journalists frequently are crude, devious, paranoid, cynical, egoistical, drunken, sex-crazy, money-hungry, self-important and always on the look-out for free meals—Aurag Mathur, editor, *Surya*

It would be unfair to allow our (Pakistani) girls to play hockey or any outdoor sports viewed by non-Muslim men of a non-Muslim country when our menfolk are denied this opportunity—Letter in Karachi newspaper *Star*

chess

Spassky (Black)



Tal (White) to move
Position after Black's 35th move

This has been a disappointing year for Mikhael Tal. The imminence of the great Tal revival was being excitedly trumpeted round the chess world as the ex-world champion seemed to be recovering some of his former sparkle, sharing first place with Karpov in Montreal and winning the Riga Interzonal in a canter. The pundits regarded him as favourite to qualify from the Candidates series, perhaps more in hope than expectation.

for Tal's health has been none too good for some years now and could certainly not be relied upon to survive the rigors of three successive candidates' matches. As it turned out all the speculation came to a rather ignominious end as Tal fell at the first hurdle in the face of an unexpectedly tough and resilient Polugaevsky. Since then Tal's results by his own high standards have been rather drab. But the magic is still there. Just look at this superb game from Tilburg, a tournament in which Tal's overall result would not catch the eye, but this game certainly does.

White: Tal Black: Spassky
Tilburg 1980
Ruy Lopez
1. P-K4, P-K4; 2. N-KB3, N-QB3; 3. B-N5, P-QR3; 4. B-R4, N-B3; 5. O-O, B-K2; 6. R-K1, P-QN4; 7. B-N3, P-Q3; 8. P-B3, O-U; 9. P-KR3, N-N1; The Breyer Defence, considered one of Black's most reliable systems, in particular one favoured by Karpov
10. P-Q4, QN-Q2; 11. QN-Q2, B-N2; 12. B-B2, R-K1; 13. N-B1, B-KB1; 14. N-N3, P-N3; 15. P-QR4, P-B4; 16. P-Q5, P-B5; 17. B-N5, P-KR3; 18. B-K3, R-N1; 19. Q-Q2, P-KR4. Spassky's choice of this system of defence is curious in his match against Lajos Portisch of Hungary three and a half years ago. Spassky won a brilliant game on the white side of this variation with a knight sacrifice on KR5. He now changes sides and lalls victim himself to a very similar sacrifice. If there's a moral somewhere I must confess I don't see it.
20. N-N5, N-R2; 21. N x N, K x N; 22. R-KB1, K-N1; 23. K-R1, B-N2; 24. P x P, P x P; 25. P-B4, P x P; 26. B x P, Q-K2; 27. B-N5, Q-K4; 28. B-B4, Q-K2; 29. B-N5, Q-K4 30. R-B3. Opting to avoid the draw by repetition. The danger is that if he cannot break through on the

kingside, he will be conceding control of the queenside for nothing.
30. . . . R-R1; 31. QR-KB1, R-KB1;

DIAGRAM

32. N x P; P x N; 33. R-B5, Q-K1; 34. P-K5!! A brilliant complementary sacrifice unmasking the famous 'Lopez' bishop, without which the whole concept would be nonsense.
34. . . . P x P Or 34. . . . N x P. 35. B-B6, N-N3, 36. R x P and if 36. . . . B x B 37. Q-R6! Spassky tries to construct a defence along the third rank.
35. B-R6, R-R3; 36. B x B, K x B; 37. Q-B1 Cutting off Black's only form of defence.
37. . . . P-B3; 38. R-N6+! K-B2; if 38. . . . P x R, 39. Q x P+ K-R1, 40. Q-R6+ and Q-R7 mate.
39. B-N6+ K-K3; 40. B-B5+ to reach the time control. Of course 40. B x Q wins but Tal, typically, finds a more elegant method.
40. . . . K-B2; 41. Q-Q1! R-KR1; 42. B-N6+ K-K3; 43. B x Q, R x B; 44. Q x P, R-Q1; 45. R-N7, K x P; 46. Q-B7 Resigns.

DRAW!

White: Polovodin Black: Magerremov
1. P-K4, P-QB4; 2. N-KB3, P-K3; 3. P-Q4, P x P; 4. N x P, N-KB3; 5. N-QB3, P-Q3; 6. B-K2, P-QR3; 7. P-B4, B-K2; 8. O-O, O-O; 9. B-K3, N-B3; 10. Q-K1, N x N; 11. B x N, P-QN4; 12. R-Q1, Q-B2; 13. P-K5, P x P; 14. P x P, N-Q2; 15. N-K4, B-N2; 16. N-B6+, K-R1; 17. Q-R4, P-KR3; 18. R-Q3, N x P; 19. R-QB3, Q-Q3; 20. R-R3, KR-Q1; 21. Q x B+, P x Q; 22. R x P+, K-N2; 23. R-R7+, K-B1; 24. R-R8+, K-N2; 25. R-R7+ Draw.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



When printers had to pass sheets of bi-coloured stamps twice through the printing press, a momentary lapse of concentration might result in one part of the design being inverted by mistake. This happened with one sheet of the Transvaal 2s 6d revenue stamps of 1902, so that the portrait of King Edward VII is upside down in its frame. This mint example realised £90 in a recent Hermers of London sale. The stamp is one of many interesting varieties listed with the normal issues in *British Commonwealth Revenues*, by J. Barefoot and A. Hall (Barefoot Investments, York 142 pp, £10). A comprehensive and well illustrated catalogue of revenue stamps of the Commonwealth, except Britain, this is the first book of its kind since 1910.

C. W. HILL

bridge

It is difficult to stop writing about the Olympiad, because so many marvellous hands were reported. This little story, from the match between Poland and Pakistan, was described in the *IBPA Bulletin* by Panos Gerontopoulos.

Dealer, West E-W vulnerable

♠ 8 5 4 2
♥ 9 8 7 5 4
♦ A 7 5 2
♣ —

♠ 7 6
♥ A Q 6
♦ 8 4 3
♣ J 10 7 6 3

N
W E
S

♠ K 3
♥ K J 10 3 2
♦ 10
♣ K Q 8 5 2

♠ A Q J 10 9
♥ —
♦ K Q J 9 6
♣ A 9 4

In the closed room the Polish East opened Three Clubs, which in his system indicated a limited 5-5 type with clubs and another suit. The bidding continued.

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What is graphology?
2. What is metrology?
3. What is pantonal music?
4. What is nephanalysis?
5. What is the New Left?

5. It is a political tendency which emerged in the 1950s through disenchantment with the old Left.

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Fazli	Szurg	Nishat	Zaremba
—	No	No	3♣
—	5♣	5♥	—
—	No	No	—
—	No	No	—
—	6♣	No	No
—	—	No	No

Neither double by East seems to be particularly well judged, and one wonders whether the bidding was correctly recorded, for the Six Spade bid surely should have come from North. South, doubled in Five Spades, made an overtrick in Six Spades and recorded 1310, which looks useful, but

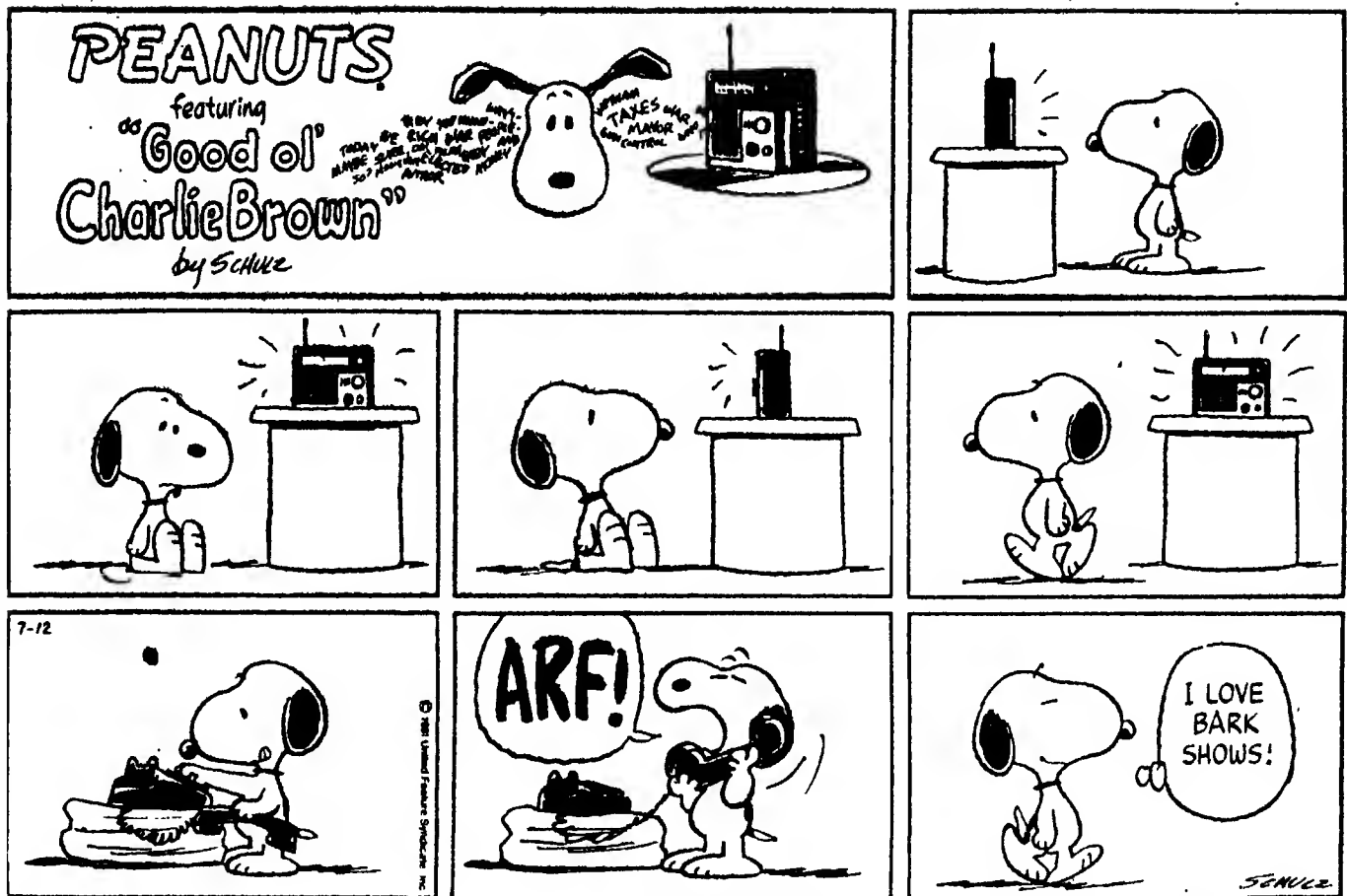
SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Milde	Masood	Kudia	Mahmood
—	No	No	1♥
—	2♥	No	4♥
—	4♣	No	6♠
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

South ruffed the heart lead, ruffed a club and, content with his contract, led a spade to the Ace, giving Poland the advantage with a score of 1570.

TERENCE REESE

1. The study of handwriting as a means of making inferences about the psychological character of the writer.
2. The precise establishment and comparison of the standard units of measurement.
3. Music whose component parts are at times identifiable in terms of various conventional "keys" without any one key being established as predominant.
4. It is the meteorological term for the analysis of cloud patterns.

ANSWERS



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SUNDAY

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CRIME
CAPITAL

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destroying the
coal industry?*



Ghani Khan Chowdhury



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25/8/81



The nation's political capital is well on its way to becoming its crime capital also. Though particular types of crime may be more rampant in other cities, what makes Delhi's crime more serious is the incredible amount of protection that the underworld dons get there, being at the seat of power, they have struck a deal with the powerful **Page 8**

India has approached the IMF for a record \$ 6 billion loan and can hardly refuse its well-known medicine which may do the economy no good. **Page 28**

Janata MP, Syed Shahabuddin, asks when we will rid ourselves of the violence within us that causes communal carnages. **Page 32**



A B. A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury is out to destroy the coal industry which the government took over to give miners and the nation a better deal. The present energy minister has destroyed CIL officers' morale and been charged with serious corruption in Parliament. **Page 18**

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IS YOUR LIVER KEEPING PACE WITH YOU?

Check the following symptoms

Tired easily? Your liver stores sugar and important vitamins. Naturally, when it's sluggish, your body receives less nutrition—and you feel sapped long before the day is over.

Sleepless? When tension isn't the cause of insomnia, think of your liver, and your digestive system. Discomfort due to flatulence and constipation can prevent you from enjoying sound restful sleep.

Lack of appetite? When you feel full and listless even before you begin your meal, it means your liver isn't performing as it should. Particularly in breaking down and absorbing fat.

Slow body growth? In children, a sluggish liver slows down the absorption of nutrients, so vital for body growth. Supplement your child's diet with the essential protein derived from one of the richest sources of amino acids, the liver, to build up the child's overall state of nutrition, the body.

Low resistance to disease?

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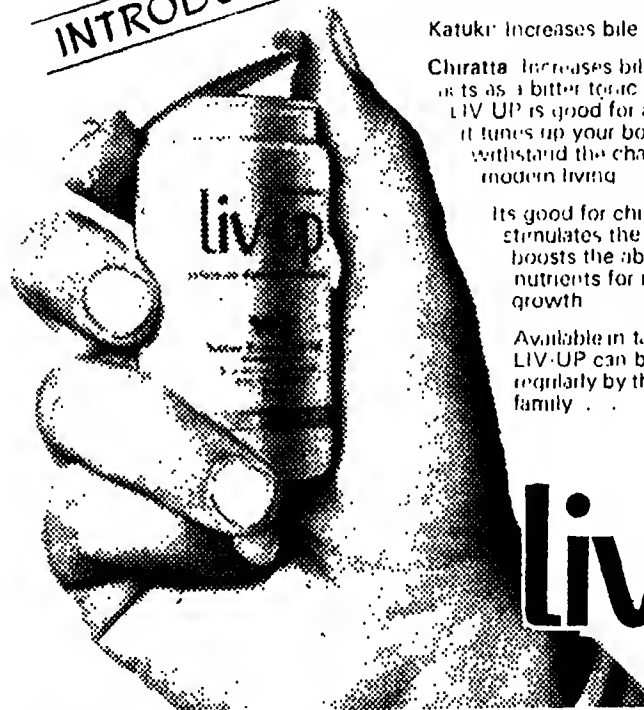
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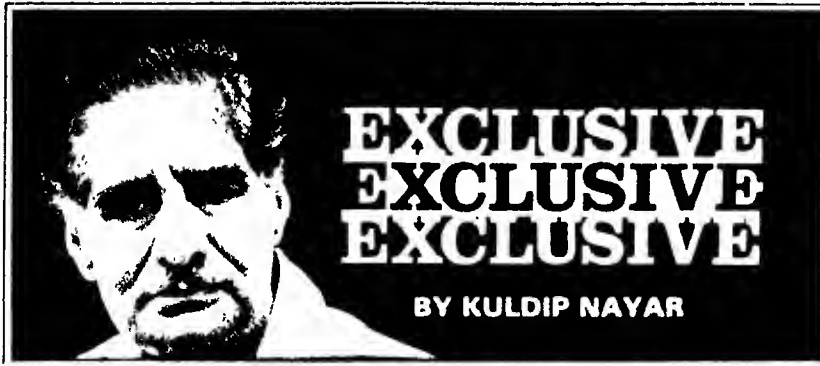


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Conversions are no concern of a secular nation

Conversions do not bother me. They can indicate at worst the weakening of faith in the religion one is born in to or at best the acceptance of the superiority of another. In neither case is it a topic that should give one sleepless nights. Since the converts, whether at Meenakshipuram or Kanpur, do not cease to be Indians; it matters little whether Hindus become Muslims or Muslims become Hindus.

I think a secular country has no business to be concerned about who is embracing which religion. The very basis of secularism is that a person's religious faith is irrelevant. The framers of the Constitution did not even accept a suggestion to insert the word 'God' in the preamble because they did not want it to reflect a non-secular attitude.

The interim report on fundamental rights put before the Constituent Assembly did allow "conversion" from one religion to another, but not by "coercion or undue influence." The House was divided even on that. The matter was referred to an advisory committee which decided to drop the provision regarding "conversion." (While K. M. Munshi opposed conversion under the age of 18, Mr Frank Anthony and Father D'Souza argued that children could not be separated from their parents.)

The point to look into is "coercion or undue influence." Money or some other consideration has on occasions played an important part in conversion. There are allegations against some West Asian countries. The government should look into those and not make conversion a law and order

problem. Not long ago, Saudi Arabia approached the government of India for investing money in those districts where Muslims were financially weak. The government rejected the offer. How I wish that Saudi Arabia had given money for backward areas, whether they had Muslim or Hindu populations. Such instances must be quite embarrassing for Indian Muslims themselves as conversions are.

But the way New Delhi is going about the whole thing is quite disappointing. Recently the state chief secretaries discussed in New Delhi the conversions in Tamil Nadu. The overzealous home minister, Mr Zail Singh, flew south to study the matter. And the other day Mrs Gandhi called some Arya Samaj leaders and reportedly told them to create public opinion so that the government could intervene. The Arya Samaj leaders reportedly gave certain instances of "huge money" offered as reward for conversion. The government can look into the charges but I do not know why the Prime Minister and the home minister are getting involved in it. The Constitution does not debar conversion, nor the propagation of religion. If the charges of coercion or bribery are not correct, why should a secular government try to intervene?

The non-communist opposition leaders in a statement have gone to the extent of saying that "it is not only a matter of the fate of one community but of the future of the Indian nation itself." I do not know how it works out that way. Conversion of people from one religion to another does not mean that they become members of another nation. Mahatma Gandhi in his famous correspondence with Jinnah had said that converts did

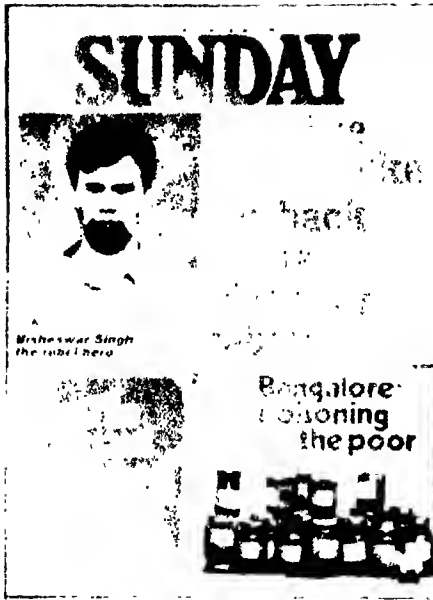
not constitute a different nation. If the opposition leaders find some Muslim leaders talking about Muslims constituting a different nation, they should take them to task, and not cast doubts about the future of the Indian nation as such.

I am sure an average Muslim has nothing to do with conversions, he in fact is afraid lest this should become a point of anger against him. There are fundamentalists who consider the act of converting a pious deed, but not ordinary Muslims. The problem is basically that of Hindu society itself. Harijans are treated as less than human. Even today the discrimination against them in villages is such that they cannot sit with caste Hindus, cannot drink from the same well and cannot sit down or eat together.

A social leader who has returned from the Rajasthan countryside where he did relief work in the wake of the floods tells me that while Hindus and Muslims would queue up for medicines in the same line there would be a separate queue for harijans. In certain villages of Punjab, harijans have to shut the windows of their houses if a *zamindar* passes by. According to Mr Jagjivan Ram, till today in the Gujarat textile mills, the joining of the threads is done by harijans because the thread is treated with cow's arteries and caste Hindus do not want to use their lips as they would have to do, for the joining.

Take Meenakshipuram itself. Before harijans embraced Islam, they could not take their dead through the main road because caste Hindus would object to it. After they became Muslims, they carried their dead through the same road without anyone saying anything. The fault is primarily that of Hindus who discriminate against harijans. Hindus will have to cast off the prejudices of caste if they do not want harijans to leave their fold.

While on the subject of conversions, I must point out that Article 27, which says that no person will be compelled to pay taxes for the promotion of any particular religion, is redundant. This Article was debated in the initial stages of the Constituent Assembly's deliberations when the British cabinet mission plan for transfer of power was being discussed and when the proposal was to give the centre only specified powers. It was feared that a province might levy taxes for "the maintenance or propagation" of the religion of the majority within that area. After the country's partition this provision was no longer necessary but it was retained. Why should it not be deleted now?



No solution

I read Tooshar Pandit's cover story, *How the army broke the back of the Mampur rebels* (26 July), with bated breath. Congratulations to Second Lt Pithawala for his valiant chase and capture of Bisheswar Singh and his gang. I am proud of the Indian army. *Sourav Kumar, Kharagpur*

Congratulations to Mr Pandit for his investigation. I am tempted to agree with his contention that the "insurgency in Manipur, instead of petering out with the arrest of Bisheswar, might gain a new militancy." *N. Nimai Ningthouja, Raj Bari (Assam)*

It is a pity that our politicians cannot see beyond their noses and are always eager to find scapegoats to shoulder the responsibility of their blunders. The insurgency in Manipur can only be solved by political means; but the government insists on using force. *T. Kay Laisraba, Mysore*

Tooshar Pandit's report was based on army briefings and was clearly an attempt to lionise our men-in-uniform. And his reference to Maj. Gen Nayar's press conference in Imphal on 7 July was the limit; Mr Pandit did not even attend this conference. I would like to assure him that no pressman made any such remark as "What? Bisheswar? Captured?" *Kedar Laisram, joint editor, Paoljel, Imphal*

Tooshar Pandit replies: *Mr Laisram should be the last person to complain. His own paper in its 8 July issue reported the capture of Bisheswar Singh solely on the basis of army briefings. And the report, among other things, says: "This incident (capture of Bisheswar) is being considered as the breaking of the PLA backbone."*

SUNDAY: sex manual?

Thanks for publishing Tribhuwan Kapur's *The sexual customs of hippies* (26 July); it was very interesting. *Gora Chand Chakraborty, Kenda (West Bengal)*

The hippies' libertine sex philosophy is interesting, but the view that sex is the ultimate pleasure in life makes me shudder. Hippies, it seems, prefer to make virtue of perversity; they should be put under psychiatric treatment. *K. Narayan, Madras*

The *Extract* may have outraged the prudes among SUNDAY readers; but to me it was simply insipid and boring. I prefer to read about the sexual practices of celebrities like Goethe and Marquis de Sade. Hippies are nonentities; why should one be interested in their sexual customs? *Bimal Pada Ghosh, Calcutta*

After reading the article I feel like congratulating SUNDAY for taking to yellow journalism. *Jayanta Ray, Calcutta*

From photographs of exposed buttocks and breasts SUNDAY has finally graduated to real soft porn. Gone are the days when the magazine published reports like the ones on the Bhagalpur bloodings and the Aligarh massacres. *Peter Ghosh, Gauhati*

Has SUNDAY become a sex manual? *S. Kumaran, Calcutta*

What a criminal waste of newsprint. *Vijay R Thawani, Nagpur*

Please change the name of your magazine to 'Funday.' *Matti Dhanjal, Jamshedpur*

Hippies have gone berserk and so has SUNDAY. *Abhijit Chatterjee, Agartala*

Who wants to know about how the hippies do it? *Santosh Kumar, Calcutta*

The article was in very bad taste. The editorial board of SUNDAY should exercise restraint. *A. S. Pabley, New Delhi*

The article was nauseous, filthy and utterly vulgar. It is clear that SUNDAY is not aware of the impact of such trash on school-going children. *A. S. Johar, Gauhati*

SUNDAY has broken its noble tradition by violating the social norms of our country. *H. Behera, Simulia*

It is high time that SUNDAY pulled up its pants. *Rajiv Lall, Calcutta*

The article on hippies was the ultimate in exposure; I'm sure SUNDAY has nothing more to reveal. *Sanjiv Bhatnagar, New Delhi*

Is there anything left for SUNDAY to expose? *Md Amjad Hussain, Gaya*

SUNDAY will be held responsible for corrupting the generations to come. *A. K. Mouhk, Bombay*

All air, no force

We are happy to know that someone has diverted his attention from the probability of Pakistan acquiring new fighter aircraft and, for a change, thrown light on the organisational problems of the Indian Air Force (*Pilots flying away from IAF: low pay, 19 July*). Fighter flying is a hazardous job; the accident rate is much higher in this kind of flying. The IAF has been using this point to argue and obtain higher flying pay for its pilots. (This pay has gradually been raised from Rs 75 to Rs 375 per month.) Unfortunately, the pay is uniform for all pilots regardless of what type of aircraft they fly. It is therefore only natural for most pilots to opt for the less risky flying of transport aircraft and helicopters. Unless the pay for fighter flying is increased the dearth of pilots willing to take up this dangerous assignment will remain.

As regards engineers, their shortage is due to the fact that career planning in the IAF is controlled by the pilots who always have an eye on the senior posts; the careers of engineers are deliberately shortened by the pilots. And this is how it is done:

Some posts have been marked as fit for both the pilots and the engineers; but

the promotion rules are framed and interpreted in such a way that only the pilots are benefitted.

Technical training is kept under the overall supervision and control of pilots; thus even in this sphere the engineers are deprived of high ranks.

The surface-to-air missiles in the IAF armoury are of Russian origin. In Russia these missile units are part of the army; it is therefore clear that in the commanding of these units no knowledge of flying is required. But in the IAF their command is vested in pilots.

The above argument is also applicable to the signals units. Knowledge of flying is once again no prerequisite for commanding such units; but the engineers who do most of the dirty work, are denied the command of signals.

Before we conclude, it would be pertinent to mention that roughly Rs 30 lakhs go into the making of an air force pilot and, by the time he becomes a fully senior operational pilot, the total cost of his training may well have crossed the figure of Rs one crore. The IAF should make proper use of this investment.

Air Vice Marshal M. N. Sundaresan VSM (Retd) and Air Commodore K. K. Bali AVSM (Retd), New Delhi

The horror of hooch

Louise Fernandes' *Bangalore: poisoning the poor* (26 July) was a horror story; the photographs of hooch victims were particularly gruesome.
Simanta Mohanty, Bhubaneswar

The report was shocking. I take this opportunity to offer my condolences to the bereaved families.
N. Routray, Burdwan

I congratulate Ms Fernandes for throwing light on the most pathetic event of this century.
Pramod Kumar Mohanty, Bhubaneswar

The photographs with the *Special report* spoke volumes of the tragedy. The entire nation should be ashamed for having allowed such an incident to occur.
P. V. L. N. Swamy, Berhampur (Orissa)

S. Amir Sultan should be punished; he has killed hundreds of innocent people and that too in the month of *Ramzaan*. I am sure that Allah will never forgive him.
Abdul Salim, Darjeeling

It was shocking to learn that a police commissioner was asleep while hundreds

of people were dying.
Baljeet Singh Gulshan, Kharagpur

Undoubtedly, Amir Sultan is a well-connected and influential man.
Soubhagyabanta Maharana, Bolangir (Orissa)

The hooch trade is most definitely protected by the police; how else does one explain the delay in raiding Amir Sultan's house?
C. K. Apparao, Jamshedpur

The Prime Minister should appoint a commission to investigate the tragedy as she did in the case of the 'spirit scandal' in Tamil Nadu and Kerala.
Ashok Kumar Pandey, Hooghly (West Bengal)

After reading the report I am convinced that corruption runs in the blood of Indians.
Pravat K. Samal, Calcutta

The 325 victims of hooch have left behind a message for us: stay clear of alcohol.
Pawan Kumar Hansia, Purulia (West Bengal)

The Soviet factor

I wish to congratulate Kuldip Nayar for *Don't take India for granted, Soviets told* (Exclusive, 19 July). India should continue to exercise her freedom in formulating an independent foreign policy.
Chagala Mahapatra, Polasara (Orissa)

One is not as sure of Mrs Gandhi having conveyed "her anger, loud and clear" as much as of Mr Nayar being loyal to the Anglo-American lobby. It is not very difficult to detect his efforts to malign the Indo-Soviet treaty.
B. K. Bhattacharya, Silchar

Mr Nayar's was a prejudiced and often careless assessment of India's foreign policy.
Sita Ram Mishra, Polasara (Orissa)

Wrong entries

The *Delhi Diary* item, *Hard lobbying for TN police chief's post* (12 July), explodes the myth that SUNDAY believes in publishing facts or at least verified information. D. E. Nizamuddin has committed blunders galore. To begin with, Mr Mohandas is additional IGP, not deputy IGP (intelligence) as stated, and his initial is simply K, not G. R. As for K. Ravindran, he is a full-fledged IGP and not an additional IGP.
R. Damodaran, Madras

In *MP won't quit state ministry* (26 July) D. E. Nizamuddin has claimed that "UP has a minister who is an MP—an all-time record in the Parliamentary history of the country." May I remind him that this 'history' was made a few years ago by S. S. Ray who retained his seat in Parliament for some time after being sworn in as chief minister of West Bengal.
Abanindra Nandy, Tezpur

Hindi-Chini bye, bye

No barter with Chinese (News, 12 July) clearly reveals that the Indian government has been pressurised by the Soviet Union to reject the 'package offer.' One would have expected Mrs Gandhi to be more pragmatic while dealing with the Chinese.
Ashok Kumar Pandey, Hooghly (West Bengal)

Heartiest congratulations to the Indian government for rejecting the sinister Chinese 'package offer.'
Nileedita Ray, Puri

We in India have reason to be cautious in our dealings with the Chinese. Mrs Gandhi's rejection of the 'package offer' from Beijing is quite understandable. It was the Chinese who betrayed us earlier and they are the ones who have had border disputes with most of their neighbours.
Sanjay Dâswani, Calcutta

A PM, sure



Malcolm Fraser has been designated "Australian President" under *Without comment* (26 July); he is actually the Prime Minister of that country.
Ayaz Parwez, Arrah (Bihar)

'Mr Singh, your slip is showing'

Khushwant Singh's translation of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's *Shikwa* (extracts from which were published in SUNDAY, 14 June) and *Jawab-ê-Shikwa* will surely earn critical acclaim. On my part, I wish to congratulate Mr Singh for his effort and tribute to the great poet. At the same time, it would be pertinent to point out a few glaring errors in the Oxford University Press publication of the translation:

In the introduction to Iqbal's *Complaint and Answer* his mother's name has been mentioned as Iman Bibi; actually her name was Imam Bibi.

Thomas Arnold has been mentioned as the author of *The light of Asia*; in reality it was Edwin Arnold who wrote this book.

The name of Iqbal's daughter has been mentioned as Munawarah; her name is Muneera Bano and I had the privilege of meeting her last year while in Pakistan on an invitation from that country's Iqbal Academy.

It is stated that Iqbal died during the night of 24 April 1938, the truth is that he passed away on 21 April in the same year. There can be no dispute over the date of his death. All over Pakistan Iqbal's death anniversary is observed on 21 April every year and it was in this connection that I was invited to Pakistan in 1980.

The claim that *Shikwa* was first recited by Iqbal in 1909 is also not true, it was in 1911 that Iqbal gave the first rendering of his poem.
S. S. Lamba, New Delhi

Incomprehensible

I fail to understand why you publish such communally biased letters as the one from Mr Anup Kumar (*Opinion* 12 July). It is *his* mind which is biased and not Mr Tooshar Pandit's report (SUNDAY 24 May). He implies that if a minor incident occurs, by chance or intention, it should be allowed to grow into a large-scale orgy and the culprits protected. As reported, the spark was lit by "Muslim hoodlums." That doesn't mean that fury should be unleashed on a large scale.

Qaiser Ali Beg, Lucknow

Last letter

SUNDAY is resourceful indeed to be able to give the country a full page of Good news almost every week!
A. V. R. Brahmanandam, New Delhi

DELHI: INDIA'S CRIME CAPITAL

Delhi is fast becoming the crime capital of India. While in individual areas of crime other cities and parts of the country may be worse affected, crime in its totality is striking deep roots in the capital. What is most disturbing is that crime in the capital runs deeply hand-in-glove with the power hierarchy and is rapidly becoming an organic part of the city. As power resides in Delhi, organised crime is getting some unbelievable protection there, making the national capital a city of capital crime. ANIL SAARI and VINOD SHARMA investigate.

Tentacles of Delhi's underworld reach across the Indo-Gangetic plain to opium-runners from Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, smugglers of mineral ore on the Nepal-Bihar border, dacoits from west UP who are professional killers and car-lifters and silver-smugglers from Punjab. The criminal underworld of Delhi also echoes with the reverberations of the Chambal valley. Malkhan Singh, today's dacoit-king of the Chambal ravines, has a contact at a taxi-stand in the very heart of New Delhi's cultural and artistic complex, a contact that is also used by other, lesser luminaries of the Chambal. Early in 1981, informed sources are now convinced, Dasyu Samrat Malkhan Singh was in the metropolis on a short visit even as police officials issued public denials about his trip. A few months later, the imitable Phoolan Devi visited a relative working in a biscuit factory near Daryaganj. She had come to Delhi for an abortion.

Delhi has become the safest and the most luxurious sanctuary for some of India's master criminals who live behind the facade of legitimate businesses. Aided at every turn by politician-contacts and police connivance, they have dug roots in the city's social life. It is no longer shocking to meet in a friend's drawing room on a Sunday morning a CRPF officer posted along the Pakistan-Azad Kashmir border looking for new agents for the opium smuggled into the metropolis in CRPF convoys. One can invest Rs 10,000 as an agent and make a 100 per cent profit at the end of a week, distributing the stock to retailers in some of New Delhi's posh hotels. Then, there are at least three important local politicians who get a monthly cut from such organised

Mary Ellen, Sobhraj's Australian wife moves around in a rickshaw in Delhi, probably in 1979



rackets as the retailing of country liquor and gambling dens.

These political connections came handy this July when a reporter of the *National Herald*, G. K. Singh, visited a gambling den on the Delhi-Faridabad border to write an expose on them. Singh's incognito trip crossed unwittingly with a serious gang war involving the den's operators, known to Delhi police as 'M' and 'RK'.

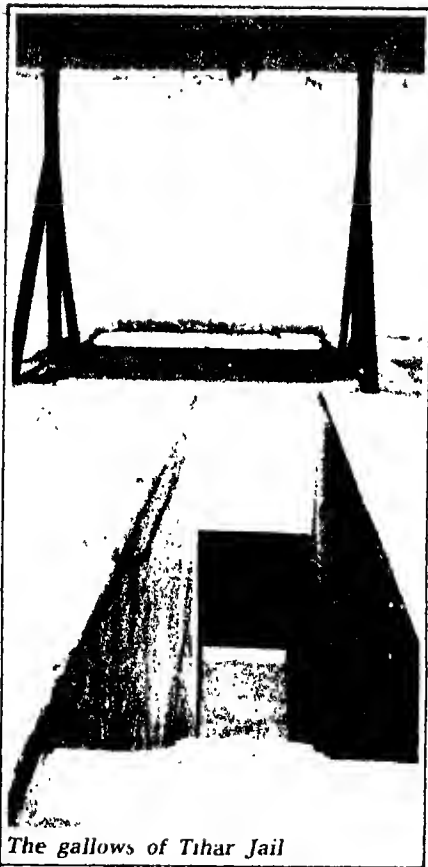
The *Herald* reporter was mistaken to be a member of a rival gang (led by the dacoit Mansab), one of whose members had been arrested some days earlier in East Delhi, reportedly because of a tip given by 'M' and 'RK'. Carrying a licensed revolver for self-protection, pretending to be a truck-owner, Singh appeared to be the very person that the den operators were expecting. Though he entered the den and took a couple of drinks, Singh was surrounded by gunmen as soon as he stepped out and was felled by a rifle butt which crashed on his head. Singh told SUNDAY that he was "beaten about like a football" for some 25 minutes and then handed over to a friendly group of Haryana policemen who took him away with the intention of framing charges of robbery and attempt to murder on the reporter. Immediately after the news became public in Delhi on 23 July, two days after the incident had taken place, the den operators went underground but the dice games continued at a new location, this time at Sahibabad, the UP township close to both the Delhi and the Haryana borders. In New Delhi itself, after an initial burst of enthusiasm by the crime branch, everybody suddenly became silent. Though it is known to police sources that the main operators live in Delhi—one in East Delhi and the other in South Delhi, Delhi police received no

signals from Haryana that the den operators ought to be picked up. Instead of capitalising on the exposure of the gambling den, the forces of law and order seemed to be hushing up the scandal. One reason being that two influential MPs are said to get a monthly cut from the gambling den's profits. The other reason, of course, is police connivance. The Faridabad den was located a few hundred feet within the Haryana border. In the past, the Faridabad den was actually located within Delhi, but was subsequently shifted to Haryana.

The gambling den run by 'M' and 'RK' nets in over Rs 20 lakhs per month. Police sources say that the daily *naal* (commission) collection is around Rs 40,000. The *Herald* reporter, G. K. Singh, told SUNDAY that apart from the *naal* which is taken out of the pool money, the den also takes a commission of three per cent from the winner. He also gathered that the Delhi operators charge far less commission than those in other parts of the country—Amritsar operators charge five per cent from the winner and at Bombay it is eight per cent. Winners are provided with armed escorts to see them home and losers are occasionally given the taxi fare to get back. On 21 July, Singh noticed a woman bedecked in gold bangles and jewellery, come to gamble in the Faridabad den from Amritsar, nearly 500 km away. Among others, Singh observed at the open-air Faridabad den two or three people he had seen earlier while attending important functions in Delhi as a reporter.

There is a taxi and scooter service from both Old Delhi and New Delhi which picks up regular clients. Other sources say that more than 20 autorickshaws are used in a shuttle service to the den and that each autorickshaw has to pay Rs five to the Delhi constables on duty at the border. The policemen on duty in the den's neighbourhood get Rs 20 each per night, while the pay-off for the senior officers is fixed according to their status. Sources do not rule out the distribution of Rs two to three lakhs as a total monthly pay-off to Delhi policemen by the gambling operators, in addition to the slush money handed over to policemen in the state where the den is located. Informed sources say that 'RK', the brain behind the Delhi gambling empire today, is also a police informer and frequents the houses of at least two deputy commissioners of police, Delhi. Though he started his career as a hooch distributor in South Delhi in the Sixties, he has always tried to build up political contacts and even managed to secure public support when the police were after his blood. Today 'RK' rules over a legitimate business empire, patronises a number of smaller gangs under his control and owns houses in both South and East Delhi.

Yet, the gambling kings are not the real dons of the Delhi underworld, nor do they control the biggest rackets in the city. Indeed, the gambling



The gallows of Tihar Jail

Mr X

There is a nationally known luminary, Mr X, who is able to provide protection to 100 to 150 dacoits operating in Delhi—so says the grapevine. A number of local gangsters and gunmen are said to owe allegiance to him. Though most dacoits and gunmen in the region are now grouped along caste lines, their connections with Mr X cut across caste barriers. In many cases criminals belonging to rival factions come together to pay homage to Mr X.

Mr X is probably the most active man today among the capital's godfathers. Because of his connections he is probably even more effective than the city's current underworld don, the unmentionable one (see main story). Between these two and the rest there is a very big gap in terms of power and influence.

At the next, considerably lower, level there are at least three persons with enough connections in police and political circles to avoid trouble within their respective domains. These are 'S', 'NS' and 'SB'. Under their patronage and approval operate a number of gangs which are in a variety of rackets for many years. While the active operators are fairly well known in the city, these three enjoy a clean and respectable image.

operators seem to fall into third place in the local mafia hierarchy. For one, organised crime in Delhi is run by much smaller gangs than those who operate, for instance, in Bombay. Nor, for that matter, do these organised gangs survive for very long unless they are handglove with policemen and politicians.

Over the years the trend that seems to be emerging is that a set of masterminds operate from behind the scenes, never dirtying their hands, flaunting a very respectable image in the business world, putting their fingers into as many pies as possible and developing the closest possible contacts with politicians.

There is one such man in Delhi who has attained a 'respectable' status in society, who has the best possible connections in the political world and to whom a number of the local gang leaders pay obeisance. He is reputed to be close to at least one union minister and to one chief minister in north India, is a master at extortion, controls a private army comprising, some say, six to seven gangs. It is certain that the biggest hooch dealers in the city give him a cut from their profits and that most local gangs hold him in awe. So awe-inspiring is his image that many police officers we talked to refused to discuss him and most crime reporters in Delhi have never even heard about him. He is the 'unmentionable one.' Elimination by accidental death is but one of his specialities. He lives in a thousand square feet house in central Delhi and his bedroom had an aquarium wall straight out of a James Bond movie and a private swimming pool outside. He travels in a bullet-proof car with four or five bodyguards. In some circles in the capital it is alleged that the death of an income-tax official came about accidentally after he rubbed the 'unmentionable one' the wrong way.

It is estimated that the legal assets of this person is between Rs eight to ten crores and his actual cash holdings are unimaginable. There is this story of how he took over a major business complex in South Delhi. The complex was originally run by two businessmen who were alleged to have links with a smuggling network. During the Emergency, when there was a crackdown on smugglers, the two partners ran into financial problems and one of them left with his capital. The south Delhi complex ran into further trouble and the partner who remained was said to be in urgent need of Rs 20 lakhs. A loan was obtained from the 'unmentionable one,' who, as is his practice, asked the owner of the complex to sign on a blank paper as security for the loan. Sometime later, after the date for returning the loan had expired without the money being returned, henchmen of the 'unmentionable one' moved in one day, showed a letter signed by the owner pledging the business complex and took it over. For

Rs 20 lakhs, the 'unmentionable one' acquired a complex then worth at least Rs 60 lakhs. The only underworld don in Delhi who might well have held his own against the 'unmentionable one' was the notorious dacoit Sundar, who started his gang in 1962 and dominated the western UP-Delhi underworld from the mid-Sixties till 1975. The memory of Sundar lingers on in the minds of many policemen and even senior officials of Delhi police reveal little about him, admitting only that he was particularly brutal, an absolute daredevil, and a desperate man who would stop at nothing. Across the Jamuna, in the districts of Ghaziabad, Meerut and Bulandshahr and among Delhi's poor, Sundar is still a hero. Moreover, Sundar's name crops up again and again in the context of today's marauders of violence.

One of today's most dreaded dacoit gangs in north India is the 90 member Tyagi gang which operates in Delhi, west UP, Haryana, and Rajasthan. It is a gang that rivals Malkhan Singh's and one of its key leaders, Brijvir Singh, is a Sundar

associate. Other members of the Tyagi gang have been close associates of the late Bhikam Tyagi, Sundar's partner. There does appear to have been some link between the leading gangsters operating gambling dens and Sundar. Sundar is believed to have extorted money from the gambling operators who ran dens along the Loni Road and Gyan, bordering Ghaziabad and Delhi. Some sources say that because Sundar disturbed the gambler-clients from Delhi, the then chief among the den operators, Bhagwana, who was killed in a gang war earlier this year, split from his partners and started his own den at Faridabad. Bhagwana's den is alleged to have been run with police connivance under the excuse that the den had been set up to attract Sundar, who could be arrested if he came to loot the den.

Though Sundar was not arrested at the Faridabad den, Delhi police raided the den run on the Ghaziabad border by Bhagwana's ex-partners: 'MS', 'M', 'RK', and 'T'. Gambling at Loni Road and Gyan came to a standstill as a result and Bhagwana's Faridabad operation flourished, till he was shot dead in his car in broad daylight at the



G. K. Singh National Herald crime reporter

Dancing girls, dhandhewalis and posh 'hostesses'

The dancing girls and the prostitutes of Shradhhanand Marg are perhaps the only people in Delhi's underworld who do not pay protection money to the cops. Known formerly as G. B. Road, the street stretches from Ajmeri Gate to the corner of Sadar Bazar. If you approach from the Ajmeri Gate end you first come across the *kothas* occupied by the nautch girls. These girls belong mostly to the *Bherrni* scheduled tribe which has traditionally provided nautch girls from the Morena, Dholpur and Agra districts.

These girls work independently from the *kothas*, paying a monthly rent of about Rs 300 for a small room. They also pay the musicians, but none else. Pimps, for instance, take their payments from the clients. Most of the *Bherrni* nautch girls live on their *kothas* with their children, though some of them have built houses in more sophisticated areas of the city.

There are roughly 400 nautch girls on Shradhhanand Marg. Most of them are not whores in the ordinary sense of the term. Instead, each of them restricts her clientele to a small group of men who come as *ashiqs* (lovers) and not as short-time customers. A nautch girl's rates are now around Rs 200 for the night. Many of them also go out to the city residences of their clients.

Many underworld heroes have their mistresses among the *Bherrni* nautch girls. So, too, do some businessmen from the walled city of Delhi.

Further down Shradhhanand Marg are the whore houses, the girls known as *dhandhewalis*. Charges here vary from Rs 12 to Rs 22. Here, too, there are no pimp bosses. The girls simply split their earnings equally with the brothel operators. There are said to be between 700 and 800 whores in this part of the street.

New Delhi's callgirl racket runs on different lines. Several methods are used. The most expensive groups work through pimps with the right connections in big hotels. A simple telephone call to the pimp will bring the girl around. These girls also visit the residences of their local clients. Equally expensive are the prostitutes in the deluxe brothels run by high-class operators catering to the needs of both the local VIPs and those who pass through. These are very few in number and cater to a very select crowd at very exorbitant rates, often paid for by somebody wanting to oblige a powerful VIP or bureaucrat. It is well known in political circles here that pimping has opened many doors for a number of businessmen and "social workers."

There is said to be one saloon in south Delhi where VIPs and top officials are entertained and in which one-way glass partitions are used to facilitate candid photography. One of the biggest pimps in the capital is said to be an ex-constable, another enjoys the sobriquet of "the Cadillac pimp."

For the common man without any pimp-contacts the bordellos of New Delhi are closed. The only New Delhi prostitutes he may chance to meet are a handful who stalk the darker avenues of Lutyen's imperial suburbs; others can be spotted in the evening sitting in scooter-rickshaws at certain corners of the Connaught Place area.

For voyeurs, however, the capital now offers nude cabaret dances at four night spots. Charges for these cabaret shows are Rs 50 per head. At some of these places, liquor is also served, prohibition or not. Nude cabaret shows in the capital became legal in late 1980 when the Delhi High Court judge, Mr Mange Lal Jain, pronounced that as people paid for the show and were not offended by the acts therein, the action of the dancers did not fall under the definition of obscenity. The High Court judgment was given after a writ had been filed by a dancer arrested after a police raid on one of these cabaret joints.



Ashram crossing next to Maharani Bagh, in October 1980. The shoot-out is said to have been masterminded by 'MS', Bhagwana's former partner in Ghaziabad, and a crime kingpin with a lot of clout. 'MS' absconded after Bhagwana's murder and is presently untraceable. It is admitted that 'MS' is one of the richer gangsters in this area and presumably has sufficient political and police contacts to escape the dragnet. We have not been able to cross-check the allegation but one informed source suggests that Bhagwana's murder was masterminded by a Tyagi gangleader, then in Tihar Jail. In any case, some deals between 'MS,' 'M' and 'RK' on one side and Sundar and the Tyagi gang leader on the other are very much on the cards. For after Bhagwana's death, 'M' and 'RK' took over the Faridahad gambling den and closed down their operations on the Delhi-UP border, which was more exposed to attacks by western UP dacoits.

The Tyagi gang itself is a strange kettle of fish and typifies the brutality and the factional rivalry of organised gangs in Delhi. Unlike the big dacoit

gangs of the Chambal valley, the Tyagi gang is not a unified body but an assortment of several independent gangs with leaders of their own, which often cooperate with each other. Till two years back, Bhikam Tyagi was the acknowledged leader of the Tyagi gang. In his late forties, Bhikam Tyagi operated from hideouts in Delhi, financing and harbouring dacoit groups active in UP and Rajasthan. Always on the lookout for new talent, he is said to have inducted some 100 Tyagi boys into a career in crime. About two years ago the Tyagi gang mysteriously split along caste lines. The story is that Bhikam Tyagi was shot in 1979 at Garh Mukteswar by his comrade Ishwar Tyagi, who was killed in the Baghpat encounter involving Maya Tyagi in 1980. Bhikam and Ishwar Tyagi had gone to Hardwar from Delhi. While returning on a motorcycle Bhikam Tyagi is said to have been rubbed out by stengun fire from Ishwar Tyagi's car. However, says a reliable source in Delhi, neither Bhikam Tyagi's body nor any evidence of a shoot-out could be discovered by the police, leaving open the possibility that Bhikam Tyagi may not have been

Many crimes are masterminded inside Tihar jail

A number of gang wars in Delhi's underworld are planned from Tihar jail where such notorious dacoit leaders as Brijvir, Om Prakash Bharti, Ajaib Singh and Jagtar Singh are lodged. In one case, the escape of an associate of Ajaib Singh was manipulated from inside Tihar jail by one of the convicted kingpins. These convicts wield power beyond the jail walls for the simple reason that they are shrewd and rich enough to command the respect of their associates outside.

Presently there are about ten notorious "kings" of the underworld in Tihar, apart from Charles Sobhraj. While Sobhraj, Sunil Batra and Vipin Jaggi run rackets inside the jail and seem to dominate the jail life because of their flamboyant style, it is the hardened criminals who maintain regular contact with the underworld outside Tihar. The day a particularly gruesome crime is committed in Delhi, the top ten and a set of hundred veteran criminals go into huddles to discuss who could be involved in the crime. Many police detectives often have to turn to the prisoners to get a clue to "blind" murders, almost all of which are said to be masterminded in the jail.

Contact with the outside world is maintained through a string of visitors that the top criminals are permitted to have on visiting days. The

more influential convicts are also said to be above the rules and regulations of the jail. Top officials of Tihar jail seem to have lost control over the administration. Between 40 and 50 prisoners enjoy the freedom of going up to the front gate. Sunil Batra is well known in Delhi for receiving any number of visitors he wants to on visiting days. One freelance journalist who went to interview Batra one Saturday had his pocket picked inside the jail.

Tihar officials are particularly harassed by the number of writ petitions that have been filed by the inmates. One inmate, sentenced on charges of cheating, is said to earn a considerable sum of money because he is adept at drafting writ petitions!

Another expert, who has been transferred to Tihar from UP, is said to be the one who has started it all. Sobhraj, Batra and Vipin Jaggi seem to dominate even the social life inside Tihar. All of them have an endless supply of money: this makes it easier for them to buy followers and lackeys among convicts without similar resources.

Contrary to popular belief, Charles Sobhraj does not get along with Sunil Batra and Vipin Jaggi: they lead separate factions inside the jail. The top criminals, however, stay away from such rivalries. It

appears that Sobhraj had quarrelled with Vipin Jaggi (who actually leads the Jaggi-Batra faction) over the running of the jail canteen. Sobhraj even tried to develop contacts with Mrs Indira Gandhi when she was sent to Tihar jail by the Janata government in December 1978. He had sent his Australian girl friend and accomplice, Mary Ellen, to persuade Mrs Gandhi to have a Christmas dinner with her.

Another communication line between the jail inmates and the outside world is through prisoners who go out for trials or for medical treatment. A criminal going to the Tees Hazari court is likely to recognise other criminals brought to the court, learn about their latest exploits and even discuss the situation regarding others at large. Associates who meet the prisoners, at Tihar or in the courts, pass money and drugs to them. These are brought back in all kinds of cavities where small packets can be hidden. Veteran prisoners have a number of secret hiding places to keep a *puriya* of hashish or currency notes rolled into small balls. Two notorious inmates of Tihar jail have recently been transferred to other jails. Dr N. S. Jain has been moved to Ambala and his mistress and partner in crime, Chandresh Sharma, to Ferozpur jail for some time now.

killed. After Bhikam Tyagi's disappearance from the scene, the Tyagi gang split. The jats and thakurs in the gang are said to be led by Brijvir Singh and Om Prakash alias Bharti and Mansab. The latter, a wily dacoit-leader who is a Muslim, is said to be the leader of the Tyagis.

Under the umbrella of the top leadership, both the gangs have a number of chieftains who operate independently in small groups in Delhi, western UP, Haryana and Rajasthan. They possess many stenguns and indulge in robberies, hold-ups and dacoities. In recent months, Dharam Pal, alias D. P. Jat and Vinod Tyagi have been particularly active in and around Delhi. Vinod Tyagi, incidentally, is the brother of Ishwar Tyagi. He was a police constable in Muzaffarnagar



The notorious dacoit, Sundar

when the Baghat incident took place last year. On the day of the Baghat encounter Vinod Tyagi took his police rifle with him and went underground. Official sources think that Vinod was behind the shooting of Baghat sub-inspector Narendra Singh.

To return to the dacoit-gambling den connection, perhaps the biggest error that the *National Herald* reporter committed in entering the Faridabad gambling den on 21 July was that he had not cross-checked with police or underworld sources about the rivalries in the underworld. During those days, Mansab was said to be working from a hideout in Paharganj, near the New Delhi railway station. Mansab is engaged presently in a tussle with 'M' and 'RK', who ran the Faridabad gambling den which has now been shifted to Sahibabad in UP.

Crime detection at new low

Make hay while the sun shines. This seems to be the motto of at least half a dozen police officers in Delhi. They are all powerful; they can get virtually anything done. A few years ago, an enterprising journalist from the *Hindustan Times* had done a story on biddings for lucrative police stations. But the trend has changed now. Influential and prized postings have gone to those who have the right contacts. Politically they are so powerful that even their seniors have approached them for help.

It is known in the police circles that crime detection figures in some of the *thanas* in Delhi have touched a new low during the past few months. Officers at these police stations are not bothered about turning in a good performance. Reason: their aim is to attain something bigger.

Two distinct lobbies—based solely on caste considerations and loyalty—are presently operating at Delhi police headquarters with the aim of running each other down. It seems that policemen, are sometimes more obsessed with intrigues against each other than crime detection.

A good example is provided by a recent case. Delhi Police Commissioner P.S. Bhinder had claimed a few months ago at a press conference that the crime rate in the capital had gone down due to effective policing and the National Security Act. Interestingly, a few days later, a local daily carried a story which accused different police stations of "manipulating" the crime figures. Apparently the information was leaked by a department of the police itself!

There are police stations in Delhi where every officer would like to be posted. These *thanas* are like

fiefs with abundant resources, and the SHOs (station house officers) are the rulers. Laws in areas under their jurisdiction can easily be flouted and all one has to do is to make a sizable offering. If the SHO is bappy, the whole world is happy.

All these prestigious *thanas* are important from the law and order angle. There is no dearth of criminals residing in their areas; what is missing is the determination to act on the part of the concerned policemen.

A senior officer, while discussing the transfer of an inspector, once confided in a fellow IPS officer: "What is the use of transferring him? He will wangle something more lucrative." Besides, there has already been the case of an assistant commissioner of police who got a more important posting after his transfer for his alleged involvement in a scandal.

Low-ranking officers talk openly about corruption and accepting bribes for favours rendered. They justify it by comparing their salaries with policemen in the nearby Haryana state. Long, unending working hours is another factor which makes them succumb to such temptations.

Bhikam Tyagi, the founder of the much dreaded Tyagi gang, was said to be patronised by a Delhi police inspector. He flourished in areas of which the officer was in charge and reportedly supplied grenades and ammunition to dacoit Sundar. Moreover, there are other senior officers with "extra special" relations with the gambling dons of Delhi: they get from the offenders a generous monthly kick-back.

In the past, and even now, officers who have tried to be honest have suffered. A deputy commissioner of police, who attempted to

discipline the policemen under him, one fine morning found his name involved in a newspaper expose, though what he had done was 'peanuts' compared to the deeds of his detractors. The juniors ganged up against the DCP (deputy commissioner of police) as he had disturbed their sources of income by issuing certain orders and made sure that his directions were implemented in toto.

In communally sensitive areas, it is much easier to veto the directions from above. The SHO simply has to say that it would disturb communal harmony and the senior officer is silenced. Decisions on transfers and postings are taken subjectively, and without consideration of merit, said an officer. "Everything works by pulls and pressures, with no declared objective whatsoever." This particular officer and many others talk about the goings-on in a department under the CID wing. It is an open secret that two officers posted there were doing nothing but taking bribes. Their activities have got them the title "revenue collectors."

Corruption, which once was confined to the lower ranks, has now reached the higher domains. Two IPS officers in Delhi are said to be very close to each other; one pays the other, the more influential one, for keeping his position secure. Both have amassed fortunes which will last for several generations, said a reliable police source. According to him groups have been formed in the police set-up on the basis of common "misdeeds." Growing corruption and a lack of team spirit are the two major hurdles which shatter the "dreams of the honest officers who join the force with great hopes," he said.

Another major gang of dacoits active in and around Delhi these days is based at Gwalior. Comprising light hardcore members, the Gwalior gang specialises in undertaking contracts for murder, intimidation and extortion apart from committing dacoities. They operate between Gwalior and Delhi and sometimes even in Meerut and the surrounding districts of UP. Like the Delhi gangs, they use cars, mostly stolen, during their operations.

For the new urban dacoit gangs, Delhi is a vast jungle to hide in. It is now acknowledged that most of the organised gangs live in Delhi and operate on its periphery or the adjoining states. They often have links with the top men running organised rackets within the city and also with motor garages and workshops. Many of



P. S. Bhinder

these urban dacoits come from respectable middle-class or agriculturist families and have relatives in government service. In each gang there is at least one ace driver and many of the convicted dacoits have lawyers on their payroll. The new gangs have taken violence and shoot-outs to New Delhi while once it was confined to some parts of the old city—Paharganj, Lahori Gate, Jama Masjid—and the trans-Jamuna belt in the east and the outer areas of west Delhi. Today, thanks both to the urban dacoits and innumerable smugglers living in the area, New Delhi is as crime-infested as any other part of the capital. The straight, wide avenues of New Delhi also offer a convenient topography to motorized gangs, who speed away across the border into Haryana.

Oneupmanship: Delhi police style

When the Delhi police unearthed a morphine laboratory on 30 July they celebrated the occasion with great fanfare: newsmen were driven down in police vehicles for a press conference and were offered sweets and shown the clandestine lab used for the manufacture of the drug. But Delhi police forgot to mention the role of the UP police in exposing the racket—a role bigger than their own.

However, it was soon discovered that the Delhi press had been taken for a ride in not being told that the all-important tip-off about the lab came from the Ghazipur police of UP. A UP police spokesman decided to let the cat out of the bag a few days later. He told a press

conference at Lucknow that the morphine racket was exposed by the Ghazipur police and accused the Delhi police of being unfair. The Ghazipur police had tipped the Delhi police after arresting the kingpin, and the result was the big catch which fetched bigger headlines, claimed the spokesman. This instance of a police force stealing the thunder from the more deserving one has almost become a regular feature.

Success noted in records is no success: it has to be endorsed and acknowledged in the newspapers. When the Delhi police arrested Raju Rathi, the suave Chambal dacoit who kidnapped a businessman, they exploited it to the hilt. For about a week it was nothing else but Raju who dominated the crime scene. This great success of the capital's force helped many a career, including that of police commissioner P. S. Bhinder who took personal interest in the case. But the unprecedented press reaction in Raju's case left the UP police green with envy. Such was their frustration that a senior officer from Agra embarrassed everyone at a joint press conference in Mr Bhinder's room by stating that

"the Delhi police were probably not aware of Raju's importance as a criminal at the time of his arrest." The officer's reaction was understandable as the UP police had not been able to arrest Raju despite their earnest efforts. His remark was a classic example of professional envy, expressed publicly to belittle a force riding high on the publicity wave.

Raju's arrest also shattered the other police forces' belief that the capital's law-keepers were an inefficient lot, with little or no professional acumen. The Delhi police had proved their credentials, and for a change it was the UP police which stood discredited.

The MP police, however, assumed a more professional role in

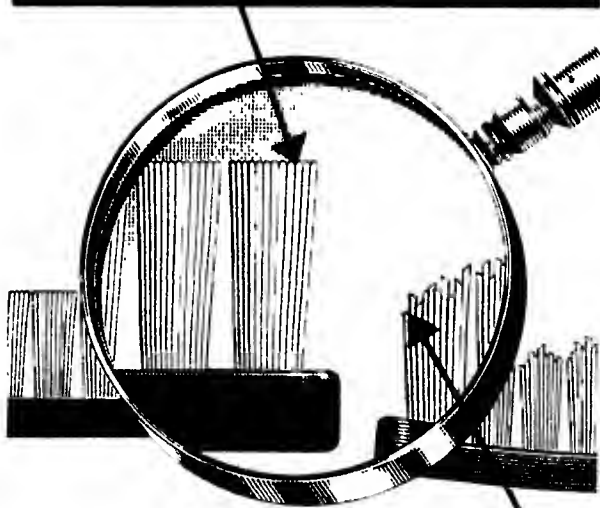
Raju Rathi in a police van



in the Raju episode compared to the UP police. They extended maximum help to their friends in Delhi till the time of Raju's arrest. Their generosity led them to lift all barriers so that the capital's policemen could investigate freely in their territory.

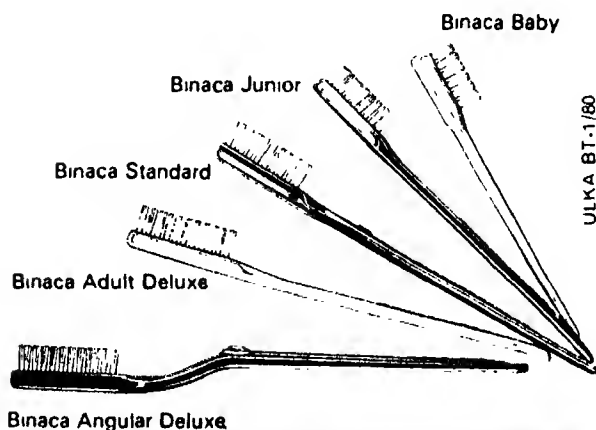
Raju's case proves beyond doubt that the police can do wonders through mutual help and coordination. Nobody can escape their net if the intentions are fair and the objective clear.

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50 telephones that never go dead

In a small, dank, shabby hotel room in Fatehpuri, the headquarter of *din ka satta* (a big "numbers" racket), there are 50 telephones. The telephones create a surrealistic vision: there are no cradles, no full-fledged instruments but simply 50 receivers (mouthpiece and earphone). Each of these 50 lines is on a direct connection to Bombay and these lines are 'live' throughout the day.

Gambling *satta* (the "numbers" racket a la Ratan Khatri's *matka* in Bombay, so called to distinguish it from the *satta* played on the forward market) is said to be a much bigger business in Delhi than dice or card games. These dens are located on the borders of Delhi or in three and four star hotels. Two major *satta* chains operate in Delhi: one is the *din ka satta* (daytime *satta*) which closes by 7 pm and the other chain, *raat ka satta* (night *Satta*) begins operating from 7 pm and runs till 7 am in the morning when the lucky number is drawn by the chief. The night bookings are made from within Delhi, UP and Punjab. The telephone facilities are excellent and some P and T staff are on the payroll of the *satta* kings.

The stakes offered in the Delhi "numbers" games are 1 to 9 which is known as *haruf* and 1 to 100, known as *dharh*. The big daytime *satta* game is headed by 'N' who is supported by one 'G.' The night games are controlled by 'S,' who also gets cuts from the local *satta* kings in UP and Punjab.

A highly reliable source in Delhi claims that there are 20 main agents for one *satta* chain in Delhi. These 20 agents have a hierarchy of 30 to 48 sub-agents working under them. This network takes the game into each lane and locality of the metropolis where many *paanwallahs*, hawkers and vendors function as bookies. In the daytime *satta* game, each bookie collects a chit specifying the number a person has placed his money on. Since the bookie does not write the name of the better on the betting slip, it is ensured that no bookie takes on bets from people he does not personally know. The money and the slips are passed on to the 20 main agents who in turn present the boss with a statement of accounts, because the payments from each agent run into several thousands. In the early hours of the evening, all the bets are scrutinised by the chief's *munim* and the number on which the lowest sum of money has been staked is declared the winning number. These days the selection of the winning number (known in underworld slang as *dharhi*) is done at Sahibabad, the industrial estate just across the UP border which is supposed to be the biggest centre of crime today in greater Delhi. The night *satta* games are played without any betting slips and the bookies are responsible for correct payments to the winners. However, no cheating by the bookies is allowed and the winners are paid immediately.

Gambling *satta* was started by 'S' in the late Fifties. The Delhi network also has connections with an Indore-Bombay *matka* chain, though not with Rajan Khatri's racket. During the course of our inquiry into the *satta* operations in north India we also discovered that Ali Mohammed, arrested recently in Delhi on the charge of provoking communal riots in Aligarh, may have been working at the behest of 'MA,' a *satta* don of Aligarh.

No report on the gambling gangs in Delhi can be complete without a reference to the card games organised in posh hotels by 'RC.' The clients come from the capital's elite and get the necessary police protection. Just as the *satta* kings keep changing their telephone numbers and move, rather frequently, from one hideout to another, the 'RC' operation also moves from hotel to hotel.

A crack officer of Delhi police, with extensive underworld contacts, told SUNDAY that Delhi attracts criminals from the surrounding areas (some senior officers believe from as far as the Chambal valley) because of the pleasures the metropolis offers. He also maintained that much of the crimes on the streets of the city, like chain snatchings and drug peddling was done by middle-class or upper-class young men who wanted money to have a good time. On 1 August 1981, the son of a foreign diplomat was arrested in east Delhi when he and five others tried to hold up a BHEL bus. The young men had planned to loot the BHEL employees carrying their salaries back home. In 1979, the son of a Congress (U) leader was arrested in south Delhi for chain-snatching. July this year saw the arrest of a policeman's son for chain-snatching. This was not the first time that he had committed this crime, but in the past he had been protected by his father. Earlier, the son of an assistant commissioner of police was arrested for stealing cars.

A new field in which hoodlum gangs have begun to operate in Delhi involves real estate. These gangs sell their services to property owners who want to get rid of existing tenants to sell their buildings. The hoodlums take it upon themselves to force the tenants out. In a specific case recently, a journalist tenant, Mr Adarwati Bhattacharya, was assaulted along with his wife in his rented apartment. Later somebody left the carcass of a goat on the stairway and black magic tricks were resorted to. This real estate racket also provides neighbourhood cops with easy money. One landlord in a fairly central locality reportedly paid Rs 30,000 to local police to get rid of a tenant. One policeman admitted that this has become the best *dhandha* in town as far as the lower ranks of the police are concerned.

As the only metropolis in the midst of eight densely populated northern India states, Delhi has attracted criminals from its natural hinterland in the same way as it has attracted doctors and businessmen, poets and journalists, clerks and business executives. Today it has a huge army of police involved in one illegal activity or the other—prostitution, selling hooch, drug peddling, silver and opium smuggling, car-lifting, burglary, looting, forgery, imitations, passport and currency rackets, pickpocketing...the list is endless. You name it and you will find that there are at least three or four major gangs operating in one particular area of crime and, under their shadow, a number of smaller gangs. Unlike the stereotyped concept of organised crime, Delhi is not divided by the underworld operators into territorial zones nor is its business controlled by a few big gangs. It is the sheer size of the operations and the vast number of people involved in them that makes the city unique in the field of crime.

Wristwatches, foreign currencies, hashish, morphine...

Wristwatches, silver, opium, hashish, morphine, foreign currencies and foreign consumer electronics—these are the major products moved across the border with Pakistan in the west and Nepal in the east, with Delhi as the seat from which the smugglers operate. Delhi's importance as a smuggling capital has grown enormously in recent years.

Some months back, a man known to have once been an associate of Haji Mastan, was arrested at a south Delhi guest house. According to the police he has contact with a notorious Pakistani smuggler; they do not rule out the possibility of even espionage. Since Chandni Chowk is Asia's second biggest silver market, after Bombay, Delhi is the starting point for silver routes to Nepal and Pakistan. The police suspect that the kidnapping of Ravindra Kumar, the son of a Hong Kong millionaire from a Paharganj hotel in Delhi sometime back had something to do with the silver racket. The kidnapers asked for a ransom of Rs six crores but probably this was a business debt owed by the Hong Kong millionaire to some people in Nepal. The involvement of a leading silver merchant of the city was also suspected by the police.

There are at least three opium kings in Delhi, catering to traditional local consumers and smuggling it outside. The local morphine king, 'BG,' started as a small-timer, a man of very ordinary means, according to a senior police official. He was pushed into crime by the policemen who used him as a "stock" witness for the prosecution whenever the police needed helpful testimonies in courts. The biggest hashish dealer in the city, 'K' who operates from Hauz Quzi in the walled city, is said to be rather friendly with the Shahi Imam, who once spoke to a police official in defence of 'K.'

Opium comes to Delhi mainly from Rajasthan, Kashmir (Pakistani opium) and the Bareilly sector in UP. 'H' has the lion's share of the stuff coming in from Bareilly. He has godowns in Ghaziabad and never keeps any in his own possession. Apart from his own network, he is also said to finance other, small-time runners. 'AS' and 'KS' are the other two opium kings: one of them operates from the Chandni Chowk

area and the other from further north. At Rs 1,000 per kg, it is presumed that opium worth Rs 3 to Rs 4 crores is smuggled into Delhi networks to traditional consumers like foreigners, rickshawpullers and the underworld. In Paharganj there are a few *chandukhana*s (opium dens) but their clientele is not very large.

Trafficking in opium and hashish has attracted more investors and runners in recent years than bootlegging because opium and hashish do not require much storage space. Deaths from illicit liquor also attract public attention and bring the police in their wake. Every day, tucked away in obscure corners of cars and trucks, hashish and opium are smuggled into the metropolis. There are at least six big hashish dealers in the capital, two of them ex-constables. Hashish is also smuggled in from Pakistan, along with opium; other sources are Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan, UP and Bihar. In some parts of Kashmir, said a police officer, one can see fields of cannabis stretching across the countryside. One of the leading hashish dealers of the capital is the brother of a former sub-inspector. The story goes that when the sub-inspector caught the carrier of a smuggler in north Delhi and took the carrier to the smuggler's house, the man attacked him with a sword. In self-defence the sub-inspector opened fire and killed the smuggler. Immediately thereafter there was a massive demonstration by the area's residents, protesting against the sub-inspector's action. The policeman was suspended, tried and acquitted but his brother decided to join a hashish operation led by another ex-cop.

From Delhi, gold and foreign currencies are smuggled out to Bombay, silver to Nepal and food-grains to Pakistan and Nepal. Indian smugglers also take out finished aluminium products, mineral ores, uranium and consumer items (some as insignificant as torch cells). We were told by one police source that wheat and *dal* are smuggled out to Tibet through Nepal.

An important feature of smuggling in Delhi is that a number of people with legitimate business have entered the line as financiers. This is one reason why it is difficult to say today who is a smuggler and who is not.



Ghani Khan: king can do no wrong

INVESTIGATION

Is this minister destroying the coal industry?

He has destroyed officers' morale and faced corruption charges in Parliament which he has not been able to effectively refute. A Special Correspondent outlines how coal is in the dumps.

ALL men are not equal. Nor for that matter, are all ministers. Particularly not, if a comparison is made between the late Mohan S. Kumaramangalam who was responsible for nationalising India's coal industry and the present union energy minister, Mr A. B. A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury whose main charge is coal. If some people consider Kumaramangalam a great builder, there are others who think Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury to be the great destroyer.

No, Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury has not destroyed one of the country's mammoth public sector enterprises: Coal India Limited (CIL) whose annual turnover is Rs 1,400 crores. Not yet. But he has certainly destroyed the morale of senior officers working in the outfit which deals with over 100 million tonnes of coal every year.

Why are officers demoralised? The minister's style of functioning involves issuing a number of threats of transfer or dismissal to senior officials through newspaper interviews. But when these officials meet the minister, he assures them in private that they are secure in their positions and that they should ignore his public pronouncements. But, Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury is not always a paper tiger.

For instance, the case of Mr Kumar Pati Mukherjee, former director (commercial) of CIL who was the only functional director in CIL besides the chairman till he was sacked on 21 May. The order for Mr Mukherjee's dismissal, dated 19 May and signed by a deputy secretary of the union government, Mr T.C.A. Srinivasan, read: "The President is pleased to terminate your services as director (commercial), Coal India Ltd with immediate effect..." accompanied by the usual three months' salary in lieu of notice.

True, Mr Mukherjee's letter of appointment did include provisions for his dismissal without assigning any reason. But, the manner in which he was dismissed has created doubts in the minds of senior CIL officers. After

all, Mr Mukherjee had been a director in the nationalised coal industry for over 12 years. Why did he have to leave? Some of the reasons for his dismissal may be gauged from a letter dated 6 April he wrote to CIL chairman, Mr R. N. Sharma. It is said that Mr Mukherjee changed his mind shortly after he wrote the letter and requested Mr Sharma to hold on to it. However, the contents of the letter became known to the minister and, shortly thereafter, Mr Mukherjee lost his job.

Mr Mukherjee's letter to Mr Sharma reads as follows:

"Dear Sir,

This is to place on record certain well-known facts about my case...

Sometime from the middle of April last year, the minister's displeasure was conveyed by you as well as the minister, energy, himself personally. As far as I could make out such displeasure was mainly based on incorrect information conveyed to him possibly by certain vested interests. I met him and you more than once and was under the impression that the matters were clarified and misunderstandings removed. This was particularly so during my last interview with him in the middle of June 1980.

However, soon after, it was conveyed to me that I was likely to be transferred from my post to Delhi, when the holding company of which I am a director, was in Calcutta. I went on long leave on the advice of the special assistant to the Minister in your presence... (with the hope) that the misunderstanding would sort itself out in due course.

When my leave was exhausted and I found that orders were still there transferring me to Delhi, I joined my new place of posting on November 1, 1980. I need hardly mention that I do not have an office, staff or my personal secretariat at my disposal at Delhi. The

order prevented me from discharging my normal functions as director (commercial), Coal India, and indicated that I should be doing liaison work with the Railway Board and look after the dump schemes, for which I felt that a director of the holding company of my seniority was hardly necessary.

It has been conveyed to me by various sources that the minister continues to be unhappy with me and that suspicion has been cast on my alleged complicity with Opposition CPI(M) members who have been raising issues in the Parliament. I have not consciously committed any act or taken any action to cause such unhappiness, nor has a person of my seniority in public sector management with my record been treated in this manner. There is little doubt that this transfer is an abnormal and a punitive one.

I shall be extremely grateful if you will kindly look up my past record of 22 years, which, I understand, is excellent. I have repeatedly pointed out that I am a totally non-political person and have no connection with the opposition parties, a fact that can be verified by any enquiry committee.

Considering all these factors and that the market is now being centralised in the form of a Coal Marketing Organisation which needs a great deal of my attention, I shall be grateful if you will kindly forward my representation to the minister, energy, so that I can be posted back to Calcutta to discharge my legitimate functions. Alternatively if there are any charges, these may kindly be spelt out. I am prepared to submit myself to any enquiry ordered by the government into my past and present conduct..."

But no such enquiry was conducted. Mr Mukherjee moved the Calcutta High Court and obtained an injunction against his dismissal order on 28 May.

On 15 June, however, CIL obtained a stay order on the injunction. Mr Mukherjee's case is currently pending before the Supreme Court.

While the minister publicly claims to have initiated a "consumer-oriented" policy of coal distribution, in actual practice he has thrown to the winds all norms in the matter of releasing permits for the sale of coal to individuals and parties, many of whom are not even remotely connected with coal distribution. Such orders have come either directly from the minister or from his special assistant.

The most scandalous aspect of this affair concerns the release of coal permits for 36,000 tonnes to dealers in Malda district earlier this year. Contrary to the minister's estimates, the West Bengal government has calculated that Malda does not require more than 4,000 tonnes of coal a month. It is alleged that this top-grade Raniganj coal was sold in the black market at fantastic premiums of over Rs 100 a tonne.

This issue was raised in Parliament. Mr Jyotirmoy Bosu, CPI(M) MP, alleged that a trusted member of the minister's personal staff, Mr Prem Kumar, "is accepting money at the rate of Rs 20 per tonne for permits that are being issued and have been issued at the behest of the minister's establishment..."

"It is alleged to me that Mr Bijoy Kanungo, general manager (sales), Coal India Ltd, has given the Hard Coke Manufacturers' Association a permit for 40,000 tonnes of coal for the above mentioned consideration, i.e. Rs 20 per tonne. It is further alleged that all these deals have the concurrence of Mr Khan Chowdhury... How much has been collected for this 36,000 tonnes? Or, is it *bakshish* for election work, because the date shows that it was given soon after the elections held in January," Mr Bosu claimed.

The minister, of course, denied all these charges, but, it is well known

that Mr Kumar and Mr Kanungo are among the senior officials who are very close to the minister. It is said that these officers advise the minister on the public statements he makes.

Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury's desire for publicity is insatiable. He wishes to take all the credit for coal production increasing by 10.4 per cent in 1980-81 over the previous year. It is interesting to note that the six million tonnes a month average production achieved in the first six months of 1980-81 was doubled to 12 million tonnes a month in the latter half of 1980-81. Improved power supply from DVC is said to be an important reason for CIL's production touching record levels.

But, the most controversial decision of the minister was to start a seven-day week work schedule in the last three months of the fiscal year 1980-81. Miners were paid overtime allowance for the loss of their weekly off-day and overtime bills in these three months touched a massive Rs 40 crores. Pithead stocks mounted to an all-time record of about 18 million tonnes and it was little wonder that railways could barely cope with CIL's "artificially" higher production.

Such a level of pithead stocks is equivalent to about two months' requirements, as against the "desirable" level of three weeks' stocks. Not only was a large quantum of CIL funds blocked temporarily, but some of this coal was also wasted due to self-ignition. Moreover, once miners got used to higher earnings it was difficult to revert to a six-day-week schedule. Also, it is alleged that during this period of record production, routine maintenance was neglected. Excessively high production does create its own peculiar problems!

While the minister has been taking credit for CIL's record production, he has also used the threat of CBI enquiries against senior officers who have not toed his line. Today it is a well-established fact that CBI files contain a wealth of information on the

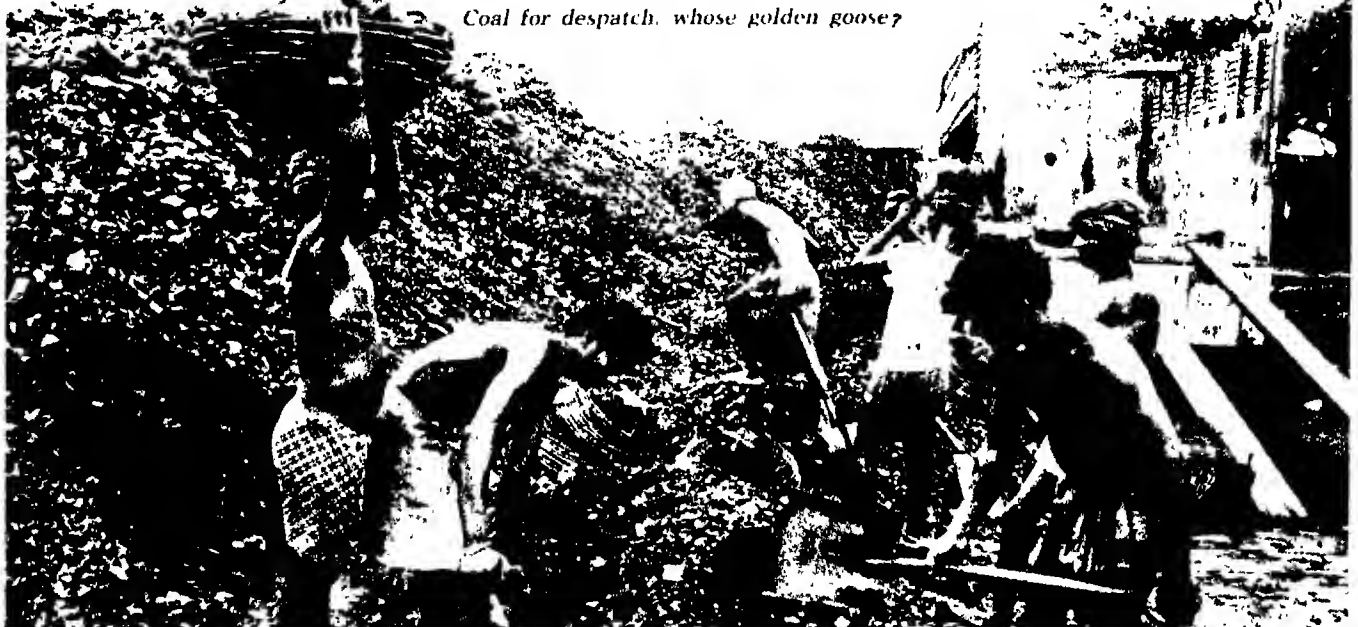
activities of mafia bosses in the coal-fields and their alleged complicity with senior officials in CIL. Shortly after the CBI busted a coal racket in Dhanbad earlier this year, allegations were made against Mr Bijoy Kanungo in the Rajya Sabha.

The late Bhupesh Gupta, CPI MP, wished that "some light be thrown on one officer called Mr B. Kanungo..." Quoting an earlier reply given by the minister, Mr Gupta alleged: "The executive (Mr Kanungo) was found to have shown favour to M/S P. K. Mukherjee (Coal Agency) Private Ltd. by not including (the) appropriate penalty clause in the contract... (In another case)... it was found that the executive had committed irregularities in booking air passage in order to help two private travel agents, namely, M/S Gladstone Lyall & Co Ltd and M/S Indian Air Travels. In these two cases, after disciplinary proceedings, he was awarded the penalty of withholding promotion for one year..."

"As a result of (the) internal audit of Bharat Coking Coal Ltd Sales and Marketing Office, the executive was also (found to be involved)... in certain suspicious and fraudulent transactions. The departmental enquiry is in progress in this case. A case was also registered against him by (the) CBI on 17 December 1979... for conspiracy and abuse of his official position in the matter of dealings with M/S P. K. Mukherjee Pvt Ltd, Calcutta. The case is under investigation..."

Since official agencies had implicated Mr Kanungo, Mr Bhupesh Gupta wanted to know why Mr Kanungo was still being favoured. He alleged: "My information is that he is collecting crores of rupees... Where this money is

Coal for despatch, whose golden goose?





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Kashmir

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going you can well imagine... The real racketeer, the real gang leader, the real Mafia is the administration itself, favoured by some people in the government and a minister in particular."

Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury offered a lengthy reply to Mr Gupta's allegations. About Mr Kanungo, the minister said: "Mr Kanungo is having no position of responsibility. The day I get the report, I will take action... I have shunted him. I am just waiting to cut his throat..."

How did the minister then proceed to "cut the throat" of his blue-eyed boy? An order issued by CIL's chief of establishment and administration, Dr A. C. Ray, dated 21 April merely stated that Mr Kanungo is "hereby transferred as general manager to the executive establishment of CIL (head-quarters). This transfer will take immediate effect."

The story doing the rounds is that Mr Kanungo made an air dash to Delhi when he heard of the parliamentary debate which took place on 19 April. Whether he successfully pulled a couple of strings in Delhi or not is uncertain, but his transfer order was issued two days after the Rajya Sabha debate. But the strangest thing is that presently Mr Kanungo continues to perform the functions he had earlier been performing.

It is said that his transfer order is safe inside the desk of Mr M. P. Narayanan, chief of CIL's Coal Marketing Organisation, who is attempting to play safe and not antagonise the powers that be.

Given the atmosphere of demoralisation that has crept in among the senior officials of CIL, it is not surprising that honest and efficient officers feel that their tenures might be short-lived if they refuse to play ball with the minister and his lackeys. If a senior director like Mr K. P. Mukherjee could be dismissed in such a shoddy manner, why, it could happen to any one of them.

An instance of the minister's indifferent attitude towards the coal industry is revealed by the fact that the department of coal has been with-

Kumarpati Mukherjee: impersonator



On to work: overtime boom

out a secretary for the past one and a half years. For over a year there has been speculation that CIL chairman R. N. Sharma will be appointed secretary and that the former chairman-cum-managing director of the Central Mines Planning & Design Institute (CMPDI) (a CIL subsidiary), Mr A. N. Banerjee, will be appointed chairman, CIL.

But Mr Banerjee resigned from his post in March, a disappointed man. He said that the minister had the reputation of being a strong-willed person who took quick and firm action against those who refused to carry out his instructions. Mr Banerjee alleged that Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury never depended on the information provided to him by CIL officers and that he took action on the basis of information provided to him by his own sources within CIL. He added that a general atmosphere of demoralisation had crept into the top management of CIL.

In late April, at a press conference the minister broadly hinted that the chief executives of Eastern Coalfields Ltd (ECL) and Bharat Coking Coal Limited (BCCL), Mr C. S. Jha and Mr R. G. Mahendroo respectively, would shortly be transferred. Mr Mahendroo rushed to the minister. But, Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury gave him the impression that nothing had happened and told Mr Mahendroo that he was happy with his performance.

Still, in early May, Mr Mahendroo felt constrained to write a letter to the energy ministry complaining that certain CIL officials who had busted a racket involving the use of forged delivery orders were themselves being implicated in the case. This was evidenced by the fact that the CBI had raided the houses of these officers, (who are said to have clean records) earlier in the year.

The minister has also expressed his desire to transfer the chief executive of Western Coalfields Ltd (WCL), Mr D. P. Gupta, though this particular CIL subsidiary has the best production record. However, Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury is yet to find time to pay a visit to WCL's headquarters at Nag-

pur. The minister had wanted to transfer Mr Gupta to the Neyveli Lignite Corporation but he was overruled by the Public Enterprises Selection Board.

Mr Gopinath, former chief of the Dankuni coal-gas project, was, however, not so fortunate. It is said that he had to save his skin by quitting his job because he refused to appoint a number of persons who swore allegiance to Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury. The minister's brother, nicknamed Dalu, who does a number of odd-jobs in the coal industry (from arranging for coal supplies to liaising with advertising agencies) is also alleged to be responsible for the transfer of a senior CIL official who had fallen out of favour.

It is also alleged that a member of the AICC who has close connection with certain coal traders of Dhanbad, has been merrily using BCCL's property as his own at the minister's request. An official car belonging to BCCL as well as the company's guest house are at the disposal of this person whenever he chooses to visit Dhanbad.

What puts officials off the most is Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury's personal style of functioning. He virtually holds court when in the room of the CIL chairman at the headquarters on N. S. Road. Puffing away at imported cigarettes, he issues orders off-hand at a rapid rate in the most cavalier fashion. And around him there is always a group of sycophants who are falling over each other trying to please him. A car has been airconditioned so that the minister can have a comfortable journey during his visits to his home town Malda. That is not all; senior CIL officials are searching high and low for a second-hand executive aircraft.

The most startling contrast is between the minister's demeanour in the CIL office and Parliament. When serious allegations are made against him on the floor of the house he usually sits through quietly. But at the CIL headquarters he is the king issuing diktat, and he can do no wrong.



Devaraj Urs

SPECIAL REPORT

OPPOSITION UNITY
Leaders
take
hesitant
first
steps

By **UDAYAN SHARMA**



Babu Jagjivan Ram

WHILE leaders of three opposition parties, Janata, Lok Dal and Bharatya Janata Party were trying to evolve a formula for joint action against the ruling party, the fourth participant in these opposition parleys, Congress(U), suffered a serious setback on 5 August, when Mr Jagjivan Ram and his supporters broke away from the already shrunken paper tiger of Indian politics. On this day the parallel AICC(U) convened by Babuji's supporters 'removed' Mr Devaraj Urs from the post of party president and Babu Jagjivan Ram was suspended by Mr Urs for anti-party activities. The party which was already in the wilderness threw its leaders into political darkness after the ignominies conferred on it by the election commission and the activities of Babu Jagjivan Ram. Now the party is in total disarray. There would be no sense in discussing the ideological and political positions of this party which has no relevance left in the country's politics as most of its leaders who are still in this party are there because Mrs Indira Gandhi has not allowed them to enter her party. Therefore, it would be better to discuss three sets of politicians who are still active in this party.

The first set consists of those who want to retain the name of the Congress and are not prepared to join hands with any party. These are the light weight politicians who have been demanding the political retirement of Morarji Desai and Chaudhury Charan Singh. These leaders are not ready to accept the truth even after the ignominy inflicted on them through derecognition by the election commission; they are still talking in terms of the Congress culture and political heritage. One thing is very clear: those who want to stick to the name of the Congress have a latent desire to patch

up with Mrs Indira Gandhi some day or the other, though they may give any excuse including the one that why should they give up the claim of being the heir to the party formed 96 years ago which led the national movement. But ultimately it is only Mrs Gandhi who represents the Congress. It is a fact that she is the Congress and anybody who wants to give her a political fight will have to become, in due course, a non-Congressman. For other opposition forces specially those who belong to erstwhile socialist parties the name Congress is taboo. Therefore, all those who are still insisting on retaining the name Congress are those politicians who want to give excuses for the getting an entry into the Congress(I).

Atal Behari Vajpayee



TARUN CHAKRABARTY

The second is led by the Congress(U) president Mr Devaraj Urs and the general secretary Mr Banka Behari Das. Both of them are working hard for opposition unity. These leaders feel that opposition unity must start with the immediate merger of the Janata Party, Congress(U) and Lok Dal into one party. Mr Urs is a practical politician, that is why he favours a change in the party's name. According to him, the Congress(U) should adopt a new name to become more broad-based. Mr Urs and Mr Das have held several rounds of talks with Mr Chandra Shekhar, Mr Madhu Limaye, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Mr H N Bahuguna and Chaudhury Charan Singh. Both these leaders—Urs and Das—feel that the country is facing serious political, economic and international problems. And lack of response to the challenge by the right-thinking opposition parties both at the institutional and popular levels is worsening the situation. During their private talks these leaders feel that to face up to this challenge the only remedy left before certain opposition parties is the organisational unity between Janata, Lok Dal and Congress(U) to form one party in close co-operation with the BJP and CPM.

The third set consists of Congress(U) leaders like Mrs Ambika Soni, Mr Dharmaveer Sinha, Mr P. R. Dasmunshi, Mr V. K. Kishore Deo and several other young elements of the party who are opposed to Mr Devaraj Urs. These leaders are willing to join hands with the Janata Party chief Mr Chandra Shekhar. Leaders belonging to this set are eager for unity with the Janata Party but they are apprehensive of the utterings of the self-appointed conscience keeper of Indian politics, Mr Morarji Desai whose speeches on foreign affairs are not in the interest of India. Sharad Pawar is very friendly with this set of Congress(U) leaders

and so is Mr A. K. Antony, but they have been vacillating for the last few months. Moreover, Mr Pawar cannot disobey the dictates of his financier-cum-mentor Mr Rajni Patel who believes in mixing his business with his politics.

Interestingly, Mr Urs has been the most active politician so far as unity efforts are concerned. On 21 June this year, he wrote a letter to Mr Charan Singh. Then he contacted Janata Party chief Chandra Shekhar who took the initiative in calling the meeting of 17 July to discuss electoral reforms. On 18 July he met Chaudhury Charan Singh and Chandra Shekhar. In the last week of July DSP leader Mr H. N. Bahuguna and Mr Devaraj Urs had a long meeting. Mr Bahuguna made it clear that he would not like to join hands with the BJP. He was for unity among other parties but his condition was that unity must be programme-based, not personality-based. The watershed of these talks was reached on 4 August when Messrs Chandra Shekhar, Devraj Urs, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Madhu Limaye met at Karnataka Bhawan. All four agreed on one point: there should be unity among them. But Mr Vajpayee was very cautious. Because his party colleagues, like L. K. Advani, have repeatedly said that the other opposition parties willing to merge would have to decide on the issue of the RSS. As far as the BJP is concerned, the majority of its members had links with the RSS. Therefore other opposition parties should broach the subject of unity only after making up their mind to accept the BJP as it is without any reservation about the RSS. This rigid attitude of certain BJP leaders was posing problems for Mr Vajpayee.

In this meeting Mr Chandra Shekhar and Mr Madhu Limaye were absolutely clear in their stand. Madhu Limaye said: "People would not accept us in joint action or as a front. There is no use of joint action without unity." When Mr Chandra Shekhar asked him about his party's stand, Mr Limaye told him that he was authorised by his party chief to say that "we are for unity. But we have to sort out the issue of RSS and for that matter I agree that there should be no public debate in sorting out the RSS issue." He made it clear that henceforth the Lok Dal would not take an initiative in unity moves. Then it was decided that the Congress(U) would pass the resolution for unity in its special working committee and the Janata Party would put this issue before its national executive. After getting consent from these two bodies, these two parties and the Lok Dal would hold further talks. Thus Mr Chandra Shekhar has been successful in breaking the ice in bringing the Congress(U) and Lok Dal closer to the Janata Party. The first sign of joint action became clear when on 5 August Chaudhury Charan Singh, Chandra Shekhar, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Devaraj Urs decided to issue a joint statement on mass conversions. For those who could read between the

TARUN CHAKRABARTY



Madhu Limaye

lines this statement was not meant only for the conversion issue. This was the beginning of joint action by these four parties.

The Lok Dal general secretary, Mr Madhu Limaye, has also called upon all political parties opposed to authoritarianism to reunite and offer a national alternative to the ruling Congress(I). Mr Limaye said on 10 August in Bangalore that the only way to "enthuse the people and overcome their apathy and frustration" was for all parties opposed to Congress(I) to unite. His party's response to such a unity move would be "positive", he added. Mr Limaye said a national alternative could be achieved only by political parties and personalities subordinating their interests to the larger national goal on the basis of a consensus. He was hopeful of achieving it despite the failure of the Janata Party's experiment.

These unity moves largely depend on two persons—Mr Chandra Shekhar and Chaudhury Charan Singh. Circles close to the Janata Party chief claim that he wants the unity of all four parties. If this is not possible he would like the Lok Dal and Janata Party to merge in the beginning. With his broad and modern outlook Chandra

Chandra Shekhar



Shekhar is prepared to accept political realities. Therefore he wants to move in a practical way. It is true that youth and urban middle-class looks towards him for leadership but realises the one minus point of his party. He himself may be a popular name in the villages but so far as the Janata Party is concerned rural areas are still with the Lok Dal in north India. And at least in Orissa, Bihar, UP, Haryana and Rajasthan one cannot think of opposition unity without the Lok Dal. Therefore Chandra Shekhar wants to unite the peasantry, youth and middle classes of the urban society. Chandra Shekhar possesses a very good skeleton for which he needs flesh, whereas Lok Dal's vote bank is a mass of flesh without a skeleton. Because the Janata Party is a political party of several sections whereas the Lok Dal is a dedicated and strong class organisation of struggle. Therefore both sides want to unite but the real hurdle would be Mr Morarji Desai who is still imposing his whims on the party.

The Lok Dal's stand is a bit different. The Lok Dal leadership is ready to soften its attitude for the shake of Chandra Shekhar and his friends. But the former Prime Minister Mr Desai is not acceptable to them. Mr Desai is strongly opposed to the unity moves. He has his own ideas and known views on different issues. Chandra Shekhar and Lok Dal leaders opposed the central government ordinance banning strikes. But Mr Morarji Desai has supported this ordinance. Each and every wise politician has criticised America's sale of F-16s to Pakistan, but Mr Desai sees no harm in this sale. Mr Desai is also trying his best to check Mr Chandra Shekhar from participating in unity moves. But the organisation is with Mr Chandra Shekhar. The Bihar unit of the Janata Party, led by Mr S. N. Singh, the MP unit of the Janata Party led by Yamuna Prasad Shastri are for unity with the Lok Dal. So is the case with the UP, Rajasthan, Haryana and Himachal units. The general secretary of the Janata Party, Mr Babu Kaldhote, is also working hard in this direction. There is another school of thought in the Janata Party which is for merger but want merger only in stages. This group is represented by leaders like Surendra Mohan.

Any hectic step can jeopardise the unity moves. Therefore Mr Chandra Shekhar and Mr Madhu Limaye are not in a hurry.

Mr Suddindra Bhadoria, a special invitee to the national council of the Janata Party and a very close associate of Chandra Shekhar is all for unity between the Janata Party and Lok Dal. According to Mr Bhadoria and Dayanand Sahai, MP, "We feel the need of the unity of forces and the initiative should be taken by the Janata Party and the Lok Dal, to fight back the authoritarian trends. It is the unity of political forces which can give a rebuttal to the authoritarianism of Mrs Indira Gandhi, we feel that Mr Chandra Shekhar should take the lead." ■

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The cabinet shakeup has merely been postponed

Mrs Gandhi had wanted to make changes in the central administration for a long time through the redistribution of portfolios in the central cabinet and switching around of secretaries. She could not implement the cabinet changes but she did the second one with a vengeance. Probably, for the first time, 12 departmental secretaries were transferred at one go and three were sent back to their own states.

Why she could not make the changes she had planned at the cabinet level still remains a mystery. Probably, none other than Mrs Gandhi and her son, Rajiv Gandhi, knows the reason. Senior ministers knew that there would be changes in the cabinet. At least, Mrs Gandhi in her talks to some people had given that impression. The indications were that changes in the ministries of home, finance, commerce, industries and information and broadcasting were in the offing. No minister was to be dropped, so the rumour went, but there would be a general reshuffling of portfolios. About half-a-dozen new faces were to be inducted at the state and deputy minister levels. Some chief ministers were taken into confidence about the impending changes at the junior levels. In fact, the stage was even set for the changes: the President had to cancel his visit to Amarnath and Kashmir so that he could administer the oath of office to the new incumbents.

Ultimately, there was no major shakeup and there was only a change in the ministries of planning and industries. Mr N. D. Tiwari was to get home but instead he landed up in industries. As a result Dr Charanjit Chanana is now only a minor minister. When the industries portfolio had been taken away from Mr Venkataraman, Dr Chanana was given independent charge of the important portfolio. It was believed that he would be given charge of the education ministry but that did not come about. Dr Chanana, though still in the industries ministry, is now under a minister with cabinet rank. Probably he prefers to remain that way rather than hold the education portfolio.

The important question is not why N. D. Tiwari was placed over Dr Chanana or why S. B. Chavan was shifted to the planning ministry, but why the contemplated



By **BARUN SENGUPTA**

shakeup in the cabinet did not come about. Not even Mr Arun Nehru or Mr Arun Singh who are close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi know the reason.

A similar situation existed when Mrs Gandhi was forming her cabinet in early 1980. No one then had any inkling why the Prime Minister had not formed a complete cabinet, or why some people were made ministers and a large number of aspirants left out. At that time only Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi knew the real reason. After the cabinet formation, I asked Mr Sanjay Gandhi at his Rajendra Place office if he could tell me the full story behind the cabinet formation. Contrary to common belief, Sanjay was an exceptionally truthful politician. He retorted: "No, I won't tell you. Only two or three of us know it. If I tell you, you would not be able to hold the temptation of writing about it someday and the PM would realise immediately that I had told you everything."

This time, however, I did not have the opportunity of asking Mr Rajiv Gandhi about the cabinet changes, nor do I know him that well to question him closely. I also do not expect him to give a reply like Sanjay did. Top politicians and others who claim to be in the know are bandying about the reasons for the postponement and each one has his own version to offer.

But Mrs Gandhi has definitely not entirely given up the idea of a reshuffle. She has only postponed it. I would not be surprised if anyone other than the big four in the cabinet (Narasimha Rao, Pranab Mukherjee, R. Venkataraman and Narayan Dutt Tiwari) is either dropped or his wings clipped drastically. Mrs Gandhi is bent on getting results, and that mostly from "non-performing" people. For reasons of political expediency, Mrs Gandhi is not going to induct anyone in to the cabinet or place in an important

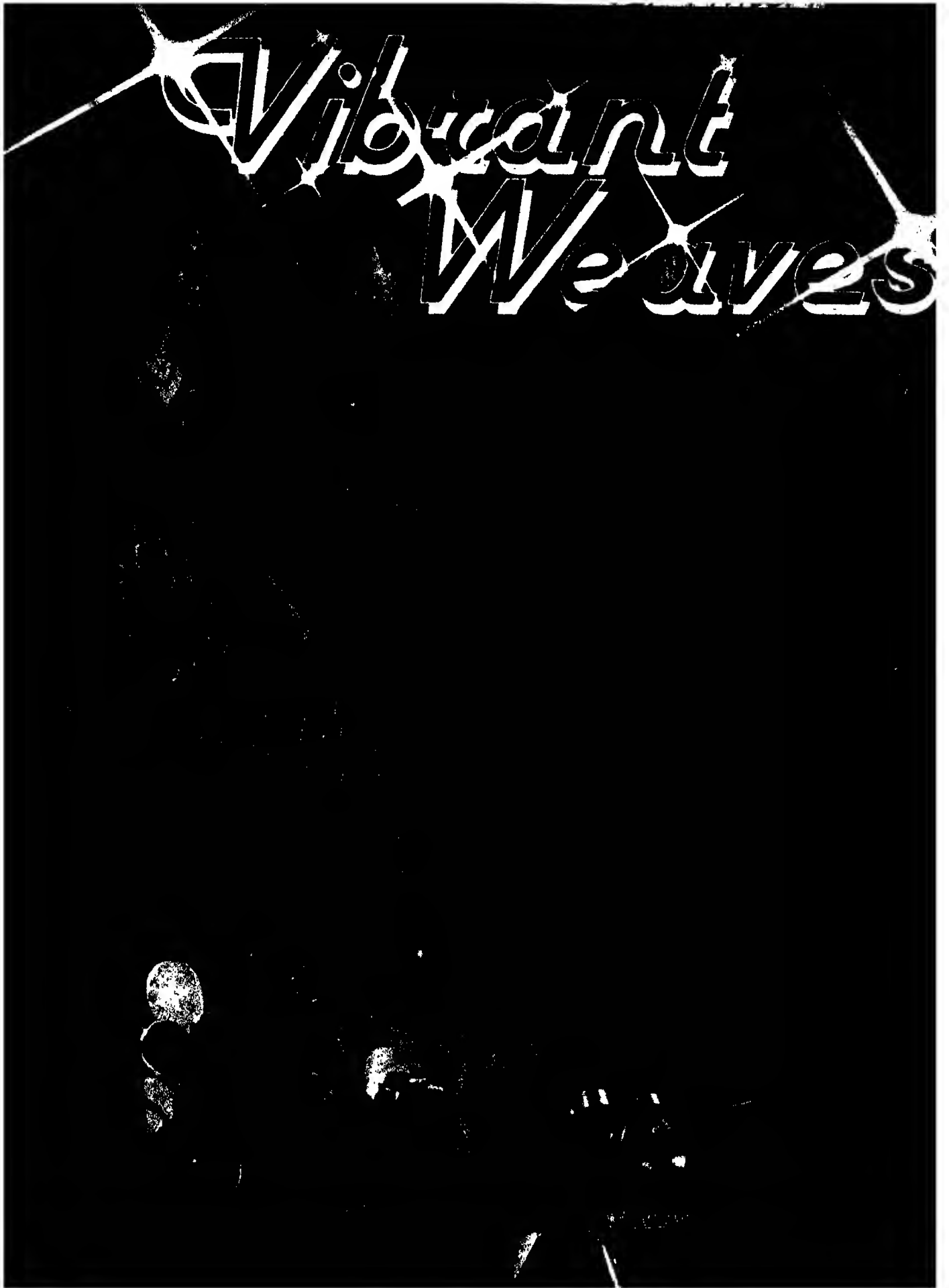
position anyone who may create trouble for Mr Rajiv Gandhi. She would prefer bringing in young men with a good background and education into important positions while keeping some professional politicians by her side (especially those who have no political manoeuvrability of their own). Above all, she would expect them to deliver the goods. Whether the changes are possible or not remains a big question. But as long as Mr Rajiv Gandhi is on the scene I do not expect her to act otherwise.

The changes at the secretarial level were done with finesse. No one, not even top ministers and bureaucrats, got a hint of the impending changes. Perhaps the only one who did have some inkling was Mr Krishnaswamy Rao Sahib who was asked in late July to make a list of the probable transfers at the secretary level—a discreet exercise ideally suited for the PM's cabinet secretary's talents. Mr P. C. Alexander, the principal secretary to the PM, was also consulted. If Mr Rajiv Gandhi played any role in the secretary-level changes, it has been kept a closely guarded secret. But there were definitely changes in Mr Rao Sahib's original list. The evening before the Prime Minister left for Nairobi Mr Rao Sahib and Mr Alexander had a meeting with her. The changes were then finalised. On the same night, some important ministers were informed telephonically about the changes of their departmental secretaries. Some ministers, however, were ignored totally.

So well-kept was the secret regarding the secretaries' transfer that a minister who was hosting a dinner on the evening the changes were made did not have any idea that his department's secretary, who was present, was going to be changed. The minister's secretary was, in fact, discussing the future plans of his department with the pressmen present.

Some of the additional and joint secretaries I have talked to regarding the changes feel that they have mostly been done on the basis of merit and impartial assessments. The transfer of a few secretaries to their states has completely shaken the upper strata of the bureaucracy. Will it be for the good of the administration? Or will it bring about the constant sense of insecurity from which most ministers now suffer?

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The Government

Philips entering TV market?

Philips, the Dutch multinational, which now goes by the name of Peico Electronics and Electricals Ltd., is about to enter through the backdoor, the vast Indian TV market, till now reserved for the medium and small scale sectors. Peicos, which is a non-FERA company, is within its rights to enter into trading arrangements with Indian companies. This is what Peico has done with the state-owned Electronics Corporation of Tamil Nadu (ELCOT) in Madras. According to the terms of the agreement, Peico is supplying technology to ELCOT. Already a dozen experts from Peico headquarters in Bombay have shifted to Madras. In the second phase, Peico will market the TV sets manufactured by ELCOT under the brandname of Philips.

The only snag in the deal, according to the department of electronics, is that Peico, though a non-FERA company, is covered by the rules and regulations of the MRTP Act. Under the Act, the government can always intervene in matters of public interest. The electronics department has accordingly asked the Tamil Nadu government to explain its deal with Peico. With this, intense lobbying and arm-twisting has started in Delhi. What drew the attention of the government to this deal was Peico's sudden decision to set up a Rs one-crore sales-cum-service centre at Madras.

It may be recalled that Peico or Philips had started operating in India from Calcutta, and then shifted its head office to Bombay. In 1965, Philips got a licence for TV

manufacture in Calcutta, and subsequently, with the transfer of the company's headquarters to Bombay, the licence also was transferred to Maharashtra in 1967. But then the government decided to restrict the manufacture of TVs to small and medium scale industries and put a stop to Philips' plans. With colour TV about to appear on the Indian scene, the sudden interest of Peico in providing appropriate technology to ELCOT has already caused concern in the TV industry in the country. But the employment market being what it is, all the state governments are vying with each other to attract new investment. The Marxist government of West Bengal was the first to evince interest in the Peico deal. But Peico preferred Madras.

Aluminium fund as good as dead

We had earlier pointed out that both HINDALCO and INDAL, the two large firms in the aluminium industry, were to remit about Rs 36 crores to the aluminium regulation account, being the difference between their retention prices and the pooled/sale prices of aluminium. HINDALCO has not been remitting money since November 1979 under orders of Calcutta High Court. And now INDAL also probably need not. The government recently raised INDAL's retention price by Rs 833 a tonne to compensate it for higher power tariff. But this action will also help INDAL in reducing its remittance to the retention fund as the difference between its retention and pooled sale price has been narrowed. The question is whether it will remit any money at all in the future as it is saddled with unsold stocks. The account is fast depleting and there is no reason why it should not be wound up.

HCL on a spending spree

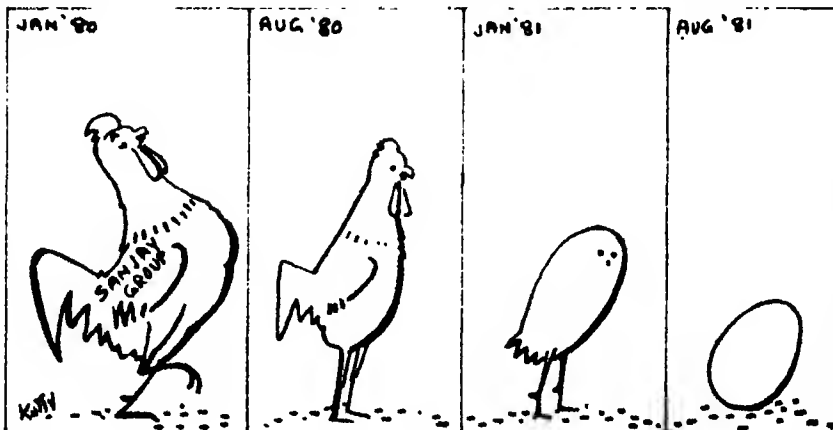
On the one hand the government talks of cutting down expenditure and on the other hand it turns a blind eye to the lavish spending by some public sector undertakings. Take the case of Hindustan Copper Ltd (HCL), which has its headquarters in Calcutta. Its chairman-cum-managing director, Mr O. P. Vasudeva, who already has a room in the company's guest house in Delhi, has rented a flat for about Rs 3,000 per month. This has reportedly been done without the sanction of the central government. Further, contrary to rules, he draws a daily allowance whenever he visits Delhi. He has also obtained a space of 10,000 sq ft in Nehru Place for a design bureau without the permission of the cabinet committee on accommodation. It is common knowledge that a design bureau for HCL will only be necessary when a new smelter plant is set up. And from all indications, HCL has no such plans.

STC left holding the baby

The Central Government's recent decision to fully canalise barley exports through the State Trading Corporation (STC) has come at a time when there is a glut of this commodity in the world market, resulting in a fall in prices. Earlier, the STC was given an export quota for 70,000 tonnes with a minimum export price of Rs. 2,100 a tonne. It has so far been able to export only about 22,000 tonnes. Now, though the minimum price limit has been removed, further export appears problematic because of the falling prices; exports will not even fetch Rs 1,400 a tonne. With the full canalisation, the STC has been called upon to export 1,70,000 tonnes. Of this, one lakh tonnes was to be exported by public sector agencies in the states to the Soviet Union. But they have failed to do so. Was there any need for this canalisation?

No brief for the Press

The Planning Commission met at last in Delhi on 6 August. It was a 2½ hour meeting presided over by the PM but the Press Information Bureau (PIB) did not bother to arrange a briefing for the press. Instead, a handout on the PM's speech was made available to correspondents. This, it seems, is in keeping with the stand the PIB has adopted lately: it does not even brief the press on the outcome of cabinet meetings. This marks a departure from the practice followed by the PIB during 1977-79, when the press used to be briefed whenever the cabinet met. Cannot the press expect a better deal from the present government?



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IMF bullies India

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

They left Delhi quietly, catching a late night flight to London, where the excitement of a royal wedding ensured that few people would have the inclination to nose into closed-door negotiations and high finance, and never-you-mind that the money involved was the largest in the history of international finance.

But the four government officials who hoped to swing what is said to be a six billion dollar loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and return to Delhi were in for some rude shocks.

The first was delivered by the Fund itself, which simply refused to play ball except on its own unexpectedly stiff terms. Then the press back home got into the act with alarming stories about the price which the IMF was asking for the loan. And before the hapless officials were back in Delhi, the issue had blossomed into an embarrassing controversy, the air thick with charges about the government selling out to the Western-dominated IMF.

Denunciations came from West Bengal's vitriolic finance minister, Dr Ashok Mitra, and also from a conclave of 23 well-known economists who met in Calcutta to debate this and other issues. Newspapers began calling for a public statement of the conditions which the government had agreed to in talks with the IMF.

The government's reply so far has been a studied silence.

That the talks did not go well is clear enough, because the parleys in London had to be extended by a day, and then the venue shifted to Washington where negotiations continued for another four days. In between, frantic messages went back to Delhi asking for fresh guidelines in the face of the IMF's tough stance, and official economists in the capital burnt the candle at both ends preparing India's response. Nevertheless, on their return to Delhi, the officials have been unusually tightlipped, seeming to confirm the worst fears about the price which the IMF is demanding.

What kind of policies does the IMF usually want as the price for its loans? To the Fund's way of thinking, these policies should be such as to bring about a "structural" change to erase the factors that led to the foreign exchange crisis in the first place. For, after all, if the loan is to be repaid, the national government will have to take steps that will improve the foreign exchange position.

But from the concerned country's point of view, these "structural changes" are easier preached than practised.

The IMF's usual package involves wiping out budget deficits, tightening money supply to control inflation, cutting all subsidies, loosening controls on the economy (allegedly to increase production) and, paradoxically, liberalising import controls. The general preference is for a more open capitalist economy, with a premium on "efficient" economic management. Often, there is also a request to bring down the value of the national currency since this makes its exports more competitive abroad.

In practice, however, the IMF package often backfires. The slashing of subsidies means raising the prices of all the subsidised items. In India's case, these items include food, fertiliser, electricity, bus and rail fares, and a whole lot of other sensitive areas. Raising prices on all these fronts could, on the one hand, produce the contrary effect of stoking inflation and on the other, fire public resentment against government policies, especially when these are seen to have been dictated by some anonymous experts sitting in Washington.

Similarly, slashing government expenditure to wipe out fiscal deficits usually means cutting back on social welfare budgets that are of help to the poor: education, health, nutrition, children's feeding programmes. Loosening controls on the economy could mean forcing a sharp policy turnaround in the majority of developing countries with socialist aspirations (or pretensions). Devaluation too could prove counter-productive. For a while exports do become more competitive, imports also become more expensive, so that the balance of payments could in fact deteriorate.

Which of these conditions the IMF has now put down as the price for the loan that India wants is not officially known. But since the loan request is for such a horrendously large sum, and given that the sentiment in America (which dominates the IMF) is not only conservative but also distinctly anti-Indian, there is little room for hope that the conditions are not stiff.

Indeed, the government's recent package of measures (raising the prices of fertiliser and oil quite sharply, and making credit more expensive) and even the draconian anti-strike ordinance are seen now as clear signals to the IMF that the government is willing to play ball on the IMF's terms. But it appears that the Fund is not satisfied, and wants still more. The question is: how far will the government be willing to have its domestic economic policies dictated by the IMF? Given the seriousness of the foreign exchange crisis, can it afford to stand up and fight?

If the IMF's conditions do lead to a confrontation, it will not be for the first time. The Fund has often managed to touch a raw nerve in third world countries that seek its loans. Tanzania recently withdrew its loan application after the IMF insisted on specifying how exactly President Julius Nyerere should run his country's economy. In Morocco, there were food riots when, under IMF diktat, that country's government slashed the food subsidy and raised food prices. Other instances abound. Sri Lanka and Turkey had both negotiated large loans from the IMF, but both loans eventually had to be called off because the concerned governments found it impossible to push through the kind of policies which the IMF wanted.

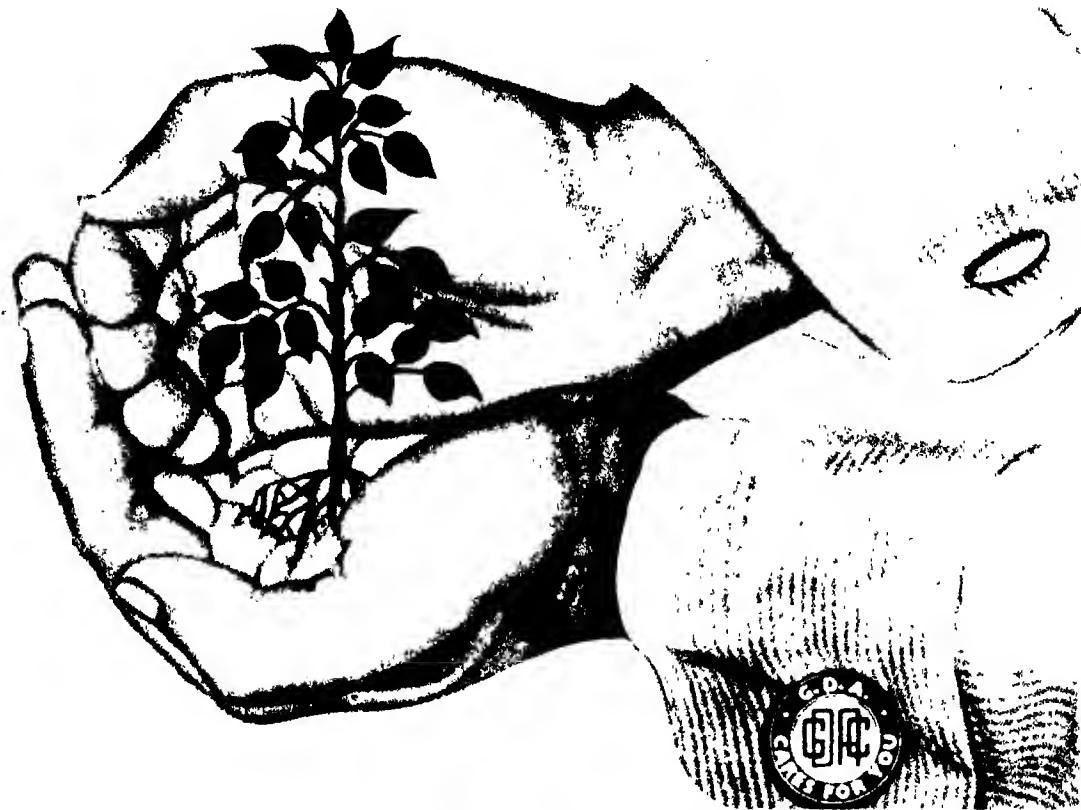
In India itself, back in 1966, the IMF granted a loan only after getting a 57% devaluation of the rupee, with disastrous results for the economy. That devaluation was made partly on the strength of American promises of increased aid. The aid never came, and Mrs Gandhi's then fledgling government learnt a bitter lesson.

If Mrs Gandhi has nevertheless gone back to the IMF this time with a request for the biggest ever loan negotiated with the Fund (equal to two-thirds of the Fund's total lending last year), the reasons are obvious. With oil prices zooming (last year's trade deficit was a staggering Rs 5,500 crores, a figure equal to India's total imports not so long ago), the country's foreign exchange reserves are now barely adequate to pay for four months' imports, against the equivalent of 10 months a couple of years ago, when the reserves were in fact embarrassingly large. The trade deficits are likely to remain large, what with oil prices staying high, and with imports of wheat, edible oils, sugar, cotton, fertiliser and all manner of other goods being freely ordered. Also, with foreign exchange remittances from Indians abroad levelling off, the levels of concessional aid proving wholly inadequate, and commercial borrowings on the European money market proving prohibitively expensive, there seems to have been little choice but to go to the IMF.

The issue can now be expected to blossom into a major public controversy. Parliament meets this week, and opposition MPs are certain to make the most of a convenient handle with which to beat the government. There will be demands for a public statement of the conditions which the government has agreed to, with precedents being cited of Britain having done so in 1977, and Italy a few years earlier. Will this public pressure force the government to take a stiffer stand with the IMF? Can it afford to? And will the IMF itself relent on some of its conditions?

As events unfold, one major question will have to be answered: did the finance ministry commit a serious error of judgment in asking for such a large loan at a time when the mood in Washington is clearly not obliging? Would it not have been wiser to tighten a freewheeling import policy and look for other ways of bringing the foreign exchange situation under control?

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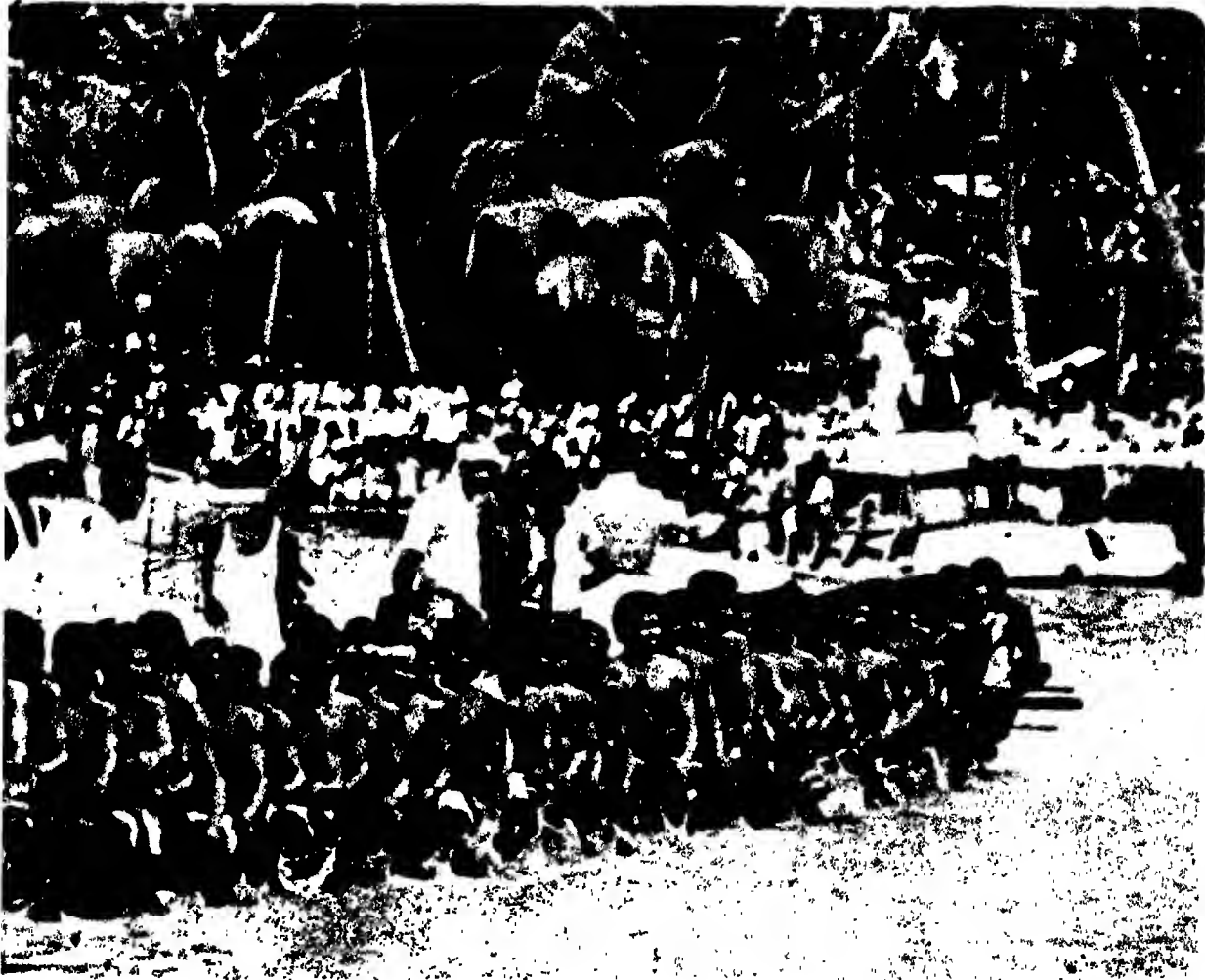
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Biharsharif: a victim of the recent riots

ANALYSIS

Aligarh... Jamshedpur... Moradabad... Biharsharif... Hyderabad...

When will this ever stop? When will we root out the seeds of communal violence from our national consciousness, asks SYED SHAHABUDDIN, MP

Like blind mice trapped in a maze, we stumble from tragedy to tragedy, from holocaust to holocaust, from Aligarh to Jamshedpur, from Moradabad to Biharsharif, not knowing which way to turn. But Biharsharif was unique in our gory annals of fratricide. It had a rural and genocidal dimension. Biharsharif itself was no more than the eye of the cyclone; waves of mindless destruction radiated in all directions, taking in life, property, destroying mutual trust, truth.

Nearly 30 villages in three blocks over six police stations were affected in a matter of days, as if they were hit by lightning. These villages had something in common, a very small insignificant Muslim minority, neither economically nor socially conspicuous, living in *kutchas* hovels, some with a few *kathas* of land; small mosques which doubled as Madarsas in some places. The fortunate families had a member or two working in Biharsharif or Patna or Calcutta; ethnically of the same stock as their Hindu neighbours, they belonged to the lower castes (yes, in Bihar even Muslims have castes); culturally akin, merging in the landscape, men wearing dhotis, women in saris without burquas; speaking the same dialect as the rest of the people, with no particular interest in Urdu. Many kept cows and looked after them like members of their family; many hung calendars with pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses. The wave of Islamic fundamentalism had not touched them. Nor was there any sudden rise in their economic profile due to Gulf money; neither economic conflict, nor

cultural confrontation. Here was a Muslim group which could be a show-piece of cultural assimilation, a textbook example of how to merge into the national mainstream!

And yet they were the targets of brutal, deliberate organised attack, they were slaughtered in cold blood, in broad daylight, like goat and sheep are, one by one; their dead bodies were thrown into fields to rot or into flames to burn; their women were raped, mutilated and killed; their babies smashed to death; their homes looted and ransacked with everything within sight smashed; their places of worship desecrated, bombed, razed. The viciousness of it all! As if the venom of hatred, collected for God knows how long in the minds of men, had burst forth into a mighty, furious stream.

In the refugee camps, the faces of the survivors told their tale of woe and terror; some were unable to relive the memory of those terrible hours when their life hung in a balance; they were unable to speak, were incoherent when they did, afraid still. Perhaps they saw their killers lurking among us, hiding behind us, or even expressing sympathy, with a new mask on. Imagine the scars they would carry through the rest of life; imagine young children who have seen their mothers and sisters being raped and killed; imagine the girl who has lost all her family, too shocked to cry, too young to understand why or how it all happened.

But can we understand it? Or if we do, can we articulate our understanding? Can we stand up to the devil within us?

The second dimension is the organised killing in the Biharsharif Bypass, the national highway which joins Patna with Ranchi, largely at the crossroads where one road goes into Biharsharif town, the other to Nawadah, the third to Rajgir and the fourth to Patna, by the side of the Agricultural Marketing Board yard, 300 metres from the house of the DM and the SP. All passing vehicles were detained for days; Muslim passengers (including a bearded Hindu youth) were systematically identified and slaughtered. Neither was the traffic closed; nor was patrolling instituted. The government does not even acknowledge these killings; the victims are only 'missing'.

The third dimension is that the police acted with remarkable restraint! They shut their eyes and sealed their ears. They did not join the mobs but they let it rampage; even when given orders to shoot at sight, they kept their cool—not a shot was fired. What a contrast to Moradabad! Who said the police are trigger-happy? They maintained strict neutrality! If the senior officer looked the other way, the men would know how to act; they would take the hint. *'Salon ko marne do, Mian Marta Hai, Jane do'*

The fourth dimension is the means used. Nalanda, the district of which Biharsharif is the headquarter, is known as the arsenal of Bihar; bombs are sold by the kilo; illegal arms abound; some of the atrocities may have been committed by criminal gangs, well-recognised, well-connected and well-protected. As it is they enjoy police protection. Why come in their way, when they have come forward to participate in a *dharma yudh*. But



TOOSHAN PANDIT

Orphaned children: will violence never cease?

except in one village, Gulni, the only place where there was resistance by the Muslims, firearms were not used. The explanation is too shocking to be believable. A bullet costs money. Why waste a bullet, when the *katta* or *hasna* would do?

The fifth dimension is the identity of the killers. Who were the attackers? Everywhere one hears of outsiders. Is there a private army operating in the area? Or is it a spontaneous formation as lust of blood or money takes possession of souls? Or is it that Pakistan has dropped a set of commandoes, to give a bad name to the land of Buddha? Or maybe Muslims themselves kill each other so that the image of our country abroad is darkened? Yes, who were they? But before that, who spread the word? Who broadcast false rumours? Who masterminded the conspiracy? Who made out the plans?

For the first time, in Biharsharif the trial of blood leads to some big names in the local RSS. For long has the RSS been engaged in innumerable confrontations over the graveyards, over language, over the name Biharsharif itself. Ali Nagar, the suburb where the entire Muslim population was exterminated, is a known RSS stronghold; the *shakha* is held over the local graveyard. From the Olympian heights of Vajpayee to the grassroots level of the local *sanchalak*, they would of course deny the charge but the long silence of the *Organiser*, followed by an incoherent story, full of irrelevancies, shows that they know that they have been caught with blood on their hands. This time they have been trapped in the net. The charges can be made to stick, if the government sincerely wants to. There are many hurdles: a corrupt and communal magistracy; the inefficient and apathetic police; the fatalism of the victims; the indifference of the Muslim elite.

Things move slowly; evidence is tampered; witnesses are bribed or threatened into silence; records are changed; bureaucracy closes ranks and protects itself; caste alignments come into play; godfathers interfere. And finally, nothing happens; the report does not tell the whole truth and in any case it gathers dust.

Already in Biharsharif, this process is on; the government had promised to hold a judicial inquiry; but none has been announced; the government announced special courts; none have been established; fabrication of records and filing of false cases have gone on at full speed. The administration established a 'dialogue' with the Hindu community in the post-riot period so that they could tell their side of the story. Who would object to this act of justice? The result is hundreds of false counter-cases filed, weeks after; so that prominent Muslims can be harassed into silence of inactivity. The government passes an ordinance for imposition of collective fines—so badly worded that it has no chance of standing the test of constitutionality. The number of villages and the amounts are announced and then reduced in successive reviews. Nothing has been collected but the purpose has been served. The do-nothing government of Jagannath Mishra stands credited with many firsts, including special courts and collective fines!

The charade goes on...till a new hell is let loose.

Next time it may be you or me. Next time it may not be contained so easily; it may spread like a virus epidemic against which we have no immunity, no resistance. It is this nightmare which keeps me awake at night; nor could you sleep a wink if you thought over it. We lament and beat our breasts, even shed a few tears. And yet ask: are we sincere in our lamentations, in our self-castigation? Why don't we expose the evil within? Why do we give it quarter? Why don't we chase it with single-minded purpose till we vanquish it? Why don't we stake everything to protect the innocent? How can we lie down with those suffering, those haunted eyes, those eyes full of distrust encircling us?

Remember, in Biharsharif, a Muslim was killed for no fault of his but that he was a Muslim and bore a Muslim name? Remember, in Biharsharif, the state failed to protect his life, honour and property, because he was a Muslim? It is not enough to sprinkle over ourselves a few words of sorrow and then, ritually purified, go about the business of our lives, as if nothing had happened. It is not enough to curse the RSS (and the Jamaat-e-Islami to even the balance-sheet of secularism!) and to forget about it. It is not enough to pay some blood-money to the victims and to rehabilitate them and then to go to sleep.

We have to tell the truth and truth shall liberate us. The Muslim youth

has begun talking of armed resistance; it is a futile talk, nothing but bravado, but we must gauge the alienation it depicts. Resistance? Against whom? Against our own people? Against our neighbours, brothers? Against a government elected by ourselves? Yet, someday this bitterness and anger and helplessness may acquire a shape and a form; words may turn into deeds, senseless deeds. Speech may turn into action, self-defeating action.

Mrs Gandhi thinks that Muslims are feeling secure; lo, they are even breeding! No, madam, they are insecure, scared, some of them store illegal firearms; bricks and stones; some of them maintain *goondas*, not for an offensive but because they feel insecure; because they do not trust your administration, your police and, what is worse, their neighbours.

Biharsharif proves that all talk of Muslim initiative, Muslim offensive, Muslim fanaticism is *bakwas* merely to whitewash the sins of Hindu communalism on the warpath; or to salvage one's conscience. Even the reality of the RSS is turned into a bogey. The bogey is never shot down; it serves a purpose. No harm in an occasional blood-letting if it keeps them in line. That explains why there is never any exposure, why truth is never told.

Retaliation or surrender? Retaliation against whom? By all means retaliate against the aggressor, there is no merit in being slaughtered like dumb cattle. But why retaliate against the innocent, against the passerby? When communalism, Hindu or Muslim, preaches revenge and sanctifies retaliation, it justifies cruelty and injustice. It is morally repugnant and ethically bankrupt.

And in desperation, others call for surrender. Some take a leaf out of the *Jataka*. Like the deer in the Buddhist fable, they may ask: tell us the annual tribute in blood; we shall pay it regularly on the appointed day without fail, but spare us this fear of sudden attack; leave us in peace for the rest of the year! But this will hardly do; the pressures are for total assimilation.

Communal violence will not stop unless we make an effort to discover ourselves. Below the layer of self-righteousness, behind the mask of tolerance, beneath the wrappings of myths and legends, away from the limelight, the projected image, the adored portrait, we are a violent people and our violence tends to increase in proportion to the competition for scarce resources. Only Buddha and Gandhi understood us, the violence within us.

So, what will save us? A national catharsis, a probe into the deepest recesses of our inner being. But this calls for courage to tell the truth, to confess our sins, to banish hypocrisy and political expediency. But popular interest and concern are so fickle. And one thing follows another in quick succession. Yesterday Biharsharif, and today Hyderabad...And so, like blind mice in a maze, we stumble from tragedy to tragedy.

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THE WORLD

Nazi spy-station in Canada



West German industrialist Franz Selinger and Canadian historian Dr Alec Douglas have made a sensational discovery by piecing together several apparently unrelated facts: Hitler had set up an automatic weather station in the remote north-east coast of Canada and it was from here that he received information on the conditions in the North Atlantic Allied shipping lanes. The discovery was made after Herr Selinger came across the logbook of a Nazi submarine, U537; it provided sketchy information about two German scientists being shipped to an unidentified location in North America in 1943. Herr Selinger managed to get hold of photographs of the submarine taken against a bleak hilly background and contacted Dr Douglas for his assistance in identifying the terrain. The latter concluded that the photographs had been taken somewhere in northern Labrador. Subsequently, both industrialist and historian travelled along the Labrador coast and finally came across, in true Alistair Maclean style, the remains of the Nazi station at Martin Bay, 11 miles south of the northern tip of Labrador.

"Everything was scattered around and all the cables had been cut," said Dr Douglas, after returning from the expedition. The weather vane of the station had fallen; the antenna had rusted to pieces. The transmitter was missing.

Murtaza Bhutto for Libya?

The Al-Zulfikar terrorist organisation led by Murtaza Bhutto is planning to shift its headquarters from Kabul to an unknown place in Libya. There are three reasons behind this move: the Arab countries (the UAE in particular) have stopped paying funds to the organisation on the grounds that it is based in a Muslim country occupied by the Soviet Union; Moscow is not pleased with Murtaza because he continues to turn down suggestions that Russians should instruct and

train his guerillas; and finally, based in Kabul, the organisation remains susceptible to attacks by General Zia-ul-Haq's commandos. The last reason has become more significant since the raid on Al-Zulfikar headquarters in the last week of July this year when 19 people were killed or wounded. The organisation has acknowledged that General Zia has been sending commandos into Afghanistan with instructions to assassinate its "kingpins." One of Zia's men, Sgt-Major Buner,

was captured after an encounter with Al-Zulfikar terrorists near what has been described as a "mountain camp." According to Al-Zulfikar sources, Buner was tried by a revolutionary court and he confessed that he had been ordered to kill the guerilla leaders; he also admitted that the governor of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, General Fazle Haq, had personally interviewed the commandos and meticulously planned their mission to Afghanistan.

"This is Idi Amin calling"

Idi Amin was at it again. From Saudi Arabia where he is living in exile, the former President of Uganda telephoned London to declare that "Arab governments were not giving medicine to the people in West Nile." He complained about the lack of Arab support for his resistance movement against the present Ugandan government. "Even I have become a victim because of the Arabs," he claimed. He proceeded to set a fine example of pragmatism by wishing "the people of Britain peace, unity and understanding from all people in the world." He claimed to have watched the royal wedding on television and was "very happy" as a result. And finally he appealed to the British government to recall its military training team from Uganda "because we don't want any misunderstanding with Her Majesty's government."

Marina Oswald, the widow of Lee Harvey Oswald, suspected assassin of President Kennedy, has been demanding the exhumation of her husband's body which is buried in Fort Worth (Texas). Reason? She would like to make certain that the body has not been tampered with. But Robert Oswald, the gunman's brother, remains opposed to the "disturbing" of the grave; he has even managed to secure a court

Briefly

Be kind to chickens

The European Economic Community (EEC) has directed its member countries to ensure better working conditions for chickens. Under severe pressure from animal rights societies, the EEC passed a regulation requiring poultry farms to make their hen cages big enough for comfort.

Al-Fatah man hit

The man who masterminded the Munich Olympic massacre in 1972 was struggling for his life at the time of our going to press after being hit by five bullets in the mouth, chest and intestines. Mohammad Daoud Odeh, alias Abu Daoud, a member of the PLO's dreaded Al-Fatah wing, was in transit through Warsaw when he was shot by an unidentified assailant in a coffee lounge of a hotel.

'Emperor' calls



On the 75th anniversary of Iran's "imperial constitution" which means nothing to its present rulers, self-proclaimed emperor and eldest son of the late Shah of Iran, Reza Pehalvi, claimed that he was making "concerted plans" to overthrow Ayatollah Khomeini's regime. In a 600-word statement released in Cairo recently, the current 'Shah of Iran' called for a "national uprising to destroy the forces of evil" in Iran.

Turning Oswald in his grave



Lee Harvey Oswald

injunction against any attempt at digging up his brother's grave. Now a British barrister, Michael Eddowes, has jumped into the fray: he intends to contest the injunction and is being supported by Marina. But Mr Eddowes' motives are different; he intends to prove that the body buried at Fort Worth is that of a Soviet KGB agent who impersonated Lee Harvey Oswald and assassinated President Kennedy

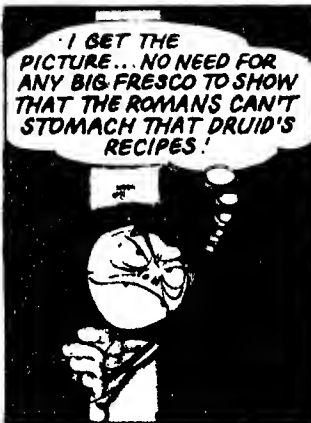


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GAULISH COOKING! HUH! THEY CAN SCOFF THE LOT THEMSELVES!

PERSONALLY, I DON'T SEE ANYTHING TO SCOFF AT.

SSH! SHUT UP! THEY MIGHT WANT CARVE US UP SOME MORE.

I DON'T KNOW WHO YOU ARE, BUT THANKS VERY MUCH! YOU CAME IN THE NICK OF TIME!

I'M GETAFIX, AND MY FRIENDS HERE ARE ASTERIX, OBELIX AND DOGMATIX. CLEVERDIX SENT US!



CLEVERDIX WANTED TO FIGHT THE ROMANS WITH HIS OWN WARRIORS, BUT WE THOUGHT OUR METHODS WERE SUBTLER!

THERE'S SOMETHING TO BE SAID FOR THAT OLD ROGUE CLEVERDIX AFTER ALL!



NOW, LET'S GO BACK TO THE VILLAGE, AND I SHALL HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY TO THAT TRAITOR CODFIX!



OH, HELP! I'D BETTER LIE LOW FOR A WHILE!



?!?



HALT!
SLAVES ARE NOT
ALLOWED TO LEAVE
THE CAMP!



THAT'S
ALL RIGHT; WE'RE
NOT SLAVES ANY
MORE. WE'RE FREE
GAULS AGAIN! YOU
CAN LET US PASS!



HUH!
AS LIARS GO,
YOU'RE A
FAT LOT OF
GOOD!



LEAVE
THIS TO ME,
ASTERIX!



**GOOD I MAY BE, BUT
I... AM... NOT... FAT!**



JUST NICELY
COVERED, THAT'S
ALL.

WELL, YOU'RE
CERTAINLY VERY
THIN-SKINNED!
COME ON,
OBELIX!



O DRUID, WASN'T IT A
BIT DANGEROUS TO GIVE
THE ROMANS A CHANCE TO
DRINK OUR MAGIC
POTION TOO?

THAT WAS A RISK WE
HAD TO TAKE. I HAD
EVERY CONFIDENCE IN
THE ROMANS' LACK OF
CONFIDENCE IN US,
ASTERIX!



OH,
FATHER!

MELODRAMA,
MY DEAR
CHILD!

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

VC Syed Hamid no longer pro-left

Prof Irfan Habib and another suspended

Aligarh: The Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) is a continuing story of unrest. Students' agitations, authorities' failure in reaching a solution, politicking, conspiring—all are manifestations of a disease that has eaten the university's foundations. The edifice is tottering. The question that is being asked is: can anyone save it?

There is no dearth of contenders—self-appointed Messiahs flocking to the campus with the message, so they say, of peace. Politicians of all hues (some in the guise of social workers), Muslim leaders and even journalists have been visiting the campus ever since the violence of 12 May. All speak with a sad shake of the head of "outside interference" to restore normalcy. A number of committees have been appointed to enquire into the malaise afflicting AMU. There have been a number of reports, statements, allegations, counter-allegations, opinions, solutions—and still normalcy for this university remains a dream and an unattainable goal.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi has been talking to the students and Mrs Gandhi has talked to the vice-chancellor. The UP chief minister, Mr V. P. Singh, has talked to the teachers, students and the VC, Dr Syed Hamid, has been kept busy answering summons from the Prime Minister in New Delhi and attending the chief minister's *darbar* in Lucknow.

Recently, he returned to the university, assured of Mrs Gandhi's full support. This was reflected in his actions. The first was to announce the re-opening of the university on 10 August. Along with that came the decision to rusticate nine student leaders including the office-bearers of the dissolved AMU students' union. The third was to postpone the re-opening of the university to 17 August. He also invited the students for talks; they have not responded as yet. And lastly came his decision to suspend two deans—the controversial Irfan Habib and Rehman Ali Khan, famous for his anti-Habib stance—for alleged "indecent behaviour" at a meeting of the executive council.

The only reaction to the rustication of the student leaders was from the leaders themselves. The former

president of the students' union, Irfanullah Khan mailed pamphlets to other students urging them to continue the agitation for the ouster of Dr Syed Hamid. He described the rustication as untimely—"an indication of the vice-chancellor's unwillingness to find a solution through talks." The president of the AMU research scholars' association, Mr A. Z. Amani, said that their main demand was for the removal of Dr Hamid. Professor Irfan Habib has become a "secondary" issue, he added. The Muslim community represented by the parent body of all Muslim organisations, the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, however, reserved comment. It is an internal matter of the university, a spokesman said.



Prof Habib: object of communal hatred?

Apart from these disgruntled rumblings, it is obvious that not many tears are being shed for the rusticated students. But the suspension of Professor Irfan Habib is quite another matter. Professor Rehman Ali Khan seems to have been forgotten in the reaction Dr Habib manages to evoke from a sizable section of the academic and Communist community. The strangest reaction came from the CPI(M) politburo which issued a

detailed statement to protect one of its own flock, as it were. Demanding the withdrawal of the order, the politburo sees it as a triumph for the communal forces in the university—"As the beginning of the complete takeover of the AMU by the communal forces." The politburo continued: "What is happening in the AMU cannot be isolated from the pernicious activities of organisations like the Jamaat-e-Islami which are already causing concern to the democratic and secular forces. It is their task to see that these communal forces do not get the upper hand in the AMU or elsewhere."

While the matter is being given a political flavour, as most AMU issues are, it might be worthwhile to remember that the suspension followed an angry exchange between the two deans at the executive council meeting. Dr Irfan Habib asked the registrar, at the meeting, to inform the members about the progress of the university's talks with the students. Professor Rehman Ali Khan took umbrage. He reportedly prevented the registrar from answering Dr Habib's question. The dean of social sciences, not exactly known for his politeness, told Professor Khan to behave himself. The latter is said to have sprung up from his chair with the intention of assaulting the former. Prof. Khan denies this saying that Dr Habib used harsh and provocative language.

The vice-chancellor reacted by suspending both the deans. The order has now been twisted into a different issue altogether: communal versus secular. The embers of the initial cause of the students' agitation are being raked again. Practically forgotten in the vicious political twists and turns through the months, Dr Irfan Habib and the secular cause he represents, are back in the limelight.

Dr Syed Hamid acted in haste and a trifle injudiciously. Using his academic instincts only, failing to realise that an academic approach cannot succeed in this university ridden with political intrigues, where even a bucket of water can become a political object, if it is carried by Professor Irfan Habib. Dr Hamid should have taken a lesson from politicians. He should have heard all who wanted to speak about the incident at the executive council meeting.

Dr Hamid seems to be sitting on a see-saw: one action sends him hurtling through the air and barely does he land on the other side that he finds himself flying back. The volte face by the Jamaat-e-Islami has set the see-saw in motion again. From the stance of being actively opposed to the vice-chancellor ever since he took charge, it has swung to his support. The cry now is, the VC must stay. Dr Hamid is playing to the tune of the communalists.

For the VC it has been an uncomfortable ride. From a pro-Habib, pro-CPI(M) image he was thrown to the rightist Congress (I) posture. The students and teachers accusing him of

Maratha lobby is wooing Rajiv Gandhi

harbouring a soft corner for the Communists, have suddenly begun accusing him of being a Congress (I) stooge. The Congress (I) came into the picture because of the by-elections. When the students found the Congress (I) wooing them, they did not hesitate to hurl the vice-chancellor back to the Irfan Habib camp. Now he finds himself sitting on the Jamaat-e-Islami side on the fence. He is now a bewildered vice-chancellor, still to acquire the political acumen required to run AMU, a university committed not to education but to political conspiracies. He has to learn as one senior lecturer said, "to play dirty," to "divide and rule," to pit one group against the other—failing which he is going to find himself pitted against odds. Where every action suddenly acquires political overtones with unforeseeable consequences, the action committee of the Muslim Majlis-Mushawarat recently asserted their support for Dr Hamid. Along with them were other Muslim organisations which includes the Jamaat-e-Islami. A Mushawarat spokesman said that the committee had repeatedly invited the student leaders for discussions but they had failed to turn up.

The Mushawarat is positive that there is some "force" behind the students which pushes them on this path of confrontation. Now that the Jamaat-e-Islami, which secular elements had darkly hinted was the "force," appears to have disassociated itself from the students and their agitation, I asked a Mushawarat member to define this "unseen" power. Reluctantly, he said, that it was the "second line" of the Congress (I). The first line, he explained, was Mrs Gandhi, Mr Kedar Nath Pande and other senior members who supported Dr Hamid and whose intentions towards AMU were above suspicion. Who are the second liners, I asked. There are some MPs and others. Rajiv Gandhi? Yes, he said, and others. Salman Khurshid? I asked again. Yes. Khurshid Alam Sahab's (he is the latter's father and chairman of the AICC(I) minorities cell) stand has not been very favourable. V. P. Singh? Yes, he too. What about the home minister? He is playing a double role. He is sometimes here, sometimes there. When he is with Mrs Gandhi he says one thing, when he is with the chief minister he says another.

The action committee has suggested the appointment of a commission, on the lines of the Rehmatullah Commission, to enquire into AMU affairs. The Mushawarat member said: "There are so many problems, accumulated over the past 15 years that these cannot be resolved in a year or two. Too many inefficient persons have entered the university, and to cover their inefficiency they are indulging in other activities. The university has to be cleansed of these elements. Inshallah (if God so wishes)."

Shehnaz Syed

Bombay: A year of chief ministership, and Mr A. R. Antulay's major problem still remains the Maratha lobby. On the face of it, the economic wing of the Maratha lobby, namely the sugar barons, have co-existed happily with Mr Antulay. They even gave him Rs 20 lakhs that he demanded for the Indira Pratisthan, and have promised him more. When one considers how easily they gave him the money, particularly when they have yet to collect funds to help the victims of the Nasik police firing, one can gauge the cosy connection between the barons and Mr Antulay.

The sugar lobby even obliged him by changing their plans for shifting a sugar port from Ratnagiri to Dighe. Maharashtra is one of the largest suppliers of sugar for export accounting for nearly 30 to 40% of the total exported. In 1974-75 Maharashtra supplied 3.5 lakh tonnes of the total of 9.34 tonnes for export. With Bombay port congested, ships had often to wait for nearly a month resulting in heavy demurrage payable in foreign exchange. So the federation of sugar factories under the chairmanship of the late Mr Madhavrao Baroste suggested that Ratnagiri should be developed as a port for handling sugar. Hearing of this the chief minister suggested that they consider Dighe, a place of idyllic surroundings (Dighe is in the chief minister's constituency of Shrivardhan). A jetty worth rupees one crore had already been built but it was lying idle dealing only with local traffic, even though it had the most envious natural harbour and a totally protected, all-weather port.

Meanwhile, the political wing of the Maratha lobby, however, remained restive. While Mr Antulay did manage to quell the dissidents that sought to gather round the ineffective Mrs Premalata Chavan who was dislodged early in her tenure from the presidency of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee. He also resorted successfully to the gesture of paying obeisance to Shivaji in the mistaken notion that it would establish his bona fides among the Marathas. As Mr Antulay himself told this correspondent, "Under any other circumstances I would have been politically lynched by the Marathas. I have survived only because the poor Marathas are with me for the things I have done for them."

The poor farmers, mostly Marathas, did get a better deal from Mr Antulay than under any of his successors. For instance, whether it was the sugarcane farmers or the onion farmers who were led by Sharad Joshi or the Shetkari Sanghatana, Mr Antulay did concede part of their demands. Even the earlier CM, Sharad Pawar, did not give in to the farmers when Mr Sharad Joshi started his agitation for remunerative onion prices in January 1980, at the height of his power.

Mr Antulay's concessions were not necessarily part of the Congress(I)'s overall policy towards farmers when one considers that in neighbouring Karnataka Gundu Rao's government with police connivance was responsible for the death of ten tobacco growers while maiming nearly 50. Mr Antulay, in contrast, fought tooth and nail with the centre for the monopoly pro

A. R. Antulay talks to N. M. Tidke while Ramrao Adik listens



F. ROBINSON

curement of cotton scheme and in the case of onion purchase ordered the state marketing federation to set up purchase centres when NAFED had to wait for directives from the centre. He also defied the Reserve Bank and wrote off loans worth Rs 40 crores of small farmers. While this may look like generosity, in the context of the Congress anti-farmer culture, Mr Antulay did it as he says for the poor Marathas, who are predominantly small farmers. The Maratha factor assumes importance because for the first time the state has a chief minister who is not a Maratha. This was due to the late Sanjay Gandhi. He upset the whole power structure and gave tickets in the 1980 elections to more non-Marathas. This angered the Maratha lobby, particularly the political wing which always viewed itself as traditional rulers.

Mr Antulay subdued this lobby only to be confronted with new trouble from the trustworthy Mr Ramrao Adik, his finance minister. When Mr Antulay went on his south of France holiday in May, Mr Adik seized the opportunity to tell the press that Mrs Gandhi did not approve Mr Antulay's plans to bring out a daily newspaper. As Mr Adik put it, Mrs Gandhi reportedly told him in a private meeting that "the government's business is to run the government and not a newspaper."

What added to the confusion is that Mrs Gandhi maintained an ominous silence, neither denying nor confirming what she had supposedly told Mr Adik. Mr Antulay himself could not get any confirmation. And this was the signal for a fresh revolt with Mr Adik taking the lead. He was emboldened further by the expected entry of Marathas like Mr Y. B. Chavan and a group led by his brother Mr Govindrao Adik, a one-time close lieutenant of Mr Sharad Pawar. Without any base of his own, Mr Adik felt he could capitalise on his supporters and perhaps instal

himself as chief minister.

But Mr Antulay checkmated this move by stalling Mr Y. B. Chavan's entry with the result that Congress(U) men did not rush to join the Congress(I) and Mr Adik was left in the lurch. His attempt at organising a revolt against Mr Antulay ending in a failure, he issued a statement saying that he accepted Mr Antulay as his leader and had full faith in his leadership.

This did not cut much ice as Mr Antulay dropped him as his aide. This is interesting because it is one indication of the declining importance of Mr Adik. Now Mr Jayantrao Tilak and Mr Tidke can be seen hovering around Mr Antulay. For the CM, it has been tough keeping the Maratha lobby at bay. Everytime they have opened new flanks of attack Mr Antulay has had to quell them. Sanjay Gandhi helped him and so does Mrs Gandhi. But now the Marathas have started wooing Rajiv Gandhi. Does Rajiv Gandhi understand the importance of keeping the Marathas at bay? Sanjay Gandhi did: in order to neutralise any centres of power that could act as a threat to his mother. The Marathas under the leadership of Mr Y. B. Chavan in the bygone days closed their ranks in times of trouble and refused to follow Mrs Gandhi blindly. As a result, she was left with virtually no support from Maharashtra at one point of time.

Once again there is a distinct possibility of the Marathas closing their ranks. Mr Antulay is literally fighting with his back to the wall. The CM has even made trips to New Delhi, to get the Prime Minister's permission to make some changes in the Maharashtra cabinet, but to no avail. Mr Antulay's survival, now depends on the decision that Rajiv Gandhi takes. Will Rajiv Gandhi succumb to the pressures of the Marathas as epitomised today by Mr Adik and Mrs Shalnitai Patil?

Olga Tellis

that Mr Majhi had indeed, promised her a job.

The motorcycle sped away—not to Kasaphala but headed straight for the Amarda dak bungalow.

By now Laxmipriya was frightened. At the dak bungalow, she was pushed into a room and locked up. At ten in the night, Mr Majhi came into the room and raped her. "I was raped in spite of my screaming and resistance. After the minister (left), in came Purna Jena...and he too raped me," says Laxmipriya. At four in the morning, she was taken back to her village. But Laxmipriya said nothing to her parents: "I could not say anything about the previous night's happening out of shame and fear."

But prospects of a better job kept luring the girl and she fell a victim of rape once again. On 15 December 1980, she received a letter from the minister asking her to proceed to Bhubaneswar immediately. Laxmipriya did not hesitate and arrived at the minister's residence around seven in the evening. What followed was hardly different from the nightmare in October: Laxmipriya was raped.

The girl returned immediately to Cuttack where she was now working. Within a few months she found that she was pregnant. Helpless, she rushed to Bhubaneswar to inform the minister of her plight. But to no avail. The minister and his henchmen threatened to hand her over to the police if she disclosed the incident to anyone. Dejected, Laxmipriya returned to her village and told her parents everything. Mr Singh mortgaged his two acres of land for Laxmipriya's treatment.

But more sadness and cruelty was in store for Laxmipriya. When the minister came to know that Mr Singh and his family would pursue the matter, he sent his secretary to persuade, cajole and even threaten Mr Singh to forget the whole thing. Meanwhile, Purna Jena, an employee of the post and telegraph department, told this correspondent that Laxmipriya was his mistress, but failed to explain why Laxmipriya and her family had lodged complaints against him.

Laxmipriya continued to feel insecure and informed the chief minister, Mr J. B. Patnaik, about the whole matter. Apprehending that the CM would not take any action against the culprits, she wrote a letter to the Prime Minister describing her experience: "I request you to enquire into the matter and punish the minister. My life is in danger and I need your protection. Kindly arrange a job for me," she appealed. Soon thereafter, an attempt was made to force the Madhunanagar Powerloom authorities—where Laxmipriya was working as a sales girl—to give a report to the effect that she had indulged in anti-social activities.

Mr J. B. Patnaik has now reportedly asked Kuanria Majhi to either disprove the allegation or resign from the council of ministers. Laxmipriya, meanwhile, waits eagerly for a response from the PM. Swarup Jena

ORISSA

Is a minister getting away with rape?

Bhubaneswar: Sometime in August 1980 Mr Muga Singh and his 19-year-old daughter, Laxmipriya, left Tokipada, their village in Orissa, to meet Mr Kuanria Majhi, minister of state for forest, fisheries and animal husbandry, in Bhubaneswar. The minister—for whom Mr Muga Singh had worked during the 1980 elections—had told him that he would find a job for Laxmipriya provided she came and saw him in his Bhubaneswar residence. Father and daughter stayed there for a few days but there was no sign of a job. Disheartened, both returned to their village.

Laxmipriya waited for three more months. Around seven in the evening sometime in October 1980, a motorcycle whizzed into the tiny village. Two

aides of the minister, Purna Jena and Amulya Bhuyan, met the young girl and told her that the minister had asked them to take her to Kasaphala (the minister's village). They told her

Laxmipriya: victim of a minister's lust?



PRASHANT PATNAIK

Magsaysay for an iconoclast

Calcutta: The Naxalites vowed to kill him in 1970 if he did not stop writing against them. He did not. He shaved his head to protest against press censorship imposed along with the Emergency in June 1975. He would not have his writings censored and went to jail for over a year for a bunch of articles on the loss of press freedom and human rights in a little known Calcutta magazine.

So when the news that the bespectacled, tubby, idealist editor of Calcutta's youngest Bengali daily *Aajkal*, Gaur Kishore Ghosh (58), had been chosen for this year's Ramon Magsaysay award in journalism, literature and creative communication, reached Calcutta on Sunday 9 August, even his bitter critics conceded that Mr Ghosh certainly deserved it. However, since the award was for his "sagacious courage, ardent humanism in defense of individual and press freedom amidst pressures and threats

from left and right," many started pondering whether Mr Ghosh would accept the award.

What spurred these speculations is that although the award is offered by a foundation, the Phillipines, the country where the foundation is based, is among those where press freedom or human rights is virtually nonexistent. Above all, President Marcos of the Phillipines who will present the awards to the recipients in Manila on 31 August is not a great believer of press freedom or human rights—the twin causes which Mr Ghosh champions and for which he has received the award.

"This is the question that has been bothering me too, ever since I got the message that I had received the Magsaysay award," says Mr Ghosh. He could do one of two things: refuse the award to register his sympathies for those fighting for press freedom and human rights in the Phillipines, or

accept the award and yet somehow make it known how strongly he feels about the lack of press freedom in that country. Mr Ghosh has chosen the second alternative. But would it not compromise his convictions? "No. I stand by my beliefs. And, I can assure you I am not going to do anything which is out of my character," says Mr Ghosh.

What he is going to do is anybody's guess. But one clue is provided by what he did while receiving the Koh Jay Wook award (named after the editor of South Korea's largest circulated daily *Dong-a-Ilabo*) in 1977. In his acceptance speech he expressed his bitter disappointment at the fact that the press in South Korea was fettered. "Portions of my speech also appeared in the local press and, what is more, the local press could talk about freedom of the press after a long time, pegging their reports on my getting the award," says Mr Ghosh. Incidentally, Mr Ghosh plans to spend the award money (\$20,000) to improve the quality of journalism in India. "I have not yet decided how to go about it, but not a penny of it is going towards my own comfort or welfare," he says.

With his closely cropped crinkly hair, highpowered spectacles, khadi dhoti and *fatua*, (something like a

Parliament loses a veteran and some of its clout

New Delhi: The Indian Parliament has lost its oldest member. The august body has reassembled for the monsoon session for the first time in 29 years without Mr Bhupesh Gupta. Elected to the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal in 1952, Mr Bhupesh Gupta had become an institution over the years. Though there are still two other 1952 veterans in the Lok Sabha, Mr Tridib Choudhury of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and Babu Jagjivan Ram, in terms of Parliamentary performance, Mr Gupta will remain unmatched for years to come. And it is yet to be seen whether his record of 29 years of Parliamentary service will ever be paralleled.

Not a day went by in the Rajya Sabha when Mr Bhupesh Gupta failed to make a mark on the proceedings. Of late, he had been accepted as an unquestionable authority on Parliamentary procedure by both the treasury benches and the opposition members and whenever a controversy arose, his word was often decisive. No doubt, the common reaction to his death among his fellow-MPs has been that of despair.

Always clad in *dhoti* and *kurta*, Mr Gupta had created history in the early Fifties by refusing to wear a lounge suit to an official banquet.

Born in an aristocratic family of Itna in Mymensingh district (now in Bangladesh), on 20 October 1914, Mr Gupta was attracted to the freedom movement in his teens and he joined the "Anushilan" group of revolutionaries. He was first arrested for terrorist activities when he was only 16 years old. Perturbed by the way he was heading, his father sent him off to England for higher studies. But instead of being weaned away from politics, Mr Gupta became active in the Indian students' movement in Britain and came into close contact with the Communist Party of Great Britain, which he later joined.

His political involvement, however, did not deter him from

Parliamentarian Bhupesh Gupta



being called to the Bar from the Middle Temple. The forte of the Communist youth in pre-Independence India was that most of them were academically sound. Mr Gupta had passed his Intermediate and BA examinations in India while serving prison terms.

Returning to India in 1941, Mr Gupta became an active member of the Communist Party of India. He was a secretary of the national council of the party and the editor of the party's central organ, *New Age*, at the time of his death.

Mr Gupta was mild-mannered: his long years as a Parliamentarian had not gone to his head. On 22 June 1977, the Rajya Sabha felicitated him on the completion of his 25 years as a member of that House. His reply to the felicitations was typical. He said, "It is not an individual who shines in this House. We have shone in this House collectively. Each one of us has succeeded to the extent to which we have shared in this House the urges and the aspirations of the people, men and women who live in mud-huts and slums, in agony and misery, in unemployment, in destitution, illiteracy and disease. It is by sharing their sorrow and suffering and yet giving expression to their indomitable urge for a better and brighter future that we justify, all together, in mutual cooperation and brotherly friendship, our existence in this House." Will Parliament get another mau like him again?

half-sleeved kurta) Mr Ghosh could easily pass off as a shopkeeper or a struggling primary schoolteacher. His looks are certainly deceptive and hardly offer any clue to what he is: a radical and a humanist. Indeed, quite early in his life even before he had finished his studies he was drawn towards the revolutionary Manabendra-nath Roy and soon joined the inner circle in his party, the Radical Humanist.

Struggling his way up from first as a restaurant boy and then as an electrician's helper, Gaur Kishore Ghosh finally found his moorings in journalism when he got a job in *Satyajug* (a Bengali daily then published by the Times of India group from Calcutta) as a proof-reader in 1948. In 1950 he was put in charge of the newspaper's children's page and writing in that page under the pseudonym *Beralbhatta*, Mr Ghosh instantly became a hit with children. Slowly he rose to become the cinema editor of the newspaper before it folded up in 1952. That year he



Gaur Kishore Ghosh: radical humanist

Murtaza a Soviet agent ?

London: Murtaza Bhutto, self-declared heir to the Bhutto political legacy, and occasional adolescent terrorist, has used his asylum in Soviet-dominated Kabul to both political and personal benefit. He has married the niece of Afghanistan's puppet President Babrak Karmal, according to sources in London. This has angered the anti-Zia forces in both Pakistan and abroad almost as much as the hijacking organised by Murtaza Bhutto and his Soviet advisers.

Contrary to popular impression, the hijacking of the PIA aeroplane from Karachi was condemned as much by the anti-Zia forces as the government. They felt that it was a most stupid thing to do, as it would inevitably be used by General Zia to strengthen his position. And indeed that is precisely what happened. Zia came out strongly against this clearly Soviet-backed hijacking, and the opposition to him in Pakistan was silenced on this issue. Whatever may be the range of differences, no one in Pakistan can afford to display the slightest support for the Soviets with them occupying neighbouring Afghanistan. Some leading figures in the anti-Zia camp like Tariq Ali went so far as to openly suspect that the hijacking was a result of some brilliant infiltration of the Murtaza Bhutto camp by Zia's intelligence agents. Tariq Ali believes that it is quite possible that Zia himself, through a double agent, encouraged Murtaza Bhutto to indulge in such stupidity in order to quash the opposition that was building up within Pakistan. According to sources close to Mrs Nusrat Bhutto, the former Prime Minister's widow, she was aghast when she heard about what her son had done from his Soviet-financed base in Kabul. She



Murtaza, enjoying both worlds

asked some intermediaries to go and plead with Murtaza not to indulge in such dangerous antics.

Mystery surrounds the fate of one dynamic young man who was a very close adviser of Murtaza Bhutto: Raja Anwar. Anwar was an adviser to Bhutto on student affairs, and after Bhutto's fall he escaped from Pakistan. Anwar was definitely among those involved in the hijacking. But he has not been either seen or heard of since then. Many knowledgeable Pakistanis feel that he may have been liquidated in Kabul because of differences with Murtaza Bhutto.

The two sons of Bhutto are, in interviews and photographs to Western media, displaying a childishness that is hardly imaginable. They appear in photographs dressed like cowboys (gun across the hip etc.) and talk a language which could only come out of a bad television script.

A Special Correspondent

joined *Anandabazar Patrika* as a staff reporter. But what made him both famous and infamous was his weekly column on current affairs in the *Ananda Bazar* group's Bengali weekly *Desh* which he wrote under the pen name *Rupadarshi* since 1967. In biting satire he lashed out at everything and everybody in his columns. That was why the Naxalites became angry; that was why he went to jail during the Emergency.

Mr Gaur Kishore Ghosh also started an immensely popular Art Buchwald-type satirical column *Gaurananda Kabi Bhane* (as poet Gaurananda says) on current affairs in *Anandabazar Patrika* in the early Seventies. He, however, left *Anandabazar Patrika*, in 1979, where he had become an associate editor to invest his talent for bringing out the new daily *Aajkal*.

Mr Ghosh has always thrived on contradictions and controversies. He is a staunch anti-communist, an advocate of liberal democracy—of the American and the British model. He does not think very highly of our newspapers and newsmen. "Here hackneyed speeches of political leaders pass for news and neither the newspapers nor newsmen really look for news," he says. How about press freedom here? "I think there is considerable freedom now. Certainly much more than in many other countries. But we must strive to earn more. And, for that we must go on hitting at many laws and statutes that still bind us, till the chains snap." All his life this has been Mr Ghosh's mission: snapping the chains.

Tooshar Pandit

Forget Tripura

Calcutta: Tripura, the land-locked state of the northeast, will once again be isolated from the rest of the country. From 1 August it has become virtually impossible for the middle-class and the lower middle-class to travel by air—the only quick means of transport—from Calcutta. (Of course, one can travel by train but the journey takes a tedious four days.) Reason: the galloping cost of an airline ticket which has over the years risen nearly six-fold: from Rs 35 to Rs 228.

In 1953 to the price of a Calcutta-Agartala air ticket was Rs 35. In 1960-61 it was raised to Rs 65 and in 1973 the *janata* service was discontinued after the fuel price rise. Over the years the air-fare rose to Rs 204, where it stood until the latest rise. The comparative inaccessibility of the state by road or rail had so far forced the authorities to keep the fare low. And most of the passengers from Agartala are not well-off. Said one of them at Calcutta airport: "Calcutta is now going to become a foreign land to us. We have no other alternative but to undertake the four-day train journey. The only hope now is for Vayudoot to start its services".

Nihar Ghosh

Laldenga gains an ally

Aizawl: After three days of curfew and weeklong closure of all schools, colleges and business houses, the town returned to normalcy on 29 July. The curfew clamped on 22 July was unique since it was the first curfew in Mizoram for which the rebel MNF (Mizo National Front) was not held responsible and because it highlighted the emerging Mizo student militancy, which is perhaps as volatile as the MNF. The tension started when some activists of the Mizo Zirlai Paul (MZP), the most powerful student body in the union territory, roughed up the director of agriculture, Mr Nizamuddin Malik. The students complained that Mr Malik selected four non-Mizos for admission in the B.Sc (Agriculture) course at the agriculture university in Jorhat.

The very next day the students went on a demonstration and started a subscription collection in the town. They forced a New Market shopowner, Mr Abdul Rahim, to part with Rs 300 or face dire consequences. As Mr Rahim protested an altercation broke out. The police arrived on the scene and three MZP leaders including the assistant secretary Zosangliana were nabbed. On 22 July, about 5,000 students led by T. T. Khuma, a senior leader of the MZP collected near the Burrabazar police station demanding the release of the arrested students. Very soon, the youths were agitated and started throwing stones at window panes of the police station. The police retaliated with tear gas shells and lathicharges. In the melee 38 students mostly girls were injured.

The students did retreat but the tension had not died down. The chief secretary Mr Gorakh Ram contacted the GOC, Mizoram area, Maj-Gen. Naresh Kumar and clamped the indefinite curfew on the town. The next day 35 Janata Party members broke the curfew declaring it was unjustified. They courted arrest. However, to defuse the tension, the government started discussions with the MZP leadership. The MZP called off the agitation.

Many tend to believe that Mizoram's first student turmoil was the fallout of the brewing tension between the MZP and CM Brigadier T. Sailo. The student body is vehemently anti-Sailo and openly supports the MNF and its chief Laldenga, Sailo's arch enemy. Said the MZP general secretary, Zoramangliana, "Students in Mizoram consider Laldenga as the genuine leader of the Mizos and the MNF as the sole representative of Mizos. Brig Sailo in collusion with the home ministry is only buying time to delay the peace settlement." Santanu Ghosh

Brearley: 'I love Indians'



Brearley is "our" man

London: Now that Prince Charles has taken the "plunge," a strong contender for the label of "most eligible bachelor" in England could well be John Michael Brearley, the cricket captain with the Midas touch. Indeed, there are plenty of pretty ladies who would love to be seen with him, if not more. But Brearley has already put up the "no vacancy" sign. For "living" with him, and this has been the case for a while—is Mana Sarabhai, a cousin of the actress Mallika Sarabhai. Informed sources reveal, the couple have no immediate plans of getting married, but it seems the Cambridge don's fascination for

India has taken a more concrete shape. The lady concerned is a divorcee—she was married to a Russian.

For a one-and-a-half year stretch England could not record a single Test match victory till the Headingley Test, the last England win was in the Jubilee Test in Bombay—Brearley being the captain on both occasions and absent in between. Some would say he is lucky, and he himself admits that "one has to be lucky in a tight situation." But his ability to wring out the best from his mates in a crisis remains unquestioned, and lately, he's proved this twice running.

Brearley, as a result of his success, is currently under great pressure to re-consider his decision not to go on tours. But as he puts it "not having gone to the West Indies, if I now choose to visit India, that would give the media fertile territory to exploit, wouldn't it?"

However, irrespective of whether he leads the side this winter, he is likely to be in India while the Englishmen are there. But then, most of his time will be spent at Ahmedabad—where the Sarabhais reside.

A Special Correspondent

IRANIAN BAHAI'S

Persecuted for their faith?

Calcutta: "In Iran, we are persecuted: our children are thrown out of Baha'is school and we are not permitted to do any work. Simply because we are Baha'is," said Kamran, a young Iranian student studying cost-accountancy in Calcutta. "My brother," continued Kamran, his voice deep in anguish, "was a teacher in a school in Teheran. One day, sometime ago, he received a letter from the authorities saying he was not needed any more. He was being dismissed because of his faith."

Said the secretary of the Baha'is spiritual assembly of Calcutta: "The final stages are being quietly set in Iran for a genocide—the total extermination of the Baha'is, Iran's largest minority community." Most of the leading members of the community have been killed or are in prison. In fact, torture and killings of Baha'is have almost received the stamp of legal sanction from the supreme judicial council of Teheran.

The Baha'is had always been persecuted but over the last two years the persecution has been more systematic. This is because the revolutionary government of Iran raided the national Baha'is centre in Teheran and seized

the records which contained the names of the Baha'is in Iran. Accordingly, an execution list of the top 4,000 Baha'is was prepared and that is now being implemented in stages. According to many of them who have fled Iran the members of the community can escape persecution by recanting their faith for Islam. But the Baha'is are "steadfast in our faith" and hence the deaths and torture.

Fearing genocide, the Baha'is of India sent an appeal to the United Nations' secretary-general Mr Kurt Waldheim to send a UN representative to ascertain the condition of the Baha'is in Iran. The UN representative would find out if the Baha'is were really enemies of Islam as they were being accused. The members of the spiritual assembly of the Baha'is in Calcutta mentioned all these facts and appealed to the "government (of India) to intervene on behalf of the defenceless Baha'is of Iran...we appeal to the spirit of justice and fairplay; we seek the cooperation of upholders of human dignity and freedom everywhere to exert sufficient influence on Iran to thwart what can well become the greatest tragedy of the century." Tirthankar Ghosh



R.S. Sodhi: exposing the inhuman conditions in the home

Where girls live like animals

In Agra's remand home, the sane and insane are confined to the same cellars that are virtual hellholes. Kidnap victims are made to live with rescued prostitutes and undertrials rot away forgotten in buried files. SHEELA BARSE explores a nightmare that is all too real.

The average strength of the (Government Protective Home, Agra) varies between 100 and 125. The building, a rented one has two underground cellars about 12 feet by 12 feet. The rooms lack ventilation and drainage facilities. There is only one latrine with flush. There is no bathroom and the kitchen is without wire gauze. The

girls live like animals," wrote Dr R. S. Sodhi, honorary general secretary of the Association of Social and Moral Health (ASMH) in India and a member of the board of visitors of the home, in a letter to the *Indian Express* on 6 April. His aim was to expose the inhuman conditions under which the inmates of the home lived. The letter stirred into action at least two people. Dr Upendra Baxi, a law teacher and

founder member of the Association for Social Action and Legal Thought (ASSALT) and his colleague Dr Lolita Sarkar. They filed a habeas corpus writ petition before the Supreme Court four days later asking for an inquiry into the running of the home. Meant to be a haven where girls rescued from brothels could begin a new life, it has in fact been turned into a prison.

And what did the medical panel appointed by the Supreme Court to look into the conditions of the inmates have to report? About 80 per cent of the inmates were suffering from venereal diseases, 21 inmates were suffering from extra-pulmonary tuberculosis, 14 were under observation for the same disease, nine were found to be severely mentally retarded and a majority of the inmates came under the category of mentally handicapped requiring institutionalisation! The law of the land had put them into a new interao, perhaps worse than the one from which they were rescued.

When I visited the home on 3 May, I found it to be a virtual prison run by callous officials, indifferent to the sufferings of the inmates. Victims of rape and kidnapping, prostitutes rescued from brothels, undertrials, retarded and dumb girls, had all been lumped together in two overcrowded cellars and kept under lock and key. It was a mockery of the philosophy behind the social legislation under which protective homes are established all over the country: to help those fallen by the wayside return to normal life. Rehabilitation was indeed farthest from the minds of the officials running this institution. These cellars, more akin to dungeons, have no fans and the two dim lights spread only a shadow of visibility on the crowded rooms. As soon as I stepped out of the cellar, an attendant rushed to lock the door, lest one of the inmates escaped. It was no better than a zoo.

Soon after, Mr Bajpai, deputy director of social welfare (harijans), explained to me in the we-are-so-good-to-them tone how the home authorities managed to look after the inmates on the low monthly budget of Rs 100 per girl. Then I saw the girls at lunch. The insane and retarded ate anywhere on the dirty floor. There were not enough plates to go around and some used their cupped hands as plates. A dumb child, about nine years old, carried a mixture of rice and *dal* in her cupped hands and handed it over to another child who sat on the steps leading to the cellar. She had more compassion than the attendants.

The home, where the sane and the insane co-exist, has been a place of trial for many of the inmates who have been forced to remain here, either due to official negligence or simply because they have no other place to go. Said an inmate: "These insane women

The Protective Home: rehabilitation or imprisonment?





Miss Tej Srivastav: troubled by the Court's investigation

“I have nowhere to go”

• Eleven-year-old Renu put her head on my breast and wept. She had been in the Home for a month, but no effort had been made to trace her family and return her to her parents. Her father, according to her, is a vendor in Delhi and while she was with him, life had been very difficult. Between sobs she said, “He used to regularly beat me and my mother. Finally, a man lured me away, promising me things.” The “promised thing,” it turned out, was life in a brothel. But Renu managed to escape, and reported the matter to the police, who in turn admitted her to the Home. “I don’t want to return to my father,” she pleads. “Please send me to my mother.”

• Parvati Ashok Chauhan, who is a resident of Jogeshwari, Bombay, has been in the Home since February this year. This 12-year-old child was lured away from her home by a woman and sold to a brothel in Basai, Agra. After a few days’ stay in the brothel, the “madam” asked her to sleep with a customer, but Parvati refused. She was then locked up in a square box the size of a drum, beaten and tortured. However, Parvati managed to escape from the brothel and found her way to the police station. From there she was brought to the Home. Now Parvati wants to return to her home, but the

Home authorities have not done anything to release her. This has made Parvati both desperate and frightened. As I was leaving the Home, she clung to my saree and cried, “Can you reach me home? I know the way. *Didi*, will you reach me to my mother? Will you let me know when I can go home?” During her stay at the Home, all that the authorities have done is to put on record their opinion of the girl: “a fallen woman.”

“I was kidnapped when I was about three years old,” said slim, soft-spoken, 21-old-year Beena. “Then I was trained by a man called Babulal and his wife to cheat. I pretended I was possessed by Santoshi Ma and people would come and give me money.” Her life as a cheat continued for a number of years till Babulal’s wife died. Then Babulal raped her... once, twice...till Beena could take it no more. She ran to the police and told them everything. Babulal was arrested. Since then Beena has been in the Home. That was five years ago. “I have nowhere to go. There is no one I can call my own. Maybe someone can get me married into a good family,” lamented Beena. Beena has been living in this hell-hole for five years with mad women, prostitutes and undertrials without any hope for the future.

sometimes walk naked. They defecate wherever they like. We persuade other retarded people to clean up the place. These women also fight among themselves and it is we who have to separate them. We cannot remain passive bystanders as they claw and bite each other. In the process, we also get beaten.” Was there any scheme for treating the insane and the retarded? “No,” the inmate replied, “It is only when someone gets badly hurt that a nurse is sent to dress the wound.”

However, once the Supreme Court started investigating the goings-on in the home, the authorities got panicky and a number of girls were released indiscriminately and left to fend for themselves without cash and without any place to go. Miss Tej Srivastav, superintendent of the home, simply sought release orders from the additional district magistrate of Agra on the ground that they were not “wanted in any case” and that they had voluntarily sought release. However, the Supreme Court’s investigations have revealed that the ADM did not record the statements of those who supposedly sought release.

Of course, the home authorities did not like the Supreme Court investigation one bit. The superintendent explained at length how much trouble she had making all the records available to the chief judicial magistrate (CJM) of Agra, who is acting on instructions from the Supreme Court. On 26 July the CJM visited the home and

made a list of 57 inmates. But I learnt that this list is incorrect.

On 3 May, when the files were sealed, there were supposedly 50 girls in the home. Mr Bajpai told me that the number was 52. But I found less than 30 girls there. And I had toured the whole place, the underground cellars, latrines, kitchen, corridors and compound. Ideally, a roll call would have helped establish the exact figure. But I had no judicial authority to do so.

I met Renu (age 11, admitted on 2.4.81, victim of abduction), Parvati (age 12, admitted on 25.2.81, victim of abduction and an escapee from a brothel), Beena (age 21, admitted on 11.3.76, victim of kidnapping and rape), Lalli (dumb orphan, age 9, admitted on 17.8.77), Ranjan (dumb, admitted on 2.2.76), Suman (deaf and dumb, admitted on 5.8.80), Shyama (admitted by her own account, just five days before I met her, a prostitute who had voluntarily sought police help), Sukhdevi (insane, a recent admission), Bella (dumb, admitted on 28.4.77) and Vimal Jadhav. In addition to these there were only a dozen other inmates around.

Though, under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, a protective home is meant for girls who have escaped or have been rescued by the police from brothels, during the last few months hardly any raids have been carried out on brothels. The reason: the Home authorities could not accommodate new inmates.

According to members of the AMSH, raids were normally carried out at the initiative of the organisation. A person was assigned to visit the brothels incognito as a possible customer, and bring out information about minor girls taking to prostitution. The organisation then contacted the police to raid the brothels and rescue the girls. But now conditions in the home have become as bad as in the brothels.

I walked through some of the red-light areas of Agra. The streets were dark. The prostitutes sat on balconies in bylanes and cul-de-sacs, appearing only as shadows. The horror lay not only in the fact that these abducted, lured or enslaved women had taken to the flesh trade for survival but that now they had nowhere to go. Prostitution is a lucrative business and those who run it ensure that it is not hampered by police raids. For this brothel keepers in the Basin area of Agra have built underground cellars where prostitutes are hidden during the police raids or as torture chambers for breaking in newcomers. The AMSH members were the first to discover these chambers.

Recently, the superintendent, in an effort to prove that the changes brought against the home were motivated has alleged that the two petitioners, Dr Baxi and Dr Sarcar had filed the writ “as a last resort to compel the government to leave the present accommodation.” The court, however, has taken no notice of this.

When do you really die?

Life-support systems that make a living vegetable out of a person have added a new urgency to the debate on what death really means. SHABBIR AHMED outlines current medical opinion on this life and death issue.

WHEN does a person actually die? Is it when the heart ceases to beat or when the brain stops functioning? These questions have given rise to a lively controversy in Britain about the definition and diagnosis of death. The act of dying is more significant than death itself. It is a complex phenomenon. Death may be an event but dying is a process. British medical experts have been puzzled over the mystery and moment of death. The introduction of organ transplantation and, of more effective means of resuscitation have raised difficulties in pronouncing death. Surgeons performing transplant operations have to know, for medico-legal reasons, the exact moment of death. If they wait too long after a potential donor's death a transplantable organ will be lost. The doctors' dilemma becomes all the more confusing when relatives of patients kept artificially alive complain that the machines are switched off prematurely to facilitate organ transplantation. But the doctors defend themselves against this charge by quoting the well-known dictum: "Thou shalt not kill, yet need not strive officiously to keep alive."

Lack of care on the part of doctors in pronouncing death has caused embarrassing moments in the mortuary and dead persons have been found alive and kicking in their coffins. Errors in the diagnosis of death have often led to premature burials. Textbooks on forensic medicine record many cases of wrong certification of death, suspended animation and premature burials. M. Francois Civile, a Norman gentleman of the 16th century, achieved the dubious distinction of being thrice dead, thrice buried and thrice disinterred and resuscitated. Colonel Townsend of England created history by voluntarily going into a state of suspended animation. His respiration and circulation apparently ceased. The doctors attending on him, declared him dead but he slowly regained consciousness. The most interesting case is mentioned by Professor A. Louis, an acknowledged authority on French medical jurisprudence. He describes how a dead young girl became pregnant. A young monk spent the night in the room where the girl's coffin was placed. During the night, the young

monk could not resist his carnal temptations. He uncovered the body and had intercourse with it. Next morning the girl was resuscitated before inhumation and nine months later she became mother of a child.

Life today can be created in a test tube but death continues to defy definition and diagnosis. On 17 March 1981 Mrs Jacqueline Rosser (32) was certified dead after being found unconscious from a drug overdose at her home in Stroud, Gloucestershire. She was taken in a coffin to a hospital mortuary. When the coffin was opened she showed signs of life. A resuscitation team was called in and the "dead" woman was back in a hospital bed—sitting up and eating toast. "It's a miracle recovery. It's such a tremendous relief. We still can't believe it," said Mrs Rosser's father.

Death is usually defined as the cessation of the beating of the heart and the act of breathing. For many centuries the approach of death has been recognised in a variety of ways, but the actual moment of death has always been difficult to determine. Stoppage of the heart has always been considered as the certain sign of death. To confirm this, it may be necessary to listen over the heart for five minutes either by means of a stethoscope or by listening directly with the ear on the chest. Difficulties arise in case of thick chest wall and the contraction of the heart itself. The cardiac sounds may be too feeble to be audible. The application of a ligature round a finger can also demonstrate the absence of circulation. If circulation exists, a pale zone will develop at the site of the ligature. This is known as the Magnus test. An important sign of death is that if an incision is made or an artery opened, no bleeding takes place.

Cessation of respiration may be confirmed by auscultation. The mirror-feather test is often employed to detect the absence of respiratory movement. A clean mirror placed before the mouth of a live patient would collect foggy moisture. If a feather placed on the upper lip does not flutter, it means that there is no flicker of life. Another simple method of diagnosing death may be described as the reflection test. The reflection on the ceiling from a cup of water placed on the chest of a dead person shows no movement.

The definition of death as the

persistent cessation of respiration and circulation would have been considered adequate. But the introduction of mechanical means of resuscitation, such as respirators, whereby an individual's heart can be kept beating almost indefinitely, has complicated the picture. The widespread use of strong tranquillising drugs has also added to the difficulties. They can produce states where it becomes difficult to tell whether respiration and circulation have actually ceased. If a person suffers a cessation of heart beat he can be pronounced dead in terms of the old definition. Death, as Philip Massinger says, has a thousand doors to let out life. Cardiac arrest is not the only criterion of death, because it is not an irreversible phenomenon. The current thinking in Britain is that only "brain death" can be equated with somatic death. If there is no evidence of brain activity, as shown by reflexes and the electro-encephalogram, death is assumed to have occurred even though breathing and the beating of the heart can be maintained by artificial means. The state of irreversibility is reached when brain death occurs and this is the point of no return.

In October 1976 the conference of Medical Royal Colleges and their faculties in the United Kingdom introduced the concept of brain death. It said that brain death, when it had occurred, could be diagnosed with certainty. The conditions and physical signs which constitute brain death were exhaustively listed by the conference. The criteria are summarised as follows:

- The patient is in a deep coma. The doctors should make sure that this state is not due to depressant drugs. Primary hypothermia and metabolic disturbances which can contribute to coma should be excluded.
- The patient is maintained on a ventilator because spontaneous respiration had previously become inadequate or had ceased altogether.
- There should be no doubt that the patient's condition is due to irremediable structural brain damage.

The conference report on the diagnosis of brain death made no reference to organ transplantation,

nor did it explain whether death should be presumed to occur when brain death takes place. In a subsequent report submitted on 15 January 1979, the conference examined the question of brain death in greater detail. The report which has created a stir in the medical profession all over the world was published in the British Medical Journal of 3 February 1979. The report reads as follows:

1. Exceptionally, as a result of a massive trauma, death occurs instantaneously or near-instantaneously. Far more commonly, death is not an event; it is a process, the various organs and systems supporting the continuation of life failing and eventually ceasing altogether to function, successively and at different times.

2. Cessation of respiration and cessation of the heart beat are examples of organic failure occurring during the process of dying, and since the moment the heart beat ceases is usually detectable with simplicity by no more than clinical means, it has for many centuries been accepted as the moment of death itself, without any serious attempt being made to assess the validity of this assumption.

3. It is now universally accepted, by the lay public as well as by the medical profession, that it is not possible to equate death itself with cessation of the heart beat. Quite apart from the elective cardiac arrest of open-heart surgery, spontaneous cardiac arrest followed by successful resuscitation is today a common place and although the more sensational accounts of occurrences of this kind still refer to the patient being "dead" until restoration of the heart beat, the use of the quotation marks usually demonstrates that this word is not to be taken literally, for to most people the one aspect of death that is beyond debate is its irreversibility.

4. In the majority of cases in which a dying patient passes through the processes leading to the irreversible state we call death, successive organic failures eventually reach a point at which brain death occurs and this is the point of no return.

5. In a minority of cases brain death does not occur as a result of the failure of other organs or systems but as a direct result of severe damage to the brain itself from, perhaps, a head injury or a spontaneous intracranial haemorrhage. Here the order of events is reversed: instead of the failure of such vital functions as heart beat and respiration eventually resulting in brain death, brain death results in the cessation of spontaneous respiration; this is normally followed within minutes by cardiac arrest due to hypoxia. If, however, oxygenation is maintained by artificial ventilation the heart can continue for some days, and haemoperfusion will for a time be adequate to maintain function in other organs, such as the liver and kidneys.

6. Whatever the mode of its production, brain death represents the

Brain death represents the stage at which a patient becomes truly dead, because by then all functions of the brain have permanently and irreversibly ceased. It is not difficult or illogical in any way to equate this with the concept in many religions of the departure of the spirit from the body.

stage at which a patient becomes truly dead, because by then all functions of the brain have permanently and irreversibly ceased. It is not difficult or illogical in any way to equate this with the concept in many religions of the departure of the spirit from the body.

7. In the majority of cases, since brain death is part of or the culmination of a failure of all vital functions, there is no necessity for a doctor specially to identify brain death individually before concluding that the patient is dead. In a minority of cases in which it is brain death that causes failure of other organs and systems, the fact that

these systems can be artificially maintained even after brain death has made it important to establish a diagnostic routine which will identify with certainty the existence of brain death.

8. It is the conclusion of the conference that the identification of brain death means that the patient is dead, whether or not the function of some organs, such as a heart beat, is still maintained by artificial means.

Brain death cannot always be considered as the sole criterion for determining whether a patient is alive or dead. If a patient is in a state of unconsciousness with unusually low blood pressure, the electro-encephalograph (EEG) may show a continuous straight line. The line will start curving with an improvement in the condition of the patient. When the EEG records a reading of less than two microvolts from the brain's activities, the brain is said to be dead. This is known as electro-cerebral silence. But this is not an infallible method of determining death. Faulty reading may be due to a variety of causes. A malfunction of the EEG apparatus itself, the improper placing of the electrodes upon the patient's head and the inadequate electrical contacts may not reflect the real state of the brain.

Dr Edward F MacNichol of the Marine Biological Laboratory, Woods Hole, Massachusetts is reported to have achieved a major breakthrough in EEG technology and its methodology. He has developed a method of double-checking and EEG reading that has indicated death of the brain. His apparatus injects a small electric current into the patients' head in a fashion that will allow the signals to be monitored by the EEG in all its channels. The EEG will read this signal only if each of its electrodes is in proper contact with the patient's head. A second signal is then injected into the patients' head which can be monitored by each channel of the EEG selectively. Even small signals from the brain of the patient would be monitored by Dr MacNichol's apparatus, if such signals existed.

The debate on the question of life and death will continue as long as life exists on this planet. The web of life is like the web of Penelope. Doctors will one day succeed in demarcating the controversial line between life and death. Till then brain death may be accepted as the watershed.



"I will give no deadly medicine to anyone if asked for nor suggest any such counsel..." says the code of Hippocrates which doctors swear by before undertaking practice.



SAVING THE JANAPRIYA WAY

Mr. P. C. Das—Development Manager having a discussion with Mr. Brajagopal Roy, Minister of Rehabilitation, Govt. of Tripura at Agartala



A point of view

The idea of saving generally goes against the grain of most. They have to be educated. Developing the habit of thrift goes a long way in ensuring future security. Individual thrift ultimately results in placing every family on a strong economic foundation. We all know that our society consists of family units and if these units be strong, our society and thereby our nation will be strong. Again, saving goes to check inflationary pressures which is very much necessary in our country today.

As a means of encouraging thrift and stabilising society we plan at mobilising the small savings of the people, which would otherwise have remained unutilised, into a common pool. This goes to form a capital base which may be used for nation-building purposes. All our funds are invested with the government and with government undertakings, hence being deployed in various development projects. Therefore, our funds are always at the service of the people and the country.

We try to do our little bit towards society in other ways too. It is a fact that the problem of unemployment in our country is acute. We are happy to say that we have been able to give employment to about 1000 persons in our different offices. Additionally about three lakhs of people are working for us as field personnel and are earning for themselves. As our business is expanding fast, we hope to absorb more people and try to give some relief to the unemployed masses.

Rendering better service to our certificate holders is also a part of our social duty. This is why we have arranged to cover them under our Accident Insurance policies. We have arranged for Group Accident Benefit up to Rs 2 lakhs on any single life, Janata Personal Accident Policy of Rs 15,000.00 on any single life and Gramin Policy of Rs 6000.00 on single life under certain conditions, free of cost to the certificate holders. Under the Gramin Policy even villagers can have some cover against accidental risk, on very liberal terms.

Promptness being our creed, we have already paid about Rs 5 lakhs on maturity, death and accident claims to our certificate holders. This promptness coupled with the benefits of our certificate schemes perhaps account for the popularity we are enjoying today. Our total number of certificates at present is near 6 lakhs as against only about 15,000 in 1979. This definitely indicates the trend of our progress which we may modestly describe as encouraging.



Mr. S. R. Saha—Managing Director



Mr. P. Sen—Director of Finance

Regarding management of the company, we can say that we offer good scope for rationalisation of field and office organisation and for effecting economies that flow from large scale and coordinated operations. As a company we exercise utmost economy consistent with a progressive policy in the conduct of business. Savings thus effected contribute in no small way to the profits. This also indicates the degree of efficiency with which the company manages its affairs.

Today we can claim to be dedicated to be of service to the people and aspire to develop Janapriya business to the best advantage of the community, holding the interests of the certificate-holder per amount. We make it a point of appointing well-trained staff at each Divisional and Branch office to render efficient and courteous service. To do even better we have plans to start a Training Centre for administrative and field staff so that both these wings may absorb the latest business methods.

The Origins of small savings

The companies in India which make small savings schemes their business have not been plying their trade very long. Most have been established after 1975. A few did exist before but for them it was a veritable struggle for existence all the way. However, since 1973 business houses started taking an interest in promoting small savings schemes and within a short while the number of these companies grew. Hence it would not be far wrong for us to say that this type of business is in its infancy and still has not got over its teething troubles. But in other countries there were entrepreneurs engaged in savings schemes' promotion and we now propose to enumerate some of their experiences.

The first to show the way was none other than the British Government. In 1916 it introduced the small savings scheme by selling savings certificates through post offices—initially probably to ease the strain on His Majesty's coffers resulting from the first world war. The face value of each certificate was 15 sh 6 d and after five years each was worth £1. This meant that the compound interest was slightly more than 5% and an added attraction was that it was tax free. The

only control was that an individual could not purchase more than 500 certificates. In 1922 the purchase price was raised to 16 sh. Later of course the time period of deposits was raised from five to 10 years and the rate of exchange was fixed at 26 sh. for certificates purchased before 1923 and 24 sh. for later purchases. The year 1932 saw the issue of fresh certificates at the face value of 16 sh and worth 23 sh after 11/12 years. In 1935 ten-year certificates were issued, the purchase price of which was 15 sh and which was 20 sh on maturity. Till 1938 certificates numbering 1,335,258,830 worth £1,048,003,252 were issued.

This business was mainly confined to England and Scotland.

At this juncture certain important factors ought to be borne in mind. These are: the degree of industrial expansion in the beginning of the twentieth century, the first world war, the population explosion, the output of gold, inflation, alluring returns from investments and so on. These factors pertained especially to America and the American public was generally in a mood to cash in on new opportunities. Seizing upon the occasion some enterprising businessmen set

up 'Investment Trusts' enumerating the example of England and Scotland. As a direct result, four classes of trust companies grew up and the instalment investment method of these companies was very much similar to the small savings schemes of our companies. The first such trust company in America was set up in 1930. By 1931 the average exchange value stood at \$150,000,000 and the value of instalments due at over \$35,000,000. Deposits were accepted for various terms but in general the minimum time period was 10 years.

In 1932 the assets of these companies totalled \$1,000,000. The year 1934 saw this figure at \$7,000,000 which doubled in 1935 and having almost doubled itself in 1936 stood at almost \$25,000,000. Till 1935 the amount on due instalments was 60,000,000 which swelled to \$1,00,000,000 by 1936. Unfortunately, up till now reliable figures regarding companies which have made small savings schemes their business, are not available. However, from our experience we can say that we have not been overly successful yet. But we can say that the very same problems we are coping with today had cropped up earlier in America where such schemes had been in vogue for quite some time.

Mr. P. Sen—Director of Finance opening a new branch at Delhi



SMALL SAVINGS AND "JANAPRIYA"

The unparalleled growth and success record of the Janapriya Finance and Industrial Investment (India) Ltd make one extremely happy. If one goes far enough to refer to this progress as astounding one would not be far off the mark.

The company was established at the end of 1977 and is not yet in business. Hence it can be said that it is still in its infancy. However, going by the statement of the management regarding the company, one can understand it occupies a unique position so far as business of similar type is concerned. In fact it is doubtful whether others have built up a history of success in so short a time.

Today the total number of offices of Janapriya Finance is 45 (this includes the Head Office, the Branch and Divisional Offices) employing over a 1000 persons. Apart from this, the company has provided scope for self-employment to around three lakhs of persons. The company is expanding fast and it is understood that it will shortly be opening branch and divisional offices at Jaipur, Ahmedabad, Madras, Bombay and Visakhapatnam. The acorn of 1977 is the oak of today having weathered many a storm and spreading its branches throughout India. Of its successes the company's management can justly feel proud. This success certainly points to a glorious future and promises that the company will scale greater heights. Already Janapriya Finance has issued almost 6 lakh certificates, according to the management.

It is a fact that the enthusiasm and efficiency on the part of the company's officials has contributed largely to its progress. These officials have not only established attractive saving schemes

but have an attitude of giving every kind of service to policy holders at no extra cost. Actually the policy holders can expect a little more than what they should receive. These little touches have enhanced the popularity and strengthened the image of Janapriya Finance.

For example, in the case of accidental death, the nominee of a policy holder can expect greater monetary benefit than what he or she is entitled to. Every certificate has been linked to group insurance schemes and arrangements to cover life risks upwards of Rs. 2 lakhs have been made. This means that if the amount is less than Rs. 2 lakh then the equivalent amount of each certificate may be made available in case of accidental death. Apart from these, there are the Janata Accident Insurance Policy and Gramin Policy schemes of the company. Undoubtedly, the company's promptness in settling claims has increased the confidence of the public. As there is the scope of additional benefits at no extra cost, there is a growing tendency to keep certificates operative. Also savings schemes help to build the saving habit. This is essential for economic stability of individuals and families. Ultimately it is society as a whole which gains. This social aspect of the company's business is worth praising.

To top it all, the offices of Janapriya Finance are manned by experienced personnel. The company also has future plans for setting up a centre to impart training in the latest business methods.

As a result of all these measures, it can be safely assumed that Janapriya Finance and Investment will continue to flourish and maintain a steady rate of growth.

Some thoughts

P. K. Sen

Saving for the rainy day is an innate tendency in man. Life has always been uncertain for him. Even in the earliest days of civilization, he has always been dependent on Nature. Time and again natural calamities had devastated his life—the unpredictability has led him to save. Only the mode of saving has varied from time to time.

In the days of the barter system, things used to be exchanged for things with the passage of time, until money came into existence. Things came to be calculated in terms of money. People's passion shifted from commodities to money. In these days, people started saving up money for the future but the methods adopted were primitive. Money used to be hidden underground, where it remained for years. The money thus stored became a non-income yielding asset—on the other hand it often got devalued with the passage of time. Apart from this, there is another aspect which is non-participation in the national economy. Money thus stored, in no way could help the financial development of the country.

With the coming of the modern times scientific saving methods came into being. Banking system came into existence. With various govt. and other saving schemes, the idea of saving and investment took shape by which individual savings, however, meagre could be collected and used for participation in the total wealth of the country.

These ideas, namely, how the people should save, how the people would get best return out of their savings, how the savings would be utilised for nation building activities and how the problem of unemployment would be tackled by the use of these savings etc. crept into the mind of some young people early in 1977. They wanted to do something which ultimately would be beneficial to the society at large. "Janapriya" was conceived and Janapriya Finance and Industrial Investment (India) Ltd. was born in December, 1977. Let the people judge as to whether Janapriya is doing good to society or not. We would, however, like to tell you a few words about the growth of Janapriya. In a short span of 4 years, Janapriya has been able to secure its place in the financial world. It has 43 offices including 39 branches throughout the Country. It has given direct employment to about 1500 persons and indirect employment to

Editor Prajatantra giving away a cheque to Miss Manorama Pradhan who lost an eye in an accident



over a lakh of people. It has brought smile to many more people by offering various schemes and services. Number of certificate holders is over three lakhs.

One may question as to how such a phenomenal growth is possible in 4 years. Our answer is—it is no magic. This has been possible mainly due to our untiring field-workers backed by sincere, honest and dedicated team of management personnel. Management keeps a watchful eye on the activities of the company so that no certificate holder is deprived of his rightful claim in any way.

The management is also conscious of the issue of unemployment. Apart from offering jobs, directly or indirectly, to lakhs, the company is helping to generate self employment schemes, mostly in the rural sector. Majority of the certificate holders of the company comprise of small investors from the rural areas. Naturally, the company has a special obligation to serve the rural people and accordingly introduced various schemes mainly for small investors. We are proud that Janapriya has become "Janapriya" to all and this because it serves all—big and small alike.



Director P. Bhattacharjee paying Mary Minz Rs 12000/-



Prof. Sripada Das—Director, State Bank of India, north East Region—delivering a speech at a meeting of Janapriya in Barrackpore

Mr. P. Sen, Director, giving away prize to a successful agent at a new premises opening ceremony at Amritsar, Punjab



Save modestly save safely

Social welfare schemes are nothing new to the India of today. However, till recently such schemes were in the main confined to the cities and the towns. It is an indicator of social progress that this is no longer so. Today even villagers can avail themselves of the benefits of welfare schemes, thanks to various agencies, the Janapriya Finance and Industrial Investment (India) Ltd being one of the leaders in this particular field.

Only recently, on May 3, 1981, at a simple function at Indipur village, Dhenkanal, Orissa, Mr P. C. Das, Development Manager of Janapriya Finance gave a few examples where accidental death claims have been paid to the nominees of deceased certificate holders coming from the state of Orissa only. Among others, he referred to the cases of Sm Sukumari Rout (a snake-bite victim) whose nominee Sri Baikuntha Rout was paid Rs. 22, 107.50; Sri Ananta Kumar Goaj (victim of a train accident)—where the nominee was paid Rs. 10,000.00; Sri Ramdas Choudhury (a case of drowning)—whose nominee was paid Rs. 12,000.00 and the beneficiary of Sri Hazari Bisoyi who received a substantial amount.

In his talk Mr. Das made it amply clear that such claims are also being honoured in other states where Janapriya Finance is carrying on business. But certainly some measure of satisfaction

could be obtained from the fact that over a lakh of people from Orissa alone have subscribed to the savings schemes of the company with a view to ensure the financial security and solvency of their families. He stated that thousands of young, educated unemployed people were now earning a decent livelihood by joining the field force of Janapriya Finance.

At that particular function Mr A. G. Khan, who presided, impressed upon the audience the need for developing a habit of regular saving—something which goes a long way in relieving the financial distress of declining years.

Regardless of what has been said, there is no gainsaying the fact that Janapriya Finance has done and is continuing to do the greatest good to the greatest number of people. Over the years it has become one of the foremost companies dealing in social welfare schemes extending its activities to cover most of eastern and northern India. A company with a vision, it has now decided to expand its operation to the rest of the country. Well, with its schemes based on instalment saving with an additional benefit of some cover on the accident risk of certificate holders under certain conditions free of cost, there is no reason why the flag of Janapriya Finance should not keep flying high.

KHAAS BAAT

Now that *Silsila* is going to be released very soon, stories about the principal characters in the film are being generated by the publicity and gossip machines. Here's a juicy rumour that was heard recently: *Jaya*, it seems, had threatened to divorce husband *Amitabh* and walk out with the kids! This is absurd. But wait till you hear what went with the divorce story. *Sanjeev Kumar* had offered to welcome *Jaya* and her kids if she did walk out of her home. Come to think of it, had *Jaya* wanted she would have divorced her husband a long time ago. And *Sanjeev Kumar* could have married any of the females who continually fling themselves on him at any little opportunity. While these stories go on circulating boosting the film's image even before its release, more and more salacious rumours about the stars go on multiplying.

If *Jaya* is resigned to her fate and her unhappy marriage, so is *Dharmendra's* wife *Prakash*. She keeps herself busy by running her husband's home and bringing up their four kids. Meanwhile *Hema* who was seen around in her floppy *Pathan* suits has vanished. It seems she has gone to London for a five-month long vacation. She plans to have her baby in London. *Hema* does things in style and come to think of it she has beaten *Ms Zeenat Aman* who keeps on visiting London to knock off weight.

Zeenat looks so fresh and lovely once more with those pounds of fat (she had acquired after she gave up smoking) gone. She looks good enough to kill once more. But the only thing she doesn't intend to do is kill anyone anymore. All she wants to kill are those myths about her non-existent acting abilities. She wants to blaze a trail a la *Smita Patil* as regards glamour, sex and acting talents. *Zeenat* knows full well that *Hema's* place has been vacated for the time being and if she wants she can make a grab for the lead roles. She has a *Hrishikesh Mukherjee* project in hand for well over a year now so she might make use of that.

DURGAPRASAD



Jaya: resigned to her fate?



Deepiti: the innocent schemer



Amitabh: angry man, threatened?

My, my look what they are saying about the innocent-looking *Deepiti Naval*. She is said to have a vicious, scheming mind which makes her more unpredictable than *Rekha* in her earlier days of men-chasing. *Deepiti* flirts around with anyone who is thrown in to act with her. Then she ditches him but never forgets to cry out against him. She is supposed to be a brilliant poet and that perhaps explains her erratic behaviour.

The gold rush is on. And the gold waiting to be mined is the one and only filmstar from the south, *Kamalahasan*. And to crown his acting talents, his temperament is also as good as gold. What with *Ek Duuje Ke Liye* being a hit, directors and producers are literally lining up outside *Kamal's* house to tap the gold.

Suddenly, *Tina Munim* can be seen everywhere. She is trying to beat *Poonam* and *Padmini*, her rivals. This is perhaps the best opportunity for *Poonam's* latest film has not done too well and the film starring *Padmini* is yet to be released. And *Tina* herself is busy spinning stories about herself. If this is not a publicity gimmick to glorify one's image, what is?

Zeenat: 'I will kill no more'



Anant Nag will complete 25 Kannada films with *Nanna Devaru*. Even so, I think he is a kind of odd man in the whole Kannada film setup. For one thing, he is a perfect gentleman. And then, he is probably the only actor who had an adolescent crush on *Waheeda Rehman*. He admires *Sanjeev Kumar*, *Marlon Brando*, *Alec Guinness* and the king of rock, *Elvis Presley*. How many in the Kannada industry can be like Anant?

Srikant, the hero of so many flops is unemployed these days. He has lent his face to advertisements for the world famous Guinness Stout in a Tamil film magazine published from Malaya. Apparently the local marketing unit of Guinness Stout did try to rope in the more popular southern stars, *Kamalahasan* and *Rajnikant*. But both thought the whole idea foolish and beyond them. Incidentally, one wonders why a self-proclaimed Marxist like Srikant could vouch for such a popular capitalist drink like Guinness? Would it make him a "stout" Marxist?

Pratap Pothan, in a sudden fit of nostalgia, dragged me to his old college, the Madras Christian College. He made me sit on the bench where he used to sit with his first girl friend, took me to inspect his old hostel room from where he used to sprinkle water on passers-by, and in keeping with his notorious past, made me watch helplessly while he ragged a fresher. "Go shave your head bald and salute everyone who passes you!" Pratap yelled at the fresher.

"And how many people know I originally wanted to become a priest and save the world?" asked *Jerry Amaldev* who walked away with the Kerala Film Critics Association Award and the state government award for his musical score in *Manjil Virinja Pookal*. He had another question too: "And how many know that one of my earlier successes was an LP, *Atma Ki Awaz*, with *Jesudas*, containing eight popular Hindi songs?"



Madhavi: well on top

Popular star of over a hundred films, *Jaishankar*, is a smart man. The moment he discovered that producers were not offering him any more roles he scraped the extra powder off his cheeks, grew a moustache and somersaulted into the role of a villain. You can see him in *K. Balajee's Sawal* which has proved a massive success in the districts. "Well," said the tubby Jai while speaking to me, "there is no reason why I should be a hero till I die, or is there?"

This column is utterly male-chauvinistic and yours truly is one, for that matter. He is dedicating this week's writeup to any actor who has suffered a recent and significant change of personality. Like *Rajnikant* who has switched from arrack to good old whiskey and in his portrayal from a villain to an old man in *Netrikan*. Like *Shivaji Ganesan* who just the other day appeared on the sets minus his paunch. It was a gimmick alright. His secret: he was wearing a corset. The corset proved to be very embarrassing to *Shivaji* who went scuttling every now and then to the dressing room where the offending garment could be taken off and allow the actor to breathe normally.



Rajnikant: no more arrack



Pratap:when nostalgia struck

And following in the footsteps of *Jaishankar* is *Ranganath*. *Ranganath*, despite his handsome looks and charming smile found that he could not click with the Telugu audiences. So he has been opting for roles as villain. "What's more," he told me, "I now find myself playing opposite *Shobhan* and *Krishnam Raju*. And those cabaret dances with *Jaya* are a welcome change from the awful duets around palm trees they made me do as a hero."

BRIANJI

Kamalahasan and Jaishankar in a tense moment in Sawal





GAUHATI: At the recent wedding of a daughter of a director of a certain department of the Assam government, the joint director of the same department presented the bride with a set of clothes. After a few days, however, there was a hot exchange of words between the director and his colleagues over some official matter following which the director sent back the joint director's wedding gift through a peon. Aghast at the director's "strange and unbecoming action," the joint director directed the peon to take back the packet. But the peon, who apparently had his instructions, would not agree. Exasperated, the JD then asked the peon to tell his boss that he would take back the gift provided the director sent him a bill for the food he ate at the wedding reception or alternatively allowed him to regurgitate it in the latter's courtyard! The wedding gift has, since then been gathering dust, with no claimants in the press lounge of the Janata Bhavan at the Dispur capital complex—*Blitz* (Chinmoy Hota, New Delhi)

KANPUR: The Kanpur university examination in one of the local girls degree college was disrupted here when the students were struck by a ghost scare in a section of class six. According to school sources the ghost scare gripped students when a naughty student sat back on a chair maintaining perfect balance on two legs of the chair—*Northern India Patrika* (Kishore Nathani, Lucknow)

NEW DELHI: A telephone subscriber who had a telephone installed at his clinic in the walled city only two months ago has reportedly been confronted by the Delhi Telephones with a bill for 20 years! The subscriber, Dr Saniyasain Khan, has said in a letter to the *HT Evening News* that the accounts officer of Delhi Telephones has sent him a bill (the first since the installation of the phone) for Rs 10,003.85 which covers a period of 20 years—*Hindustan Times* (Abhay Kumar Bajaj, Jabalpur)

CHANDIGARH: The Nonsense Club, a body formed here to launch satire-soaked campaigners against social evils has demanded that sale of cinema tickets on the black market be made legal.

The club has pitched tents outside a popular cinema hall where tickets would be sold on the black market across the counter. Sitting on a "counter" in an "office," decorated with cartoons, the club secretary, Mr J. S. Bhatti, said on Saturday (1 August) that the demand follows failure of the authorities in curbing the menace. The club had earlier campaigned against corruption and dowry—*Indian Express* (Vinod Kaul, Jammu)

NEW DELHI: The second threat of self-immolation in many years in the capital failed to come off today—thanks to pressmen. With firewood, a tin of kerosene, pieces of cardboard and an agile assistant who ran errands for him, Mr K. L. Monga sat outside the Supreme Court waiting for the appointed hour when he would go up in flames. It was his way of protesting against what he called the government's reluctance to give him a new lawyer to fight for his claim of pension given to freedom fighters. However, the police did not have to go into action Mr Monga almost literally talked himself out of it. He got so carried away by his rather long address to the pressmen who had arrived there in strength that the "fateful" moment—1.30pm—slipped away quietly without any one realising it. Not even Mr Monga—*Times of India* (Mrs Sarojini Chandrasekhar, New Delhi)

NEW DELHI: Mrs Indira Gandhi claimed today that she had to face several charges during the Janata regime and some of them were quite absurd. "One of the charges," she said, "levelled against me at Imphal in Manipur where an inquiry commission was set up was that I had stolen two hens and six eggs. Will any Prime minister do such a thing? I hope such things never happen again"—*Times of India* (Mrs Adarsh Mehta, Chandigarh)

CALCUTTA: New earthen pitchers kept on the corridors of Writers Building in Calcutta to supply ministers and officials with fresh, cold water are being mysteriously replaced by old and worn-out pitchers. Mr Jatin Chakraborty, the PWD minister, in charge of maintenance of the building, suspects that some members of the staff who live on the floor are responsible—*Statesman* (Nibedita Ghosh, Calcutta)

LUCKNOW: Power workers have devised a novel way for highlighting their demands. About a thousand employees of the UP State Electricity Board read the *Gita*, *Bible* and the *Koran* in the courtyard of the Shakti Bhavan so that "good sense may prevail" over the authorities and they accept their demands—*Pioneer* (Rajan Samuel, Kanpur)

Given his natural tendencies, the difference is that Rajiv (Gandhi) would probably slaughter with a silken touch—*Surya*

India could either survive as a Hindu state or be turned into an Islamic state—Balraj Madhok, Bharatiya Jan Sangh president

Let us not have illusions about the might of our party—Devaraj Urs, Congress(U) president

The Congress(I) would spread a red carpet for Mr A. K. Antony and his followers if they joined the real Congress—C. M. Stephen, union communications minister

I do not break anything—I only attract people—Jagjivan Ram

Our doors are open especially for parties like the Congress(U)—Promode Dasgupta, CPI(M) state committee secretary

West Bengal should be dubbed "Waste Bengal" or even "Worst Bengal"—Tailpiece in *Times of India*

The money bags of Mr Devaraj Urs are still making desperate attempts at staging a comeback. Truth has the inconvenient knack of peeping out at the most unexpected moments—C M. Ibrahim, former Karnataka minister

No political party, including the communists, wants to change the basic structure of Indian society—S. Nihal Singh

If the black sheep of one court is transferred to another, how will it help national integration?—H. M. Seeravai, jurist, on the transfer of the additional judges

This government not only does not work, but works in the wrong direction—Madhu Dandavate in *Surya*

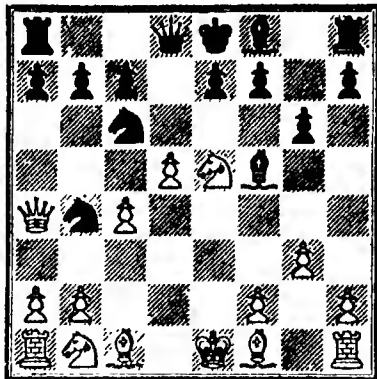
A hundred million men of straw like Devaraj Urs can never make one leader of substance like Indira—A. R. Antulay, Maharashtra CM quoted in *Current*

Mrs Gandhi might soon launch a repression on the people, or seek to divert their attention by engaging in a war in collaboration with the Soviet Union—Subramaniam Swamy, Janata Party leader

The whole world community, poor and rich countries, now crosses an ocean of peril and nothing is more certain that sooner or later we will both sink or swim together—Daniel Arap Moi, Kenyan President

chess

Chaos (Black) to move



Belle (White)

Position after White's 9th move

With the great strides being made in microchip technology, what effects are computers with their increased capabilities having on the game of chess?

On one level progress is great. There are now a large range of chessplaying machines in the shops most of which will probably give you a very good run for your money. Indeed some recent market research in the United States revealed that many customers become very demoralised because they cannot beat these commercial computers. With a brand of sensitivity to con-

sumer demand unique to the other side of the Atlantic, one company developed a machine which when playing at its lowest level was actually programmed to lose, however badly its opponent might play.

On another level the advance is less spectacular. The problem of programming a machine to play chess as well as or better than any human being has long been an area of research of great interest to the computer world. They reckon chess to be a perfect test case. If machine can replace man at chess, it can probably do so at pretty well any intellectual or decision-making exercise you care to think of. Frightening. You can take comfort however in the fact that at the moment the Karpovs and Korchnois of this world are no more threatened by computer technology than by little green men. One only has to look at the games of the World Computer Championship held in Linz towards the end of last year. The machines competing here were very powerful, highly sophisticated affairs, of the type more likely to be seen at Cape Canaveral than Harrods. Nevertheless the quality of their play, judged by human standards, was decidedly mediocre. I give the play-off game between the two joint winners Belle and Chaos, both American programmes. White Belle. Black Chaos. Linz 1980.

Alekhine's Defence

1. P-K4, N-KB3; 2. P-K5, N-Q4; 3. P-Q4, P-Q3; 4. N-KB3, P x P; 5. N x P, P-KN3; 6. P-KN3. An interesting moment. Computers have openings programmed into them parrot fashion. Chaos's fifth move 5 P-KN3 evidently took Belle out of its programmed repertoire similarly Belle's 6 P-KN3 reciprocated, so now both

machines are on their own.

6 B-B4 7 P-QB4? Computers don't seem to understand that P-KN3 is played to follow up with N-N2.

7... N-N5; 8. Q-R4 + N(1)-B3; 9. P-Q5. **DIAGRAM**

9... B-B7? Very odd. The strength of a computer lies in its ability to calculate forcing variations very far ahead, but here it fails to find the winning move 9 N-B7+ For if 10 K-K2, P-QN4! and if 11 P x P N x N or 11 Q x NP, N(7)-O5+, whilst if 10 K-Q2, N x R the white QP is pinned. Particularly strange as computers generally consider checks first.

10 Q-N5, Q-Q3? And here 10 B-N2 is good as after 11 N x N, N x N White still cannot capture the knight because of mate on Q1. 11. N x N, N x N; 12. N-B3, B-N2; 13. Q x NP. Were the black queen still at home this move would only win a pawn. Now it wins a piece.

13... O-O; 14. Q x N, Q-N5; 15. K-Q2! Else Black would win back his piece.

15... B-K5; 16. R-KN1, KR-QN1; 16 P-K3 was a better try.

17. B-R3, B-R3 + 18. P-B4, Q-R4; 19. R-K1, P-B4; 20. Q-K8+, K-B1, 21. P-N3, B-N2;

22. B-N2, B-O5; 23. P-KN4, R-N3; 24. Q-O7, R-Q3; 25. Q-R4, Q-N3; 26. B-R3, B x N + 27. K x B, R(3)-Q1; 28. QR-Q1, Q-B7;

29. P x P, Q-B7 + 30. K-O4, P x P; 31. Q-B6, Q-B7 + 32. K-K5. The king is a strong piece!

32... K-N1; 33. R-N1 + K-R1; Or 33 K-B1, 34. Q-B6 +

34. B x KP, Q-N7 + 35. R-Q4. Faced with inevitable mate Chaos now produced the defiant 35

Q-KN7. Real fighters these machines.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



Four new stamps from Luxemburg feature coins which have been used there since the 17th century. The 8-franc stamp (above) shows a silver kronenthaler of the Austrian Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790). Luxemburg was then part of the Austrian Netherlands, having been wrested from Spain thanks to the Duke of Marlborough's victories during the War of the Spanish Succession in which Britain and Austria were allies. When Joseph visited the city of Luxemburg in 1781 he lodged modestly at an inn, the Seven Swabians, near the New Gate. He impressed the citizens by his amiability but one wonders whether he mastered the local system of coinage which comprised no fewer than 15 different coins in copper, billon, silver, and gold.

C. W. HILL

bridge

Britain's 7-13 loss to Uruguay in the 23rd round of the Olympiad was the turning-point in the team's fortunes. A dubious lead against a grand slam cost a lot of points, and this was another avoidable loss.

Dealer, South Game all

♥ Q 8 4
♦ Q 6 5 2
♣ K J 9 8
♠ A 6

♠ K 10 7 6
♥ J 9 4
♦ Q
♣ K O 8 7 3

♠ A J 5 2
♥ A 10 8 7
♦ 10 5
♣ 9 4 2

♠ 9 3
♥ K 3
♦ A 7 6 4 3 2
♣ J 10 5

When Uruguay was East-West, West, playing Precision, opened One Diamond on his pitiful collection and East responded 1 NT, which was passed out. South led a low diamond to the King and North returned the 8. Fearing that East might hold J 10 9 x, South allowed the 10 to win but East subsequently misguessed the spades and finished two down.

At the other table the bidding went

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
No	No	1♦	No
3NT (!)	No	No	No

quiz

QUESTIONS

- Who framed the word, Cold War, and when?
- When was the Zengakuren formed?
- Where are the Pass laws valid?
- What is the food chain?
- What is ekistics the study of?

and their problems. The word was coined by Greek planner C. A. Doxiadis.

South's 3NT following a oass was likely to be based on a long suit and Forrester. West, should perhaps have led the King of clubs, not a low one. As it was South won the first trick with ♠ J. He then led a diamond to the King on which West's Queen appeared.

In dummy with ♠ K South led a low heart. Smolski was not asleep for he rose with ♥ A but returned a club. Since South was marked with six diamonds had already made a trick with ♠ J, and surely held ♥ K this was a mistake. South made ten tricks instead of going one down, so Britain lost 10 points instead of gaining 7. Playing in his best form Smolski would have switched to a low spade after ♥ A.

The *Bridge Player's Alphabetical Handbook*, by Terence Reese and Albert Dormer (Faber £6 95), is divided into three parts: Bidding, Play, Laws and Tournament Procedure. Not an experienced player myself, I found it fascinating to read about Lebensohl and Romex, Echelon Play, Optimum Strategy, and a host of others. The final entry Yarborough is typical of the style. A term descended from the game of whist meaning that a hand contains no card above a 9. The name comes from a former Earl of Yarborough who offered to bet any whist player £1 000 to £1 that he would not pick up such a hand on a given deal. Since the true odds are 1.827 to 1 his lordship appears to have been a shrewd operator.

TERENCE REESE

ANSWERS

- The American financier Bernard Baruch coined the word on 16 April 1947.
- In 1948 it is the left-wing organisation of Japanese university students.
- In South Africa it is a law which requires black Africans to carry passes for all activities in white areas.
- A series of organisms which eat those lower in the chain and are eaten by those higher up.
- It is the study of human settlements.

Beginning 30 August

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May)

This is going to be a moderately successful week provided you rely on your intuition and follow your hunch. If you are in service, be sure to keep your temper under control and exercise tact in dealings with your superiors and employer. The financial front looks bright for businessmen. A weekend trip is not unlikely. **Good dates:** 31, 2 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 8 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June)

A good week except for one snag: your health might cause you some anxiety. Friends and relatives will rally around and make this a pleasant week for you. A good week for businessmen too, so make haste and complete any new contracts you have had in mind. Debts and lawsuits should not worry you for you will be reaping profits from past investments. **Good dates:** 31, 2 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Southwest.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July)

This will turn out to be a successful week for the artistically inclined. Intellectuals and creative artists start working right away. Those in service should be careful about quarrels and controversies with your colleagues and superiors. Do not arouse the hostility of people who matter. A secret matter, friend or association will prove helpful. **Good dates:** 1, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



CANCER (15 July—14 August)

A bright week lies ahead of you. Young intellectuals will contribute to your success. New friendships will develop with interesting people. A secret association you have been attached with will prove very helpful. Just one word of caution: although your boundless energy and ambition will lead to success, guard against physical strain. **Good dates:** 30, 3 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 6 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and North.



LEO (15 August—14 September)

A series of misunderstandings might leave you a little unhappy this week. But do not worry. You will be able to overcome your problems very soon. This, in fact, is a good week for romance. A word of advice: do not get carried away by your friendship, but curb extravagant tendencies. **Good dates:** 31, 2 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October)

Financially, this will not be a good week. Businessmen are advised not to enter into any new deals. Try not to make any changes. However, in case a change is absolutely necessary, be sure to seek the advice of your elders. Those in service may try to put in extra effort in your work. You may expect opposition from an elderly member of the opposite sex. **Good dates:** 30, 2 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** Northeast.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November)

A very good week is in store for you. Extraordinary gains await speculators and gamblers. Your financial gains this week will enable you to purchase a number of luxury items that you have been wanting to acquire for a long time. Businessmen and professionals are advised to pay attention to their pursuits. **Good dates:** 31, 3 and 1. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 6. **Favourable directions:** South and East.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December)

This week is especially bright financially. Old investments will pay back. Women are likely to buy costly saris and ornaments. Socially, this is also going to be a good week: a new friendship may develop. Careerwise, you will gain a very good opportunity this week, so do not hesitate to seize it. But as regards love, there are going to be problems. **Good dates:** 1, 3 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January)

This week there are chances of a big social occasion in the family, possibly a marriage is in the offing. However, you will not be able to enjoy yourself as your health will not be good. A letter which you have been waiting for will bring in good news. Many of you will gain property. **Good dates:** 2, 4 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 9. **Favourable directions:** West and Northwest.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February)

Peace reigns on the homefront. This week is ideal for marriage negotiations and correspondence. Relatives and friends are likely to shower praise on you this week. But it is imperative that you do not lose your head because this week you might have to take a very crucial decision. Problems regarding finance are likely to be settled this week. **Good dates:** 30, 1 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and South.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March)

A week for love and romance. You are likely to find your life's partner this week. However, do not take any hasty decisions, but seek the opinion of friends and well-wishers. The domestic front may not be particularly peaceful this week. Do not be disheartened if you meet with powerful opposition from your parents. **Good dates:** 31, 2 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 8. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



PISCES (15 March—14 April)

This will prove to be a very successful week for you. Put all your effort in your academic pursuits and you will be crowned with success. Those in service are advised to concentrate on their work. There are chances you might gain some property through inheritance. A letter towards the end of the week will bring you some very good news. **Good dates:** 30, 1 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** East.

For those born between 15 August and 14 September: Most of you are of a vacillating nature: you cannot settle down to do anything. It is primarily for this reason that you will not be able to do well in your career. Promotions which you deserve will be lost because of the frequent changes in your career. There is, however, a way out: take up a career in banking, insurance, shipping or in a foreign concern.

Your family life in this coming year will not be very smooth. Confrontations with brothers are forecast. However, sisters who are already married might help you out. Friends and partners will also help you. But most of you are blessed with your mother's

love and affection. Mothers will give over their property to you. However, a word of advice for those whose mothers are advanced in age: they are likely to suffer from rheumatism and headaches. So do not hesitate to seek the advice of medical practitioners. Those who are still studying are likely to face problems in their educational careers. Those with children be very careful about their health this year. And to add more problems to your life you will face difficulties from your enemies. But there is no cause for unhappiness at the state of things. The monotonous existence that you have been leading will be lived up by female relatives.

Of fathers and their sons

By V. K. MADHAVAN KUTTY

I fully endorse Mr R. Venkataraman's opinion that Mr Rajiv Gandhi has improved on the record set by his grandfather. RV had said that while getting elected to the Lok Sabha, Rajiv had made all his opponents lose their deposits which even Pandit Nehru could not achieve. Poor me. I was researching on the topic, "Sons bettering fathers," and the Rajiv Gandhi fact was one of the vital data collected by me. It would have hit the headlines or at least got a front page box. Now RV has leaked it to the press and preempted me.

I think Panditji was kind enough to his opponents. That apart, what RV disclosed and I had researched, is absolutely correct. In fact my study reveals that there are a number of examples where sons have done better than their fathers. For the present, however, I am not going into how private secretaries have done better than their own bosses. I was talking to a Youth Congress(I) leader. He asked me to cite examples.

"Take the Father of the Nation

himself," I pointed out. "Did not Devdasji do better? Bapuji could edit only a weekly, the *Harijan*, which folded up in his lifetime. But Devdasji edited a mass circulated daily with comic strips and all which is even now flourishing under Khushwant Singh."

"Aaaaah..." said the Youth Congress(I) leader getting my point.

"What about Chavan?" the Congressman did not give up. He wanted to prove I was wrong. I did not want to oblige him.

"I shall not say anything until his future is settled," I said. "But I may add that during his father's time there weren't many Congress parties with same ideologies, no homecoming, no scope for waiting at the doors, no *Ayarams* and *Gayarams*. So it is going to be a real task to research on this point."

During my tours on my research work, Gundu Rao had fully endorsed what one of the "able ministers" at the centre had said about Rajiv. At a high tea arranged through a common friend, he said that Tipu Sultan had done better than Hyder Ali. But he

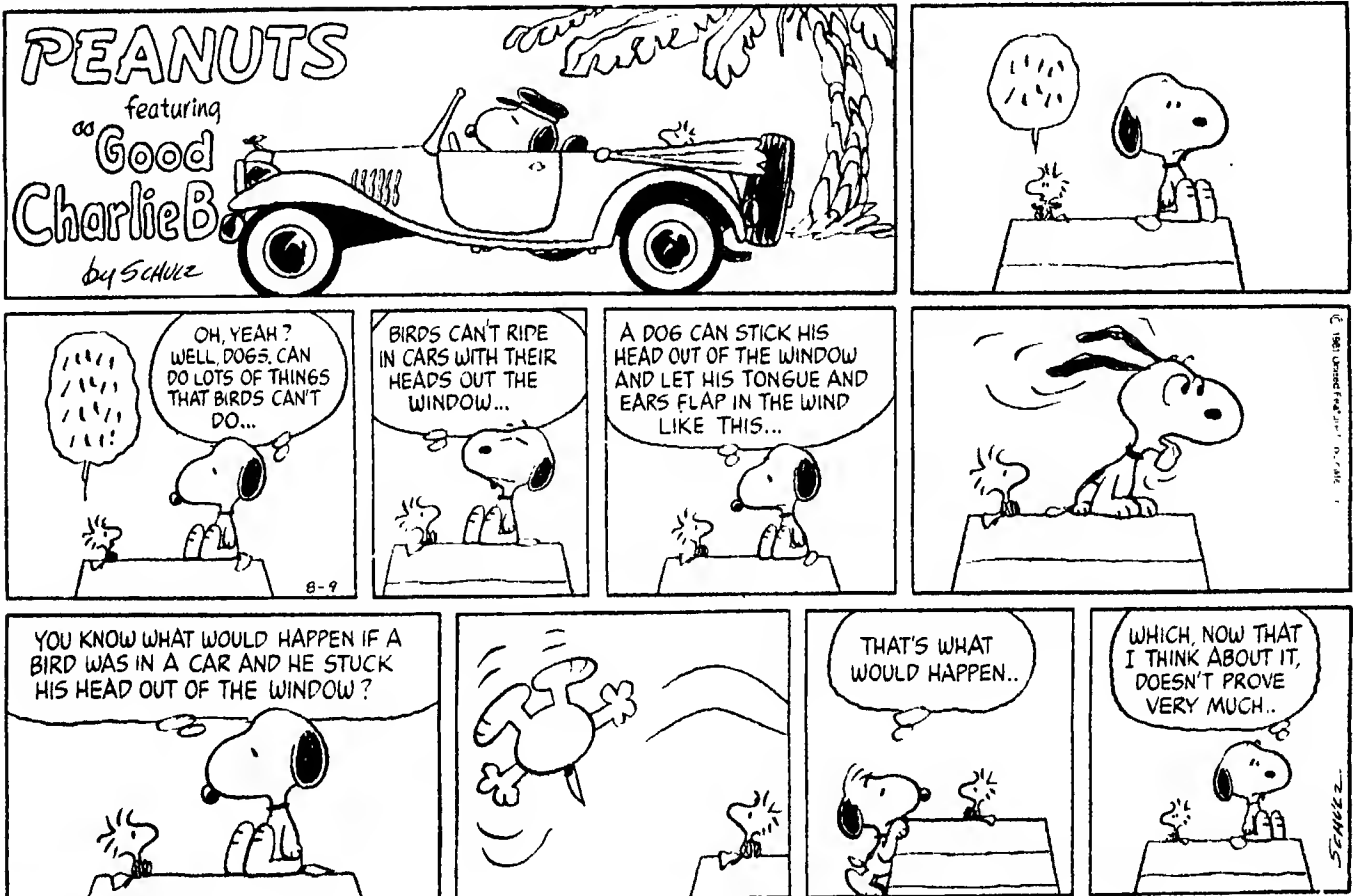
told me not to reveal the source to anyone till the Ibrahim matter was settled to the satisfaction of the rapist and the raped. Then he dashed to Delhi to take the key from Mrs Gandhi so she could go to sleep.

"What about Dom Moraes?" asked my Congress friend.

"Please don't bring in colleagues and contemporaries. I only speak historically and like Huang Hua I take the feelings of all peoples into consideration. Contemporary matters will be researched when they become history."

Examples from contemporary politics would create misgivings. I shall release it 30 years after my death. Meanwhile, I shall give some examples from epics and history. In fact, many sons have done better than their fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers. Take the example of Karna. Without knowing who his father was he did extremely well. Take for example the case of Lord Shiva and his second son Ganapathi. Did not Ganapathi do better in Maharashtra than his father?

Now, the Moghuls that is if you want a little bit of history. Babur had to conquer India to become the emperor. Humayun without all that ruled and had his tomb in Delhi. In fact, the entire line of sons have done better than their fathers and grandfathers. What, then about V. C. Shukla, S. C. Shukla, K. C. Pant, Stalin, Karunanidhi, Suresh Ram, Kanti Desai, Rosa Deshpande and many others? ■



BHINDER GETS A REPRIEVE

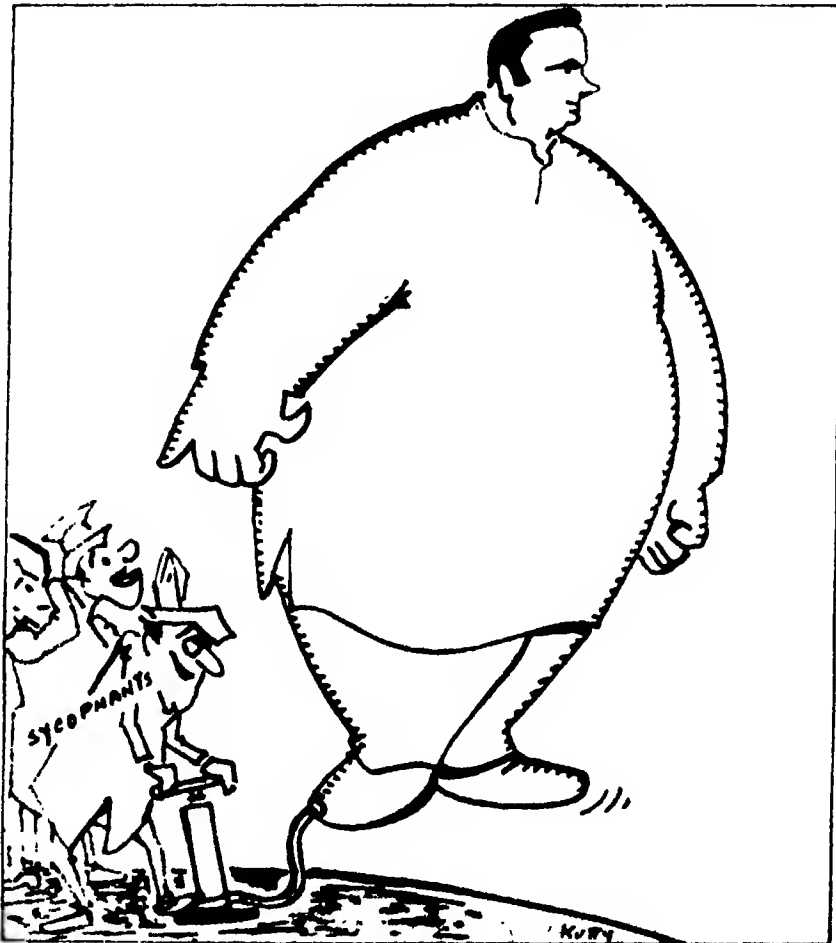
DELHI'S police commissioner, Mr P. S. Bhinder, seems to have staged a recovery. In late July he was down and nearly out. Police officials were even talking about the impending transfer of pro-Bhinder elements in the force. And the man to replace him was Bombay's police commissioner, Mr Kasbekar. Recently, Mr Kasbekar met the PM who expressed her desire to bring him to Delhi. Mr Kasbekar, naturally, agreed but also requested that he be brought to Delhi with a promotion. The PM, reportedly, was not averse. But when everything seemed settled, a rumour started circulating that Mr Bhinder, Mr Zail Singh, union home

minister, and Mr J. S. Bawa, the CBI chief, had got together to put a stop to Mr Kasbekar's transfer. And a week later, it was further rumoured that the CBI launched an inquiry against Mr Kasbekar. But the CBI chief denies knowledge of any such inquiry. Whatever the truth, it appears that Mr Bhinder has managed to scuttle the transfer of Mr Kasbekar to Delhi. Though a competent official, Mr Bhinder is a controversial figure because of his involvement in the ruling party's politics. What is worse, he leads one of the two factions that has split Delhi police down the middle; the other faction that of thakurs is led by Nikhil Kumar Singh.

WHO MEASURES PRODUCTION LOSS?

ON 27 July, when the government issued an ordinance to ban strikes in essential services, the government spokesman declared that it was necessary because of loss of production. Yet, surprisingly, the chief labour commissioner whose

principal job it is to feed the government with reports on strikes and production losses, was not consulted before the ordinance was promulgated. The labour commissioner came to know of the ordinance only from the newspapers!



UP MINISTER MISSES ROYAL WEDDING

THERE is a senior cabinet minister from UP who tried to secure an invitation for the royal wedding by pressurising the Indian high commissioner in London. But the high commissioner, instead of obliging the minister, quietly informed the PM's secretariat about the minister's moves. Result: this minister is now in trouble—the Prime Minister is extremely annoyed with him. He took leave by informing the UP CM that his wife was ill and had to be taken to London for treatment. Thereafter he went to Varanasi to buy a present and told everybody that he was going to attend the royal wedding on the personal invitation of Prince Charles!

VAJPAYEE IS WILLING

DATE: 4 August. Place: Karnataka Bhawan. A closed-door meeting of the four opposition leaders—Chandra Shekhar, Devaraj Urs, Aral Bahari Vajpayee, and Madhu Limaye—is in progress. All agree that the Janata party, Lok Dal and the Congress(U) should immediately merge to form a new party. As for the BJP, it is agreed that it too must merge into the new party, after the RSS issue is resolved. At this point Mr Limaye suggests that the RSS issue should be resolved this time without any public debate. Mr Urs then invites Mr Vajpayee to join the new party right away. Mr Vajpayee, who is eager that a unification should take place at the earliest, says, "We have some differences within the BJP. Why doesn't Chandra Shekhar ji talk to Advanji and Nanaji about it? You three get together and we will co-operate fully."

NO ROOM IN CONG(I)

SOON after the election commission declared that the Congress(U) was not the real Congress, a senior Congress(U) parliamentarian from the south met Mr Karunakaran, the Kerala Congress(I) leader. In the course of their discussions, the Congress(U) leader dropped a hint that he would prefer to join the Congress(I) instead of an opposition party. But the leader clarified that he would do so only at the opportune moment. Mr Karunakaran thanked him for his gesture but totally deflated him by saying: "You are a national leader. How can I deal with you?"

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

MEN'S FASHION IN '81



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The cords are back in fashion.



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years we too have kept pace with international styling. We brought in the square dials and when the world was 'Wow'ing the Roman numerals, we gave you that too.

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B. K. NATWAR SINGH, ambassador to Pakistan

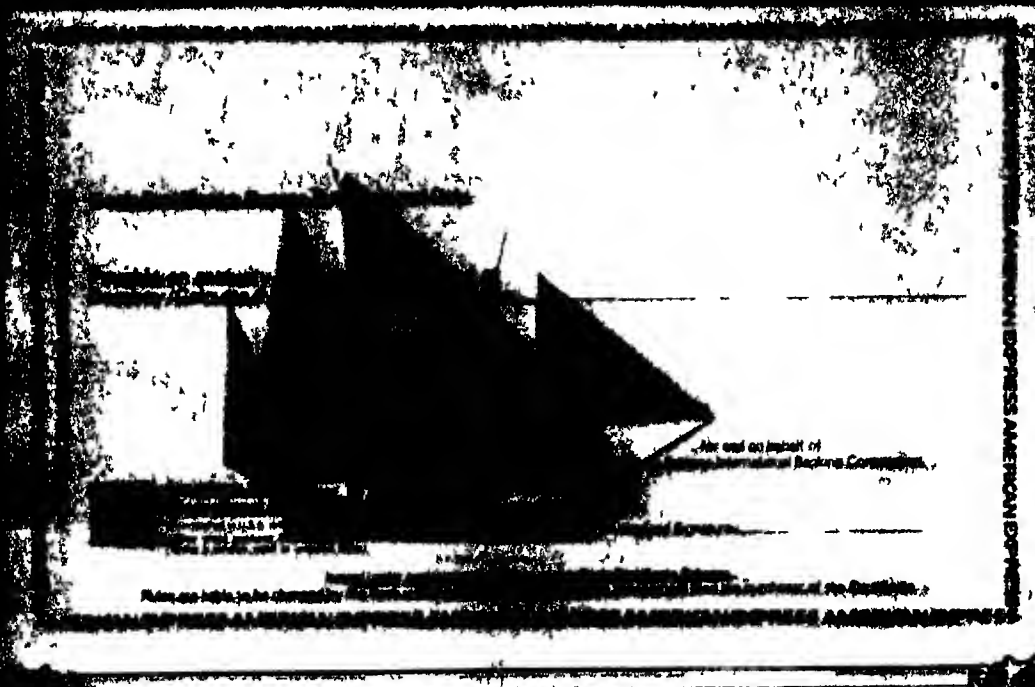


Kashmir

**The Coronation of
Prince Abdullah**

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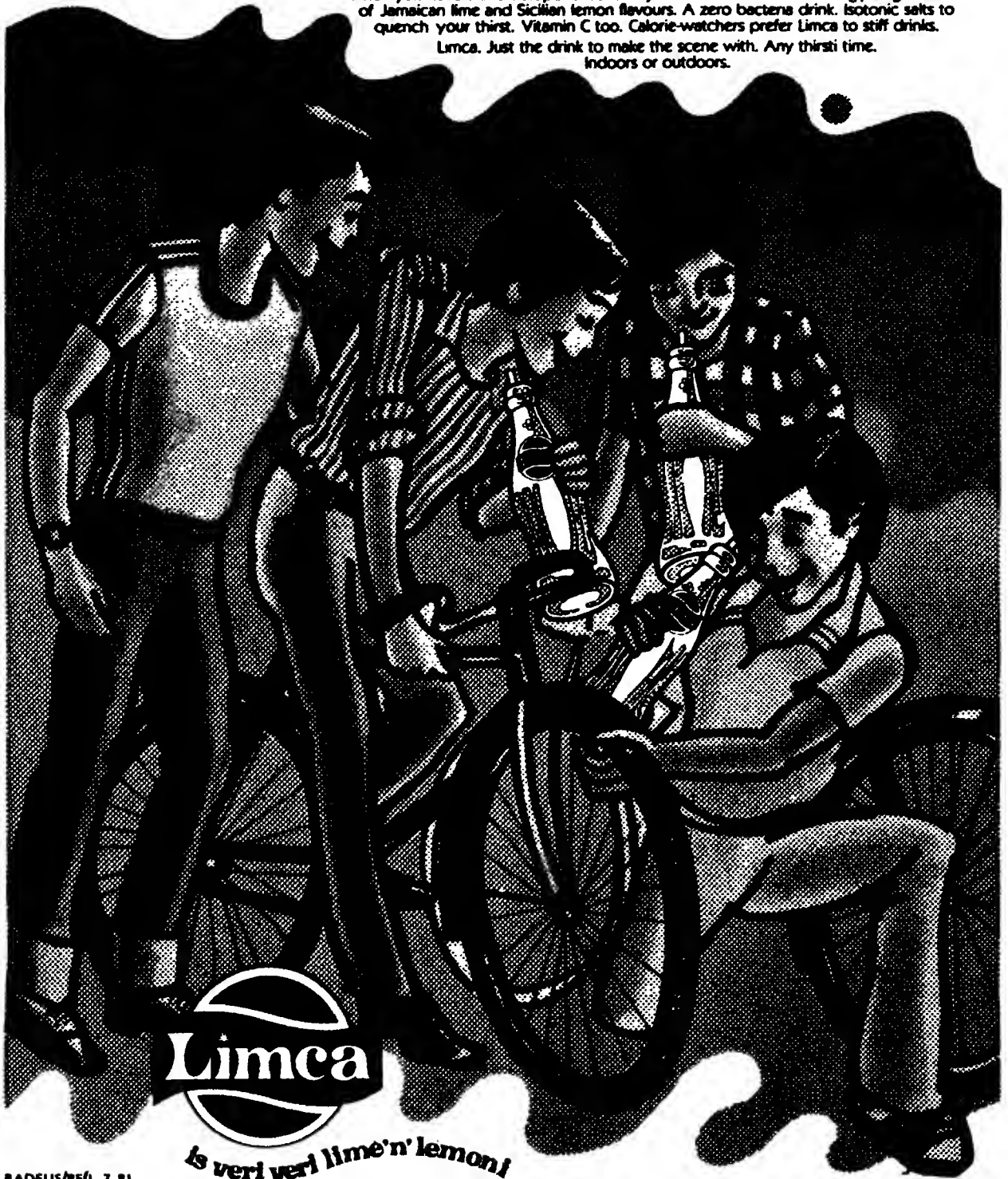
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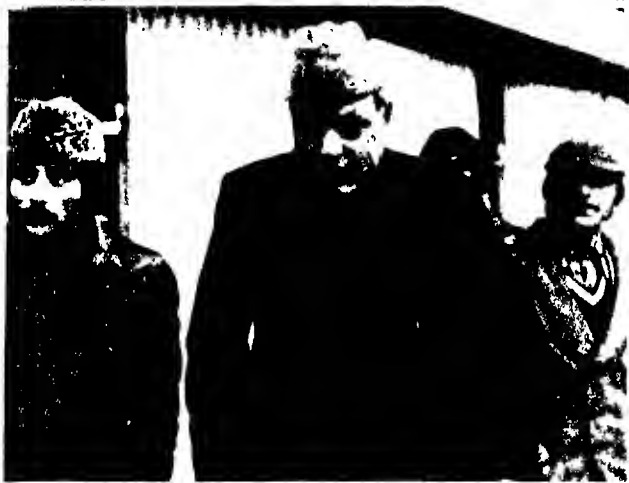


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Is veri veri lime'n' lemon!



The latest sunrise was over Kashmir, on 21 August, Farooq Abdullah ascended the throne of his father's National Conference amidst deafening cheers from the thousands who had assembled at Sinagar's Iqbal Park. Tavleen Singh went to Kashmir to make an on-the-spot report on the coronation **Page 12**

The story of what happened in Calcutta when all four units of the Santaldih plant stopped functioning is an amazing one. It is not only a story of irresponsible trade unionism, but one of criminal mismanagement. Saumitra Banerjee investigates **Page 18**

The condition of mental patients is deplorable. There are not enough psychiatrists and qualified doctors to tend the mentally ill and the demand for 6 million beds is met by a meagre 21,500 beds in hospitals all over the country. Nirmal Ghosh reports **Page 28**



The Jats emerged as a political power during the fall of the Moghul empire, to which they had made a significant contribution. However, historians, consciously or unconsciously have not acknowledged this. K. Natwar-Singh, in his book, *Suraj Mal, 1707-1763*, for the first time presents a lively account of the emergence of the Jat power. **Page 34**

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200 lines used to bug Delhi phones

Some 200 telephone lines from different exchanges in Delhi reach the home ministry directly, a few more are connected with the office of intelligence bureau at Akbar Road. Most of the bugging in the capital is done through them. Under the rules, the home ministry or, for that matter, any other ministry, has to provide the posts and telegraphs department with a list of names of the people whose telephones are sought to be tapped. However, this practice is not followed these days, nor does the P and T insist on it.

The present procedure is that some policemen, authorised by the home ministry, visit particular telephone exchanges, sometimes every morning. They are armed with a list of names and have their lines connected with those reaching the home ministry or the intelligence bureau office, as the case may be. The P and T is not in the picture, in the sense that the men at the exchanges carry out orders, without informing higher authorities who have, of course, given a blanket order that the instructions received from the authorised policemen have to be implemented.

Tapping is selective, different people are picked up on different days so as to facilitate check on a larger number. Opposition members, diplomats and journalists are prominent among those whose telephones are tapped. But, off and on, top bureaucrats, the Congress (I) leaders and even members of the council of ministers are 'checked.' Some of the files maintained on certain individuals are said to have quite a bit of information from the conversations intercepted.

The lines reaching the home ministry are connected with amplifiers, tape recorders and some more sensitive instruments. There is a large staff maintained to prepare

transcripts of conversation, from any Indian or foreign language, into English.

Bugging is, however, not a recent phenomenon. It has been there for many years. It was used with a vengeance to gather information during the split in the Congress Party in 1969 and, more recently, between 1975 and 1977 in the days of the Emergency. The Janata Party, with all its promises for personal liberty, never stopped the practice, only the victims changed. After Mrs Gandhi's return to power, old lists have been retrieved, with many additions.

My 'Deep Throat' has not given me a list of the people whose telephones are tapped. His argument is that the names go on changing frequently. It is possible to tap 5,000 telephones in a month but on a regular basis the number may be small.

Tampering of mail is also selective, not all the letters of people whose mail is supposed to be checked are opened. However, the way it is done is crude. The government has developed the tapping into a fine art but this is not the case with the tampering of mail. In Delhi the

Policemen visit particular telephone exchanges sometimes every morning. They are armed with a list of names. The P and T is not in the picture... Tapping is selective. Opposition members, diplomats and journalists are prominent among those whose telephones are tapped.

operation has run into an embarrassing situation. The leakage of the list of the people whose mail is tampered with has given the government a bad name. The home ministry has said in reply to a query that it was not responsible for issuing the order since such authority is vested in a number of people. However, the ministry has ordered an inquiry into the leakage and it has reportedly taken Mr P.S. Bhinder, the Delhi police commissioner, to task as the order for tampering the mail carries his signature. Strangely, the home ministry, which supervises the Delhi administration, denies having seen the order before it was issued, suggesting that it was not consulted.

This atmosphere is quite conducive to holding a seminar on human rights and Dr L.M. Singhvi, a leading lawyer, did organise one in Delhi. But some of the invitees made a mockery of the entire effort. Mr M.H. Beg, former chief justice of India, was one of the speakers. He emphasised that human rights were 'inalienable' But he is the same person who had said in a judgement during the Emergency that the detenus had no right even to ask for better living conditions in jail because all their rights were suspended during the Emergency. If human rights are inalienable, how does justice Beg explain his earlier pronouncement?

There were some others who should not have been invited to the seminar. For them human rights is a garb which they wear or discard depending on the conditions prevailing at a particular time. During the Emergency it was dangerous to talk about human rights, now it is prestigious to do so.

I feel that the presence of such people at seminars on human rights only diminishes the cause, does not add to it. And the others who attend them give credibility to those participants who do not deserve it. Perhaps it would be better for persons like Justice H R Khanna, Justice Ranga Rajan and Justice Rajinder Sachar, who have attended the seminar, to ascertain who the participants are before giving their consent.

In Pakistan the people who count do not go to a meeting which has the government's blessing or is likely to be attended by Gen Zia's supporters. When some people of eminence have gone to a function, where they should not have, they have withdrawn from it realising their mistake. On the other hand, they have gone to places, where anti-establishment people have gathered, to register their solidarity with them. If leading people can adopt such an attitude in a state like Pakistan, where there is no personal liberty, why can't it be done in India?



Royal waste

Congratulations to M. J. Akbar for his superb cover story, *Fear and joy in London* (9 August). I hope this doesn't sound like a case of sour grapes, but if I was in Princess Diana's shoes I would have refused to marry a man who has had numerous affairs with women in the past. *K. Revati Rangarajan, Hyderabad*

The cover story was excellent for readers in India.

Rizwana Akhtar, Cuttack

A fantastic piece of reporting. Keep it up SUNDAY.

Pranesh Roy, Kailasahar (Tripura)

The cover story read like a fairytale. *Lekhraj Dass, Barasat (West Bengal)*

M. J. Akbar's report on the royal wedding was very refreshing. *Sreemoy Ghose, Jamshedpur*

The cover transparency of the royal couple was beautiful. *Dilip Kumar Porel, Howrah*

SUNDAY's was undoubtedly the best coverage of the royal wedding. *M.R. Firdosi, Calcutta*

The closest we could get to the royal wedding was through the pages of SUNDAY.

Sambhunath Hazra, Onda (West Bengal)

All the Prince's girlfriends proves that Prince Charles is a debauch. *Dilip Kumar Suryawanshi, Rourkela*

The article on Prince Charles' girlfriends was quite interesting. *G. Raghuram, Cochin*

I was shocked to read that the future queen of England was subjected to a virginity test.

Badal Chakraborty, Ranchi

The virginity test exposed the ugly face of male chauvinism.

S. Narasimha Rao, Khurda Road (Orissa)

M. J. Akbar's story caught the mood of the royal wedding.

Patrick Gogh, Calcutta

It was ridiculous on the part of the British government to spend so much money on the royal wedding at a time when it is faced with unemployment and inflation problems.

Pramod Mishra, Bhubaneswar

Britain needs to do some rethinking about its monarchy; the way Prince

Charles and Lady Diana got married shows that the people of Britain are still

living in the Middle Ages. *K. Kumar Sekhar, Eluru (Andhra Pradesh)*

Et tu Brute. *Rajiv Chopra, Jammu*

The cover story was much ado about nothing.

N. Krishnan, Tiruchirapalli

Though well written, the cover story was a sheer waste of valuable space.

Khurshed Ahmad, Patna

A five-foot-eleven-inch tall scorpio

decided to get married; so what?

T. N. Naidu, Tiruchy

The report was unnecessarily lengthy.

G. K. Pillai, Sanctoria (West Bengal)

What was so great about the royal wedding?

M. Zaheeruddin, Hyderabad

I did not expect SUNDAY to waste so many pages on a marriage which was of no significance to the common man in India.

K. H. Rama Krishna, Bangalore

While going through the cover story I couldn't help remembering the IRA hunger-striker Bobby Sands who gave up his life for a cause which the British can never appreciate; to them the affairs of Buckingham Palace are more important than those of Maze prison.

A. K. Ray, Calcutta

The British had every reason to be excited about a wedding; but what excuse did M. J. Akbar have to report on it?

C. Kalayil, Nagpur

There was more of "joy" than "fear" in the cover story.

Jagabandhu Bhoi, New Delhi

Of Rabindranath and Bengalis

The Rabindranath that Bengalis hate (2 August) was a brilliant study by Maitreyi Chatterjee and as revealing as most reports which appear in SUNDAY. I happen to be one of those unfortunate Bengalis who have been born and brought up outside Bengal and whose knowledge of languages other than Bengali and awareness of what is happening in other parts of the country have made them outcasts in their home state. The 'pure' Bengali looks down upon us. But that is not to say that we 'adulterated' Bengalis are above board, as immigrants to other states we refuse to adapt to our new surroundings. This parochialism has proved very costly, particularly in Assam. *Partha Choudhury, Jamshedpur*

Ms Chatterjee should be congratulated for her cover story. What Rabindranath Tagore wrote about the Bengalis is also applicable to a good majority of Indians. *E. P. Menon, Bangalore*

The effort to project a different facet (the one which Bengalis hate) of

Rabindranath Tagore was misdirected; Ms Chatterjee should know that we adore the 'total' Tagore, not just a part of him. Our love is born out of the belief that often, while criticising the traditional social, religious and academic systems in India, he mentioned the Bengali community merely as an example. Ms Chatterjee's attempts to misrepresent the laureate are clear from the fact that she has made no mention of *Deshnayak* where Tagore praises the role of the Bengali youth in our struggle for independence.

Parikshit Kumar Basu and Sajal Chattopadhyay, Bombay

In order to prove her point Ms Chatterjee has conveniently quoted from Tagore's works without mentioning the context in which he made those remarks. The average Bengali may have his weaknesses; but after all, he is only human.

Shyamal Mukhopadhyay, Jabalpur

I am convinced that Ms Chatterjee's idea of Tagore is no better than that of a

schoolboy who knew the poet as "the bearded man who wrote *Jana-gana-mana*." Her cover story was absolutely disgusting.

Roma Ghosh, Calcutta

As a community we do have our shortcomings and Tagore may have pointed them out without mincing words; but it is wrong to imply that the poet abhorred Bengalis.

Sunil Chatterjee, Bankura (West Bengal)

A word of advice to Ms Chatterjee: keep Tagore out of controversial issues.

Saibal Sarkar, Jalpaiguri.

I would be grateful if Ms Chatterjee follows up her cover story with an article on the relevance of Tagore in the 20th century.

Jayanta Ray, Hyderabad

Far from hating Tagore, we hate articles like the one by Ms Chatterjee.

D. Sengupta, Baroda

Communal report

Syed Majeedul Hasan's Communal Killers take over Hyderabad (9 August) was an example of fearless reporting.
S. Azad, Puri

The *Special report* was informative; I wonder how many more lives have to be sacrificed before we find a solution to communal problems.
Mita Chaudhury, Kharagpur

Congratulations to Mr Hasan for his bold report; the secular image of our country has been tarnished once again.
Syed Azam Hussain, Buzurgdoar (Bihar)

The report was shocking. I am convinced that the mere arrest of anti-social elements is not enough; the politicians who patronise them should also be rounded up. Unfortunately, in our country the real culprits are never brought to book.
Ashwani Kumar Ashu, Chandigarh

I agree with the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad's view that "Pakistanis in Hyderabad are behind the riots." It is a pity that chief minister T. Anjiah has shown no initiative in assessing the

number of Pakistanis who have "overstayed" in Hyderabad.
S. Kalidash, Malkangiri (Orissa)

Mr Hasan's report was one-sided.
H. M. Viswanatha, Mangalore

The report provided an impressive list of Muslim victims and Mr Hasan named as many as eight of them; but where were the names of the Hindus who died?
Ravi Pratap, Dumka (Bihar)

The *Special report* was a fine example of biased journalism.
J. P. Banerjee, Calcutta

I wish someone more objective in outlook than Mr Hasan had reported on the communal riot; perhaps then we would have learnt more about the pro-Pakistani elements in Hyderabad.
R. R. Verma, Kanpur

Mr Hasan's report was more communal than the riots in Hyderabad.
Ratnakar Behera, Cuttack

It is a pity that a popular magazine like SUNDAY has become a mouthpiece of a minority community.
H. R. Bose, Calcutta

Sathyu's salvo

It is clear that Malabika Bhattacharya is not impressed by the government of West Bengal's policy to promote the cause of good cinema (*Left Front cinema*, 2 August). She should realise that the central and other state governments have merely paid lip service to us; they have been busy wooing and supporting commercial cinema for obvious reasons. Further, the allegation made by Subrata Sen Sharma, general secretary of the Federation of Film Technicians and Workers in eastern India, against Shyam Benegal is baseless; apart

from Om Puri and Pankaj Kapoor, the other members of Mr Benegal's cast are from West Bengal.

When a government invites a director from another state to make a film, the invitation is obviously extended to his unit as well; the idea behind this is certainly not to provide employment to a few technicians. The West Bengal government's film policy is aimed at creating a totally different kind of impact in the world of cinema; unfortunately, the policy has been misconstrued by certain vested interests.

M. S. Sathyu, Bombay

The reincarnation of Amitabh Bachchan

The fall and rise of Amitabh Bachchan (9 August) was superb; I wonder why other magazines, the *filmi* ones in particular, cannot publish such articles.
Shishir Kumar Jha, Patna

I cannot help agreeing with the report; Amitabh did go through a bad patch but has now made a spectacular comeback. And all the while those film magazines were busy writing him off. I wish the superstar the very best in the years ahead.

Shabnam Fatima, New Delhi

Amitabh is after all Amitabh, the indomitable superstar. It is ridiculous to think that people like Sunjay Dutt, Raj Babbar or Naseeruddin Shah can replace him.

R. Bhaskaran, Tiruchirappalli

The report was excellent. To his fans Amitabh will forever remain a hero regardless of whether his films click at the box office or not.
Sabuj Sen, Calcutta

I can't imagine Amitabh Bachchan disappearing into oblivion so soon; yes, he will continue to be the superstar for many, many more years.
V. Parvathy, Trichy

The fact that Naseeb and *Lawaaris* have done well at the box office is no indication of Amitabh's 'great comeback.' His performance in these two films was disappointing. We will have to wait and see how well *Silsila* and *Yaarana* go down with the audiences before deciding whether or not Amitabh has really staged a comeback.
Sumita Som, Calcutta

The report failed to mention that the time is ripe for Amitabh Bachchan to become a politician; he has the right contacts to don the Gandhi cap.
Shristik Nath, Calcutta

Why is SUNDAY giving undue publicity to Amitabh Bachchan?
Pinku Bhattacharya, Calcutta

Family magazine

SUNDAY is the ideal family magazine. Take the 2 August issue for instance: there was the cover story on Rabindranath Tagore and the interview with Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale which appealed to my father; *Why did Norma Robin Singh die?* was just the right thing for my mother; *Jaipur's Marxist basti* and *The opium smugglers of Barabanki* were of great interest to my college-going brother; *Khaas Baat* drew my sister's undivided attention; and the cover photograph of Sharon Prabhakar in a bikini and four pages of *The sexual customs of hippies* kept me glued to the magazine.
N. C. Das, Lucknow

Guilty?

Not knowing whether the President of India is a regular reader of SUNDAY, I can only hope that he has read Anil Saari's cover story (19 July), and is now willing to entertain Ranga's mercy petition.
S. L. Narayan, Jamshedpur

After reading the cover story one is forced to think twice about the Chopra murders. It is possible that Ranga had no hand in the crime; his mercy petition should be considered seriously.
M. S. S. Pattari, Cuddapah (Andhra Pradesh)

I wonder what the purpose of the cover story was; but whatever the arguments in Ranga's favour, he should not be pardoned.
Partha Sarothi Das, Gauhati

Ranga deserves no sympathy.
Sheikh Habibullah, Cuttack

It is a pity that the cover story did not include a single photograph of the villain of the piece, Billa.
P. N. Ojha, Talapada

Welcome, ESMO

Under *How can banning strikes alone improve the economy?* (*Power and Politics*, 9 August) Barun Sengupta has referred to "irresponsible owners, traders, managers and government officials." He has missed out farm labourers who have been demanding higher wages. The government must pay heed to their demands.
Tarkeshwar Prasad, Muzaffarpur

Whatever Barun Sengupta's reaction to the ESMO, I welcome the ordinance. The country needs some bitter medicine to put its systems in order.
Ahmad Gopal, Bangalore

Last letter

We have Jagjivan Ram's Congress(R), Devraj Urs' Congress(U) and Mrs Gandhi's Congress(I); all we need is a Congress(N) to ruin the Congress.
P. V. Subba Rao, Eluru (Andhra Pradesh)

Kashmir

The Coronation of Prince Abdullah

On 21 August, the Lion of Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah formally designated his successor: his son, Farooq Abdullah. TAVLEEN SINGH went to Srinagar to report about a unique event in modern democratic politics.

SONDEEP SHANKAR



Farooq with his father: a politicised relationship

“This crown that I am placing on your head is made of thorns. You are young, Dr Farooq Abdullah, young enough to face the challenges of life, and I pray that God gives you the courage to fulfil your responsibilities to these people whom I have nurtured with such pride, and to whom I have given the best years of my life.” Then, as the Lion of Kashmir's voice broke with emotion, the massive crowd roared—‘Ameen.’

As the seductive Srinagar dusk descended over Iqbal Park, and a cool breeze blew down from the heights of Shankracharya, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah pinned the presidential badge onto his son. The new president of the National Conference then pulled a cord, and in a shower of flowers the red party flag with its white plough unfurled over the lit-up stage... *Lehrabe Kashmir key jhandey, tab e kayamat tak tu lehra*, they sang while Farooq Abdullah saluted, at attention. Then for those who may have felt that the Kashmiri national anthem was yet another symbol of secession, the group on the stage also sang Iqbal's *Sarey jahan sey accha Hindostan hamara*.

It was the sort of occasion of which political legends are made. The sort of event that is better recorded by a movie camera than by words, because words fail when trying to describe the vast sea of humanity that submerged most of the city of Srinagar on 21 August. Like a gigantic wave it undulated through the winding lanes of the old city and poured out in a torrent into Lal Chowk, where the Sheikh and his family stood watching from a wooden balcony. “Whatever he (the Sheikh) wants to do with us he can do, whatever he wants will be done,” they shouted, going into a frenzy every time Sheikh Abdullah appeared on the balcony and fighting for the flowers that he smilingly threw down to them. What the Sheikh wanted on 21 August was that the people accept his son's leadership just as they had accepted his.

The procession started at the National Conference headquarters, Mujahid Manzil, at 3 pm and took nearly five hours to cover a distance of a few kilometres. Carried by the tide of people, Farooq Abdullah stood in an open truck, accepting garlands from the crowd, throwing them back: his obvious happiness seemed to have a touch of disbelief. Later, while making his presidential speech at Iqbal Park he said that he had been overwhelmed by the love that the people had shown him that day, and felt he would not be able to return it even in a hundred lifetimes. “I pledge to you that I would rather give my life than betray you—*jan de doonga par is kaum ki izzat sey kabhi nahin kheloonga*.”

The Sheikh's critics and political opponents called the occasion a coronation. And indeed there was more than a slight touch of royalty in the way the Sheikh's family stood on



The lion and his cub: the kings of Kashmir's political jungle

their balcony and accepted the adulation of the crowd. The procession and the festivities were also of the kind that greet conquering heroes and the crowning of kings. But if it was a coronation, it will go down as the first democratic coronation in history, because it was as if Sheikh Abdullah had asked all the people of Kashmir, and not just members of his political party, the National Conference, to accept the new leader.

Right from the beginning, when he first mentioned his son as a successor a few months ago, he had asked for the people's assent—in the manner of a patriarch perhaps, but ask he did. After saying his *namaaz* on one Friday afternoon at Hazratbal, Sheikh Abdullah had turned to the crowd around him and said that he was now old and therefore felt that he should hand over some of his responsibilities to a younger man. Could they suggest anyone? "Farooq Abdullah" someone shouted, and the crowd took up the cry. It was a bit orchestrated, of

course; this was the answer the Sheikh wanted to hear.

Once again, on 21 August, he asked them to show their approval by "painting the valley red" with flags. They complied. Taxis flew them as did scooters and private cars. Shops flaunted them, and strung them like streamers across streets. Little children waved them and shouted *Sher-e-Kashmir zindabad*. Pavement hawkers planted them among their wares. It was as if the red flag ('red for the blood of our martyrs, the plough for the tillers to whom Sheikh Sahib gave the land') were ballot papers in a strange kind of open vote.

Hazratbal has been an important backdrop to the Sheikh Abdullah legend. For almost his entire fifty-year-old political life he has come here to pray on Fridays. It is here that he meets the ordinary people: the women who come with sick children who they think he can cure, the old people with petitions and complaints, and those who come merely to see the man who

has already become part of Kashmiri folklore. It was an apt place to begin a fresh *vox populi*.

I asked an old man whether he thought the Sheikh was trying to impose his son on the people, and he replied that this was nonsense. "We want Farooq because he is a good man. Go and look in the bazaar, every shop has a red flag. We want him not just because he is the Sheikh's son, but because he is an able man. He sits with the people, talks to them—*logon ka dard samajhta hai* (he understands the pain people feel)."

I must have talked to at least a hundred people in Srinagar's dilapidated and crumbling interior city, and I did not meet one person who disapproved of what was happening, or one person who said he had been forced to put up a flag.

A man selling vegetables from a roadside stall said he had bought the flag for five rupees and had put it up to show that he loved Sheikh Abdullah. A photographer called

'The Hindu press distorts deliberately'

Is there a conspiracy to create a gulf between Kashmir and the rest of the country? Kashmiris seem to think there is. They believe that although plebiscite and Pakistan are no longer dominant political issues, the impression that they are is deliberately created by the press.

Kashmiris of various political complexions seemed very sensitive about the fact that although Kashmir had changed, the rest of India's attitude towards it had not. To quote Abdul Ghani Lone, president of the People's Conference, "In Kashmir they say—*Sheikh ney kashka khencha phir bhi yeh Dilli waley khush nahi hain* (The Sheikh has put a *tilak* on his forehead and even this doesn't convince Delhi)." He added that he was called a secessionist even though he had been with the Congress party for most of his political life, and had even been a cabinet minister in a Congress government. "And why am I called secessionist? Because if I say that the state should have full autonomy they think I mean secession. If I say that Russian troops in Afghanistan are a threat to Pakistan, they say I'm pro-Pakistani."

Farooq Abdullah said that the press deliberately presented a wrong picture because it was controlled by vested interests which wanted to make sure that the gulf between Kashmir and the rest

of the country remained.

Maulvi Farooq of the Awami Action Committee at first refused to speak to me because, as he said, "Whatever I say you will distort. Hindus control the press in India just as Jews do in the western world."

A National Conference political worker showed me a list of correspondents of major newspapers. Most of them were Kashmiri *pandits*, and there was only one Muslim in the list. "In a state where 70 per cent of the population is Muslim, can they find no Muslim journalists?"

Mr Lone said that one of the most serious cases of distortion by the national press was in covering the incident involving army *jawans* and some local people in July last year. "On the first day when the army went berserk and beat up people, including policemen, there was almost nothing mentioned in the newspapers. But the next day when a few Hindu shops were burned down, it became headline news."

One of the other distortions, according to local people, is the depiction of the Jamaat-e-Islami as a force to reckon with. Except for the Jamaat itself, nobody thinks of it as a party with any kind of powerful following. Even in the university, which is supposed to be its stronghold, the vice-chancellor, Mr Wahidudin Malik, said, "The

majority of students do not have sympathies with the Jamaat. They merely have a few workers who are very active." Mufti Sayeed, the Pradesh Congress Committee (I) chief said, "After Bhutto's execution, they (the Jamaat) have lost whatever mass base they had."

Kashmiris believe that there has been a lot of natural integration with India over the years, and the creation of Bangladesh and Bhutto's execution have put an end to most pro-Pakistani sentiment. But they also feel that India continues to treat Kashmir like a colony, where every political move has to be watched with suspicion. Muzaffar Baig, of the People's Conference, said, "The ruling party at the centre should not treat Kashmir like a colony any more, or, for that matter, treat it like a favourite child. They must allow the growth of a natural political process. In 1953, the Sheikh did represent the legitimate interests of the people of Kashmir, and he was removed. Since then there has been a progressive estrangement of the Kashmiris."

Although pro-Pakistani feeling has almost tangibly diminished, there is a great deal of anti-India feeling still, much of it for valid, historical reasons. The centre and the national press seem to be doing everything in their power to keep this alive.

Tariq Firdaus said he was putting up flags outside his shop to show that he wanted Farooq Abdullah to succeed the Sheikh. Outside the Jama Masjid, which is considered a stronghold of opposition leader Maulvi Farooq, people said Sheikh Abdullah was the only leader in Kashmir. When asked what they thought about Mrs Gandhi they reacted sharply and said that she was a leader "only in India." Most people in the poorer sections of the city felt that the Sheikh symbolised Kashmir. Some said that they knew that his *chamchas* were making money, but felt that he was the only leader they could trust and the only one with the interests of Kashmir in his heart.

On the more posh side of the city, where the 'educated' reside, it was hard to find anyone who supported the Sheikh. A retired civil servant who asked to be described as a "politically illiterate citizen," said of the convention, "It is a vulgar display, and I see in it the signs of a swansong for the Sheikh." Others called it a coronation and charged the Sheikh with family rule and nepotism.

Opposition leaders were expectedly disparaging. Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq said, "If he is a popular leader, why does he need this kind of show? I condemn the *tamasha*, but the party has a right to choose its own president." Congress(I) leader Mufti Sayeed said, "What is there in this? Any party can mobilise at least forty thousand people. He is least popular in Srinagar, and the election results show this. Opposition candidates lost by very small margins."

Abdul Ghani Lone, president of the People's Conference, said, "It is not a sign of the Sheikh's growing popularity though that's the impression he would like to give. This was organised with two objectives—one, to show New Delhi how popular he is, and two, because he wants to show dissenters in his own party, like (son-in-law) G. M. Shah, what he is capable of. In fact, about 70 per cent of the flags were put up by his own people and others were coerced into putting them up."

More popular or less popular, saint or tyrant, Sheikh Abdullah dominates Kashmiri politics today in exactly the same way as he has done for fifty years. Charges of corruption, nepotism, family rule seem to hold no water with the people. In any case, corrupt governments are not a new feature in Kashmir. With Sheikh Abdullah the people at least feel that he represents Kashmir. Also, it is not easy for them to believe that a man who has spent 22 years in jail for his principles could really be just another corrupt politician.

The Sheikh also has on his side the fact that the state has achieved remarkable progress since he took over in 1975. It has now a growth rate of 6.5 per cent which is higher even than Punjab. Foodgrain and fruit production has more than doubled



The worthy son is kissed by his mother, Mrs Abdullah

since 1975—foodgrain has gone up from 9.75 lakh tonnes to 14 lakh tonnes, and fruit production from 2.5 lakh tonnes to 4.50 lakh tonnes. The Sheikh listed some of his government's other achievements during his speech at Iqbal Park. He said that the total revenue of the state had risen from Rs 422 crores in 1975 to Rs 641 crores. Income from handicrafts had risen from Rs 20 crores to Rs 70 crores. Area under irrigation had gone up from 1.75 lakh hectares to 2.75 lakh hectares.

In addition, of course, there is the tourist boom. The two 'off season' months, July and August, have now developed their own attraction: this is the time when foreigners come, and the number of foreigners visiting the state has doubled. (Among them this year was Rolling Stone star Mick Jagger.) Altogether 7 lakh people visited Kashmir last year compared to 1.75 lakhs in 1975. Srinagar has prosperity and progress written all over it and is unrecognisable to those who visited the city before 1975.

What more can people want than a living legend who even manages to deliver the goods, or at least appears to do so. The result is, of course, that the Sheikh today faces a fairly

Liliputian opposition, despite the fact that in 1977 their combined vote was around 55 per cent.

The Congress(I) has unintentionally done more to strengthen the Sheikh's position than anyone else. Whatever popularity he may have lost in his first two years of chief ministership he has regained since his confrontation with Mrs Gandhi. Even Kashmir's opposition leaders felt that she was wrong to think she could treat Sheikh Abdullah as if he were "Zail Singh or Gundu Rao." The PCC(I) chief, Mufti Sayeed, feels that there has been, since Mrs Gandhi's visit in July, a sort of truce, whereas before there was an atmosphere of total confrontation. Sheikh Abdullah, on the other hand, told me there was no truce because there had never been a fight.

According to Mr Sayeed, "Indiraji's coming here has worked against us. People feel since even she had to go and see him he must be very powerful." He feels that the Sheikh's government has achieved nothing and has wasted too much money on non-productive projects like an underground sports complex and a Rs 20 crore Assembly building. About why the Congress(I) was not able to make more impact, he said there was a lot of anti-India feeling in the state which the Sheikh used against them. According to another Congress(I) man, Maulana Itefkar Hussain Ansari, "When we talk about integration with India he calls us *Hindustan key tattoo and Azadi key saudagar*. But then he gets up and says the same things himself." Mr Ansari was formerly in the Janata party and contested against Begum Abdullah for the Lok Sabha.

Of the regional opposition parties, the one that presents the most rational image is Abdul Ghani Lone's People's Conference which was started two years ago. Mr Lone was with the Congress party between 1967 and 1976 when he was expelled because he objected to Congress party tactics of trying to obstruct the Sheikh's functioning as chief minister. According to him, he then joined the National Conference at the Sheikh's request but left in three months because he felt a sense of "suffocation." He joined the Janata party in 1977 before forming his own party.

The People's Conference does not want secession, but does demand full autonomy as existed before 1953. The party's vice-president, Muzaffar Bagi, says, "We believe that Kashmir is a part of India, we are glad that it is, but we believe that there are certain legitimate interests of the people of this state which should be protected." He added that any state with the kind of "historical fears" that Kashmir has had should be protected by an instrument like Article 370.

Bagi is an articulate, intelligent young advocate who returned from Harvard Law School and ran for Parliament from Baramulla constituency in the last election. He said he had not

An old man said: "We want Farooq because he is a good man—*logon ka dard samajhta hai...*"

Not one person disapproved of what was happening, or said he had been forced to put up a flag.



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'We shall live and die with India'

Tavleen Singh interviewed Farooq Abdullah



Farooq with supporters. "I am here to serve the people"

Q: Why did you decide to go into politics?

A: I suppose it was inevitable since I was born in a political family.

Q: Did you expect the kind of response from the people that you got yesterday?

A: What I expected was quite different to what I got, and to tell you the truth it frightened me....I only hope I will be able to live up to their expectations.

Q: What do you say to the charge that this is a coronation and not a convention?

A: To those who say it I can only say that I am here to serve the people and not to sit on a throne.

Q: Do you expect to be chief minister?

A: The decision isn't mine, it is the people who will decide.

Q: Are you planning for a mid-term election?

A: The party working committee has to go into the matter, but we are ready for an election any time.

Q: At the convention a resolution has been passed on reverting to pre-1953 laws in the state. What are the implications of this, where India is concerned? Would it mean that Kashmir would handle everything except defence, foreign affairs and communications?

A: I don't know if it means a return to that. A committee was set up by the assembly to go into laws made between 1953 and 1975; I think they've completed their work, but I haven't gone into it. What I do

know is that it will not affect our relationship with the rest of the country—we are a part of India, we shall live with India and we shall die with India. We shall do nothing which will in any way weaken our relationship with the rest of the motherland.

Q: Do you feel that there is a conspiracy to malign Kashmir and present a wrong picture?

A: Yes, there are vested interests interested in maligning Kashmir, and it serves the purpose of these vested interests to create a gulf between this state and the rest of India by constantly raising the bogey of Pakistan. The people of Kashmir will never become Pakistani, but the press is controlled by these vested interests.

Q: Now that you are president of the National Conference, what will be your priorities for the party?

A: First I would like to understand my party better. Then I will set up a new working committee and prepare my party for the next elections.

Q: So it will be state politics in future?

A: Yes. I shall miss the wider horizons of Parliament.

Q: What do you feel should be the priorities for Kashmir?

A: I feel industrialisation is very important: providing employment. Also, I would like to improve our relations with the rest of the country.

been attracted by the National Conference because he thought the Sheikh was feudal and autocratic. He also felt the need for regional opposition parties in the state because people were suspicious of central parties for valid, historical reasons. Baig was jailed in 1966 for agitating for an independent Kashmir but now believes that the real problems of the state are economic ones.


Maulana Maulvi Farooq, who heads the Awami Action Committee, is the head priest of Kashmir and comes from a hereditary line of mirwaizes that goes back 400 years. There is a slightly hysterical edge to his manner of speaking which seems to have come from years of religious oratory. Everything he says is tinged with Islam. He says he wants India and Pakistan to solve their problems through negotiations under the Simla Agreement. When I asked him if he believes there should be a plebiscite he replied, "What is there is there. I want to solve the problems, not create further ones."

He feels that the Sheikh's stature has been unnecessarily increased because Delhi "feels Sheikh Abdullah is Kashmir," and adds that the people of Kashmir have never been allowed proper democracy. In 1977 he supported the Janata party; he admits that the 1977 election was the freest the state had witnessed. His party is now thinking of going into electoral politics instead of merely offering support. The mirwaiz is said to be influential in several Srinagar constituencies. According to him, "We are the main opposition party with a mass base."

The only opposition party in the state that still talks openly about plebiscite is the Jamaat-e-Islami, but even they have begun to pull their punches. Saif-ud-din Qari, *Naib-e-amir* (or vice president), said, "We believe in it only because we feel that this arms race and constant friction between India and Pakistan should stop. The problem is only Kashmir, so why not settle it once and for all?"

The Jamaat lost a lot of support after Bhutto was hanged. Their followers were attacked, and houses were burned down, but, according to Qari, they have regained and increased their strength in the past year or so. "We have the Kashmiri intelligentsia on our side, because we are the only party with character and principles." He was honest enough to admit, however, that while the Sheikh was alive, nobody could threaten him. Especially not in the villages. "Once he goes, there will be a tremendous change."

As things stand, however, "tremendous change" does not appear to be on the state's political agenda. It is more than likely that the Sheikh will go for an early election (elections are not due till 1983) to strengthen his son's position and the chances of his losing an election are, at the moment, about the same as Mrs Gandhi's in the rest of India. Things look good for Dr Farooq Abdullah.



Diary of a Dark Calcutta

The power problem in Calcutta is not simply a matter of production and supply: if it were just that, things would have been much better by now. The real problem is careless politicians, incompetent bureaucrats and irresponsible trade unions who join forces to keep the people of Calcutta in misery. The story of what happened between 17 and 19 August is amazing for the sheer criminal mismanagement we saw: a holidaying chief minister and the total lack of direction in the ministry of power in his absence. If the story were not so cruel, it might even be funny. SAUMITRA BANERJEE reports.

The Santaldih power plant broke down on the very day it was inaugurated by Mrs Indira Gandhi in October 1973. In fact, it broke down the very moment the inauguration ceremony was over and an embarrassed West Bengal State Electricity Board (WBSEB) management was forced to admit that the machine was defective. But things at the seven-year-old Santaldih power plant have never been as bad as they were between 19 and 23 August (a period incidentally when chief minister and power minister Jyoti Basu was in Europe on holiday). All four of Santaldih's power generation units had to be shut down for 85 hours. Even Calcuttans, who think that a few hours without electricity is perfectly normal, could not take it. The city was totally dark: for instance, a colleague who drove down from the airport to south Calcutta (a 40-minute drive) did not see a single electric bulb burning at 8.30 pm. Why? Because of criminal mismanagement by politicians and bureaucrats, abetted by irresponsible trade unions.

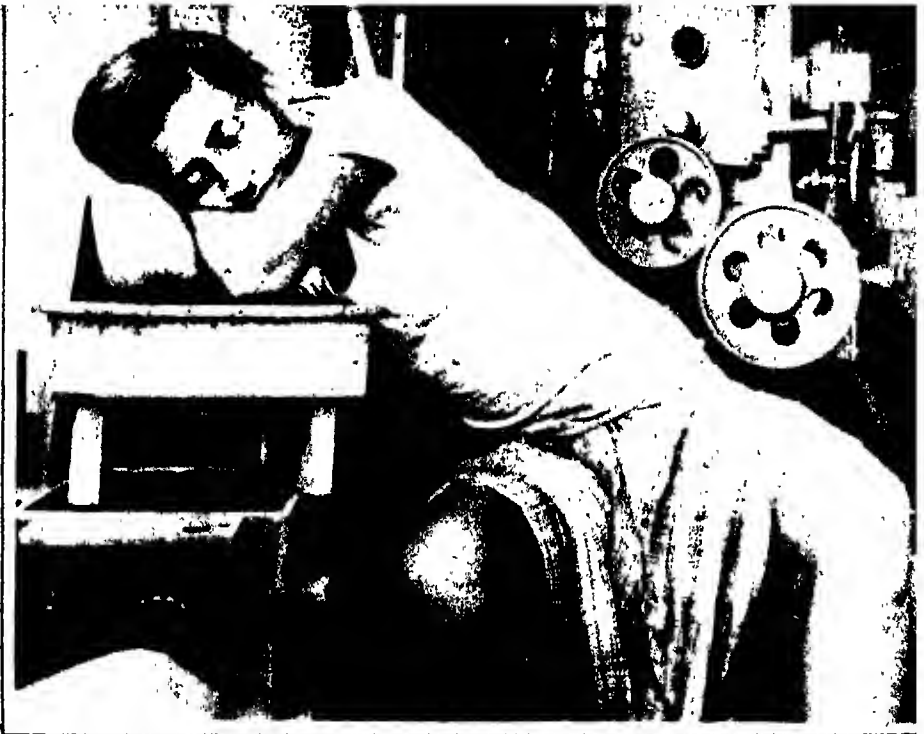
On 6 August chief minister Jyoti Basu left on a holiday to Europe. (While he was in London there was a power breakdown, but that's another story.) After he left, Mr Krishnapada Ghosh, who is the labour minister, took over as the acting chief minister.

The problem, however, began on 17 August, when Calcutta suffered one of the severest spells of darkness it has perhaps known in normal times. There was little light, less water; industrial production was hampered; people suffered. Why? The first answer was labour problem at Santaldih. During an inspection to the power station on 11 and 12 July, Mr Basu had for himself seen the shocking financial waste in an old racket: overtime. Employees were charging eight hours' overtime for barely one or two hours of work. He had left instructions with the WBSEB authorities that work should be strictly monitored and overtime reduced to the minimum. This, according to Mr Ghosh, was the reason for the workers' agitation, thereby lowering power generation. Added to the crisis at Santaldih was the fact that power generation at Bandel (WBSEB's only other power plant) was poor and DVC had contributed little power during the day. The official shortfall during the morning was 133 MWs and 63 MWs in the evening: Calcutta needs about 530 MWs a day; a normal day of loadshedding sees a shortfall of 60 to 95 MWs.

By the next day, 18 August, the power situation had worsened: Calcutta and its districts were reeling. Santaldih, which has the capacity to produce 480 MWs, produced only 55 MWs. Parts of the city went without power for as long as 14 hours and power cuts even affected the hospitals. A hassled

Krishnapada Ghosh then called up the chief minister in Zurich. How should he handle the crisis? Would the chief minister please instruct him? Mr Basu's reply was brief: deal firmly with the labour problem, he said. Throughout the day the labour minister held emergency meetings in the chief minister's room with power officials and member (generation) WBSEB, Mr P. K. Ghosh and a number of reasons for the power crisis began to emerge: no, labour trouble was not the only reason for the tremendous shortfall; wet coal (of the middling variety) from Sudamdih, which had become sticky because of the monsoons, was choking the shafts leading to the boilers. Besides, there were not adequate stocks of coal at the plant and performance of the coal handling plant was dismal. According to Mr P. K. Ghosh, of the 38 wagons of coal which should have been unloaded every day, only 18 were being loaded for the past few days. The workers, he said, were not taking their job seriously. Besides, unit II of the plant was running into mechanical problems. By the end of the day, no solution to the problem had been reached; only a few proposals had been made: power supply to the industries would be reduced and the power diverted to the domestic sector. Mr N. C. Bose, chairman of WBSEB, informed the government that arrangements were being made to get additional supplies of coal from Parvelia, about 70 kms from Santaldih, in order to build up a ground stock of 50,000 tonnes.

But the final blow came on 19 August, when after generating 105 MWs of power in the morning, all the plants at Santaldih had to be shut down. At 3.05 pm, unit IV was shut down, at 9.34 pm unit II was shut down and three minutes later, unit I followed. The only other unit, unit III, had been 'put out' since 6 June for annual overhauling. The reason for shutting down the units: the stock of light diesel oil at Santaldih, which is used for starting the boilers and supplementing the use of coal, had been exhausted. Mr N. C. Bose went into lengths to explain that this had not been anticipated as much more light diesel oil had been used to run the three units because of the problem of wet coal. All that the labour minister did was to describe the situation as "strange" and "scandalous" and for the first time blamed the entire crisis on the management of the WBSEB. And in order to supply more power to the domestic sector, more power cuts were imposed on the industries during the day. The WBSEB, however, hastily set about rectifying the situation: arrangements were made to get light diesel oil by trucks from Budge-Budge and on the same day a consignment of oil in wagons was despatched from New Japlaiguri. At a hurried meeting between WBSEB and railway officials, it was decided that the movement of oil wagons would get top priority. Further, manning of the coal unloading plant was strengthened to quicken the p... loading and



D. P. SENGU

A worker relaxes as machines grind to a halt during a power cut

the chief engineer (thermal) of WBSEB immediately proceeded to Santaldih to supervise the operations.

Calcuttans could do little but to endure the situation: those who got more than four hours of electricity throughout the day, considered themselves to be lucky. Finally, the central electricity authority, on a request from the state government, arranged to supply power to West Bengal from Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, while DVC and DPL came to the rescue by providing four to five hours of power during the day. The government, however, claimed that the shortfall was only 161 MWs.

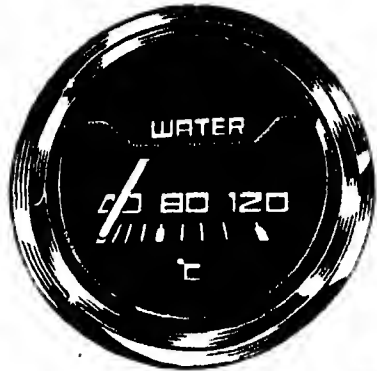
Throughout 20 August, there was no generation from Santaldih, while Mr N. C. Bose spent a busy day preparing a report on the crisis. Mr Shankar Gupta, the political secretary of the CM, and Mr P. K. Ghosh proceeded to Santaldih for an on-the-spot survey and to prepare a report for the CM. Mr Pramode Dasgupta, the CPI(M) chief, for the first time since the crisis began, told reporters in Calcutta that the agitation of the workers was deplorable and would not get the support of the government. However, 3,200 tonnes of coal were unloaded at the plant during the day

On 21 August, for the third day in

A dentist extracts a tooth in the light of a lantern



TARAPADA BANERJEE



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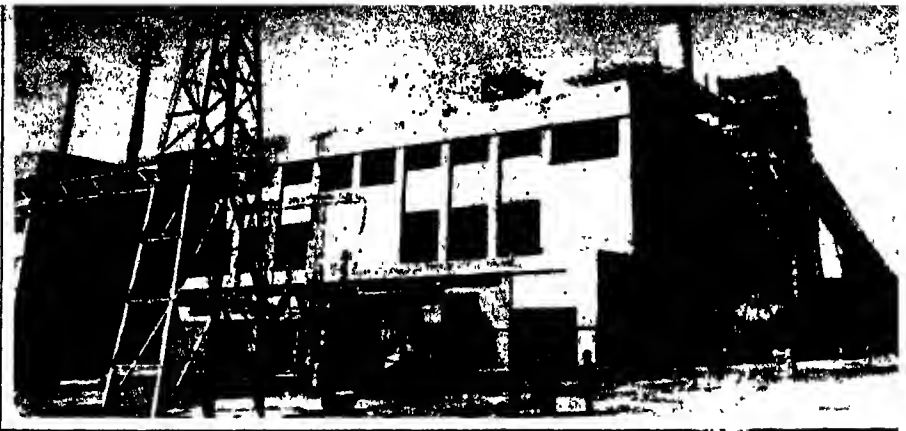
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succession, there was no generation of power from Santaldih. However, 200 kilolitres of light diesel oil arrived in trucks in the morning and for the first time in 80 hours, an attempt was made to light up unit II. It failed because of mechanical trouble. But with the arrival of 70 wagons of oil at 7.30 pm and the unloading of 68 wagons of coal, unit IV was finally fired in the evening. But it was not until the early hours of the next morning that it started generating power.

Even on 23 August, with a 120 MWs unit working at Santaldih (it was generating only 70 MWs), supply of power remained low. By the evening, however, unit II which had been fired in the morning, started generating power. But life in Calcutta remained the same: almost all parts of the city went without power for long periods and there was even a 15-minute power failure at the Raj Bhawan. At Sealdah and Howrah, train services were stopped for an hour and it took three hours before normal service could be resumed. The situation was further compounded by a breakdown in the supply of power from Durgapur and the supply of power from DVC and Bandel was suspended for two hours.

In the meanwhile, as reports started filtering in that the crisis in Santaldih was due to labour problems, the atmosphere among the workers grew tense. On 21 August, workers at Santaldih held a meeting outside the gates of the plant protesting against this charge and instead claimed that the management had deliberately fed the news of labour trouble to the state government and press "in order to malign the workers and cover up its own faults." The crisis, they said, revealed the lack of coordination between the plant management and the head office at Diamond Harbour Road in Calcutta. Mr Parimal Dasgupta, general secretary of the WBSEB employees union charged the management of total failure in anticipating the situation and said that there was no labour trouble among the workers. On 23 August, in a surprising turn of events, the WBSEB authorities admitted that there was no agitation and go-slow on the overtime issue. What then was the cause of the crisis and who was to blame? Who had informed the state government that the power crisis was due to labour problems?

The WBSEB cites two reasons for the shutdown of the units: first, that the coal was wet and there was inadequate supply of it and second, which is a corollary of the first, that excessive oil consumption was due to the wet coal which could not be used to run the units. Why was there an inadequate supply of coal? The WBSEB authorities say that building up of a coal stock is difficult as it depends for its supplies on Coal India Ltd, the railways and availability of road transport. But these reasons are hardly tenable in view of the fact that there was no delay in the supply of coal by the CIL or the railways. Be-



The Santaldih power plant

sides, the capacity for storing coal at Santaldih is one lakh tonnes. Yet, the normal stock of coal at any time at Santaldih does not exceed 13,000 tonnes. When the average amount of coal needed for generating 100 MWs of electricity is 1,200 tonnes, should not the authorities have made sure that there was enough to generate electricity for at least 15 days?

Besides, this is not the first time that there has been a shortage of coal. On 23 February 1979, a unit had to be closed down due to the shortage of coal. Again, on 4 April 1981, generation had hit a record low of 150 MWs from three units because of the same problem. Surely, the WBSEB had enough warning of such a situation arising. True, some amount of labour problem had been there. In August on an average 26 wagons of coal were unloaded every day, while 50 wagons should have been unloaded. Again, this was not unexpected. This trend had been visible for the past two months: the average for June was 37 wagons per day, while in July it was 32 wagons per day.

As far as the problem of wet coal is concerned, the authorities say that the generation on 17 August was low because the wet middling coal from Sudamdih, 15 kms away from Santaldih, collected dirt and became sticky, thus clogging the shaft leading to the boilers with dirt. True, but why did they react so late to the problem? It was only on 19 August, after the units had been shut down that the authorities conferred with the railways and requested them to stop the supply of Sudamdih coal and give them some other coal instead. Besides, the monthly consumption of coal at Santaldih is around 70,000 tonnes. Of this 50,000 to 60,000 tonnes come from collieries like Andal and Bhojudih, which does not cause any problem. It is fair to put the entire blame on the Sudamdih coal? Again, both on 10 and 11 August, the attention of the authorities had been drawn to the dismal coal situation, but the authorities had failed to react.

What finally led to the closure of the three units was the exhaustion of Santaldih's stock of light diesel oil. Yet this was not really unexpected. Note the high rate of oil consumption in the week preceding the shut down: the average oil consumption was 130 kls

per unit per day, while the normal oil consumption is 40 to 50 kls per unit per day. Besides, how is it that the authorities had no idea of how much oil there was at Santaldih? Mr P. K. Ghosh, member (generation) on the board of WBSEB, had visited Santaldih between 15 and 17 August but had no idea of the poor oil stock at the plant. On the day he left for Calcutta there were about 450 kls of oil in each of the two tankers, which have a capacity of 3,750 kls each. Normally, an alarm should have been sounded when the oil stock reached a minimum level of 2,000 kls per tanker, with 450 kls in each tank being "dead stock" or oil which cannot be used due to its high sediment content. On the day the units were shut down, the oil stock was as low as 417 kls and 303 kls in the two tankers. A reason extended for not knowing the amount of oil in the tankers is that the authorities had not been able to judge the amount of sediment collected at the bottom of the tanks. For this the WBSEB authorities must take the blame: none of the tankers had been cleaned for the past six years, though they are supposed to be cleaned every month! The WBSEB authorities clearly failed to judge the situation.

This of course does not mean that the workers were not to blame. Ever since the CPI(M) government came to power, union rivalries have increased hampering work to a large extent. There are as many as 22 unions at Santaldih and as an official commented: "When there is so much of unionism, the atmosphere for work is not there and there are delays and hold ups." The fact that the wagons of coal were being unloaded at a dismal rate was entirely due to the fact that there was a go slow among the workers to get more overtime. The officials of the power ministry too must take a share of the blame and not put the entire blame on the workers and the management. After all, should they not have been aware of the deepening crisis at Santaldih, instead of setting up an inquiry after the units had been shut down? It was finally criminal mismanagement by the WBSEB authorities, coupled with inefficiency in the power ministry and irresponsible trade unionism that led to the crisis at Santaldih. ■

India is dangerously dependent on Mrs Gandhi

I was recently in Delhi and stayed there for about four weeks—the longest stay for me in the capital since Mrs Gandhi came back to Delhi in 1980. The stay provided me the opportunity to find out what many 'important' and 'unimportant' Delhiwallahs have been thinking. According to all of them there is no immediate alternative to Mrs Gandhi. They admitted that because of her the Congress(I) has the highest percentage of popular votes—higher than any other political leader or party of the country. In her party and the country's administrative setup, almost each and every man of importance is scared of her—none of them know how she is going to react and how she is going to tackle a situation or even why something was done or not done. There is indeed a vast gap between the leader and the team. No one dares to question her or even talk freely with her. Almost everyone is of the opinion that it is very difficult (if not impossible) to administer such a vast country properly and boldly and go ahead rapidly with any programme of economic development in such style. They felt that the Congress(I) and Mrs Gandhi's government is losing support even amongst the poorer sections of people of Delhi.

Whenever I visit Delhi, I try to talk to get the views of the common man. This time I did the same thing, although it was after a gap of five months. I was surprised to see how rapidly they have gone against the Congress(I) and the government. They do not abuse Mrs Gandhi nor do they put the entire blame on her—but almost all of them say that the *sarkar* (government) during whose regime prices can go up so rapidly is a *faltu sarkar* (useless government). They said: "Yeh sab Congressi neta aur minister log chor hai. Indiraji sab dekh neyi pati aur bhala aadmi Rajiv ko yeh log darte nehi (All these Congress leaders and ministers are thieves. Mrs Gandhi cannot keep her eye on everything and these thieves are not afraid of Rajiv Gandhi who is a very good man)." The massive preparations going on for the Asian Games have put another idea into the head of the common man in Delhi: crores of rupees are being looted! During the Janata regime I found that the people were under a similar conviction: "Kanti sarkari sona bechke paysa bahar bhej raha hai (Kanti Desai is selling all the



By BARUN SENGUPTA

government's gold and sending the money to a foreign country)." When this rumour spread like wildfire in Delhi, I found to my utter surprise that none of the top Janata leaders were even aware of it. This time too I realised that most of the top Congress(I) leaders were not aware of the "Asian Games loot" rumour.

The 'important' people are also very critical of the government. But they have other reasons. Even top Congress(I) leaders and MPs are bitter. They would never dare to criticise the government in public. In fact, they would rather compete with each other in public to praise it, specially when they are in front of Mrs Gandhi and her son. But commoners talk of their disillusionment openly and boldly.

And if they are asked about an alternative to Mrs Gandhi and her government, no one seems to have an answer. Not even the top opposition leaders. Everyone, rich or poor, admits that there is indeed no alternative to Mrs Gandhi. The rich argue that she should change her style of functioning, bring in more talented people into the government. They also feel that she should give up her attempts at installing Rajiv Gandhi on the Prime Minister's *gaddi* after her. The poor, on the other hand, are not opposed to Rajiv's induction into politics. What they are more interested in is a *kara sashan* (strong administration) and *chore logon ko hatana* (removal of thieves) from the government. They want Rajiv to be *zabardast* (strong). This may appear as "nonsense" to some "in-

A vast majority of the poor and the common people of the country still adore Mrs Gandhi as their queen—a queen with a lot of supernatural powers

tellectuals," because they feel that the common man is under the idea that the "queen and the prince can do no wrong." But this idea does exist in Delhi. All of us might not like it, but a vast majority of the poor and the common people of the country still adore Mrs Gandhi as their queen—a queen with a lot of supernatural powers. They do not mind a monarchy as long as a tyrant is not ruling and as long as all the *mantris* and *amatyas* are under control. Their ideal is Ram Rajya where Ram was nothing but a king!

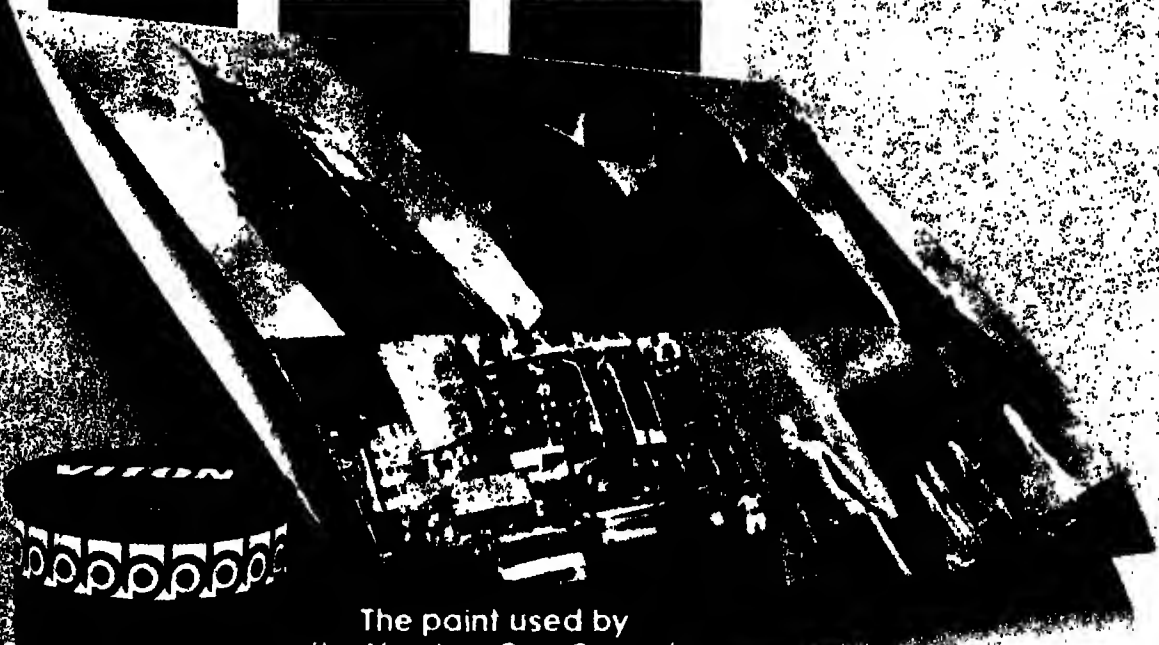
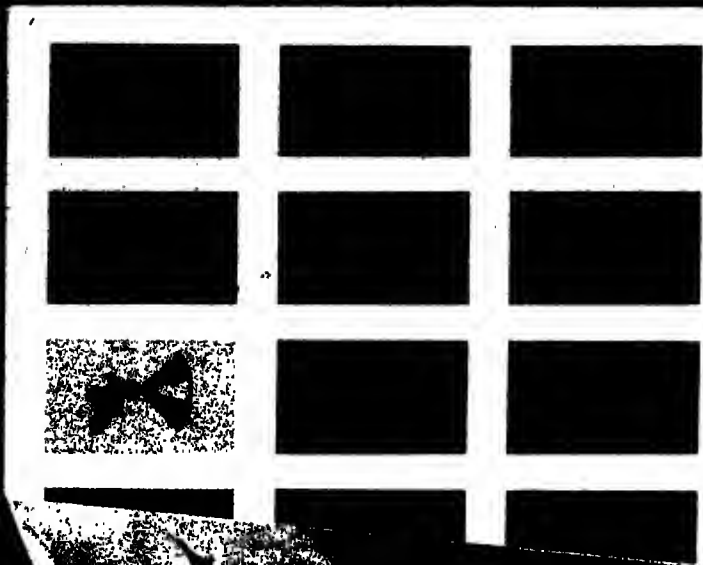
But, argued some of my journalist and bureaucrat friends, can a powerful king or queen administer such a vast country in such a style and such a fashion? Some industrialists and top Congress(I) MPs also posed the same question. I had no answer. Because I do not believe that such a vast, divergent and complex country like ours, can be run in the way it is being done now. There is leadership at the top—and a strong one at that. But what about the lower rungs? Do we not need leadership at every stage—at every village, at every factory, to take the country ahead? Has Mrs Gandhi allowed or encouraged the growth of capable leaders at every stage in her party and administration? Or has she created a situation in which mostly cunning sychophants can prosper? Is it not a fact that everyone in her party and government is scared to take any initiative on any important matter? Do not even the top central ministers or Congress(I) chief ministers have to go to her or her son for approval of any thing of significance that they want to undertake? Is this an ideal situation for such a vast country? Can such a vast country be run only from the top?

Sometime in early 1973, I went to see K. Kamaraj in Madras. He was not very active politically in those days. After a long talk about the "past and present" Mr Kamaraj summed up the situation in his characteristic way: "India—a big country. (He drew something like a huge table-top in the air). Formerly so many pillars. One big pillar, other many small pillars. One, two pillar in every state. Big pillar broken, small pillar (still) there. India alright. Now only one pillar. Very big pillar. But no small pillars on its side. If big pillar broken, dangerous situation".

In 1981, I am afraid, India is more dangerously dependent on that very, very big pillar only.

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The pretenders of the 'national' press

By V. K. Madhavan Kutty

Recently I was asked whether I agreed with the comment that the language press impeded national integration. The discussion was in the Current Affairs feature of the All India Radio. At the very outset I disagreed with this rather drastic generalisation for the simple reason that the 'language' press, by its very nativity, was more national than the English language press. A good deal of my exposition was penciled out from the script by the English language journalist who was the moderator. Either he could not agree with me, or perhaps there wasn't enough broadcasting time.

Much has been said against the Indian language press by the elite English language journalists which neither stand to reason or facts. I am writing this as one who has not 'defected' from paper to paper, a phenomenon so common in the 'national' English language press. It is 'power without responsibility' that is the guiding spirit behind these elitist activities.

Now coming to the question of the role of the Indian language papers, it is essential to go back to the period prior to the independence of the country. Let me legitimately ask if it was the English language papers which stood for the national cause or the Indian language papers? Barring one or two newspapers few English language papers stood for the national cause, while the reverse may be said of the role of the Indian language papers during those days.

Coming to the post-independence era, the allegation is that the Indian language press has impeded national integration. It may be true of some papers in certain Indian languages (here I have in mind some Hindi and Urdu newspapers). But by and large most of the non-Hindi newspapers have a secular structure, and are unfettered by words and sounds arising from a caste or communal culture. On the contrary the Indian language press as a whole has always played its part in bringing about national integration. But if those who make such wild allegations against the Indian language press as a whole are only having

the Hindi press in mind when they talk of the 'language' press, it is, of course, another matter.

Again what is important today is not to categorise the press as 'English' and 'language.' I for one would never say 'English press' and the 'language press' as that would amount to a colonial hangover. I would always say the "English language press" and the "Indian language press." This tendency to categorise the Indian press is seen on the part of the English language press which prides itself as the 'elite press.' Unfortunately, this sentiment is shared by the authorities. The press should be treated as one, the 'Indian press.' It is time to realise that the special position the English language press occupied during the colonial days are gone, and it is time they became part of the "Indian" press.

But unfortunately, the English language press always gets a preferential treatment. May be because of its urban character and the patronage extended to it by bureaucrats, many of whom still feel that speaking or reading an Indian language, even if it is their mother tongue, is below their dignity. Bureaucracy is the constituency of the English language press. Its attitude over the years has made the English language press feel that it is elitist. ("I think we should not be ashamed of being elitist in the sense that we are an elite press. But it is the elite that is ruling in Indian:" *Times of India*, 19 April, Sunday feature "Power without responsibility" in which four English language editors participated.) It is this elitist complex that has made the English language press not see reality.

"She (Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi) is aware that the role of the substantial number of language papers is not helpful. She has never breathed a word against them. On the contrary, it has been her government's policy to assist them by way of allotment of newsprint and advertisement," remarked another English language newspaper editor participating in the above debate. While I do not question his authority to speak for and on behalf of the Prime Minister of India, I do not understand how a responsible editor can describe the

attitude of a newspaper as 'helpful' or otherwise. Newspapers, English language papers included, take a view of things based on their information and what they think is objective. And not based on whether it is helpful or not.

This apart, let us examine the baseless allegation that the Indian language papers were getting preferential treatment at the hands of the government. While making this charge the writer has also observed, that the "information and broadcasting minister said sometime ago about advertisements that he would give preferential treatment to smaller papers as he has been saying about newsprint."

What are the facts? It is my opinion that the Indian language press has always suffered at the hands of the few English language newspapers in the country. In fact, the newspapers owners' organisations and editors' organisations did not come out openly against this preferential treatment meted out to the English language press all these years. Probably, it was because these organisations were all controlled and dominated by the English language papers. The government which is the largest advertiser in the country uses two different sets of criteria in fixing advertisement rates. But here a question arises: Why should the government decide the advertisement rates of newspapers? It is for the newspapers to decide at what rate they should sell their space and it is for the government to accept or reject it. It is not ethical to use their position to dictate rates. But even there, the government uses two different approaches. It has found it convenient to accept a higher rate for the English language paper and a lower rate for the Indian language paper, even if the circulation of the Indian language paper is higher and the "pulling power" stronger than the English language paper.

It is interesting to cite an example here to show how even among English language papers certain papers got a preferential treatment. A lower rate for government advertisement was approved for *The Hindu* published from Madras, while a higher rate for *The Statesman* from Delhi was approved, although the circulation of *The Hindu* was 50,000 and more. The concerned officials explained that *The Statesman* had a bigger "pulling power." It was Mrs Indira Gandhi who put an end to this anomaly when it was brought to her notice while she was the information and broadcasting minister. The "pulling power" logic was thus used by the bureaucracy generally to discriminate against the Indian language press and sometimes even the English language newspapers published from outside Delhi.

Until recently the system of rate fixation based on 'millirate' prevailed under which the English language papers got a higher rate even if the Indian language papers had higher circulation. Now steps have been initiated to put an end to this gross discrimi-

mination by the present information and broadcasting minister. This practice of millirate was a conspiracy by the bureaucrats and the press barons. To give credibility to their machinations they said it was the Indian Society of Advertisers (ISA) which fixed the millirate. ISA was another 'expert body' which was under the influence of the same barons. Thus the wheels within the wheels of the administration always came to the help of these English language papers. The cost factor was another reason for the 'impartiality.' The government and their experts agreed with the English language paper owners that their cost of production was higher than that of language papers. I would argue that it was this preferential treatment from the government over the years and appropriating for themselves large portions of government advertisement, which made them spend more by tempting editors and others to 'defect.' While considering the cost factor, the government should have taken into account whether the salaries and other expenses are incurred according to the law. They should also examine the 'perks' and other facilities offered by the English language press. We have also to examine the amount of money the government spends to buy space in the English language press and compare this to the Indian language press. The English language press with its limited reach gets higher rates for their space than the language papers with a much wider reach. This apart, the government should also review its advertisement policy. For example, why should large amounts of money be wasted in advertising family planning campaigns and national savings campaigns in the English language press which is urban based and has a readership which does not need such education as is imparted through such campaigns. There too, the English language papers get a major share. Again, English language papers, appropriate for themselves better quality newsprint. Giving a paltry concession in the matter of excise duty to smaller newspapers should not agitate the English language press which continues to thrive at the cost of the Indian language press. The organisations like IENS, AINEC etc, are not in a position to do anything about it because, these are also influenced, if not dominated, by these English language press barons.

It is said that the "regional pull and opinion" of a paper partly or largely depends on its readership. Because of the language in which the regional language paper is published the audience is strictly limited linguistically, which makes it harder for that particular newspaper to take an independent line. "Should it not coincide with the views of the majority community?" another elitist English language paper editor asked. I am not going to be one to agree that the English language papers have unlimited audience linguistically. And if I elaborate on this, I

will have to drag in the unpleasant language controversy. And a widely circulated English language paper has lesser reach than a comparable Indian language newspaper. Just because a paper is published in English from a metropolitan city it cannot claim that it has an unlimited readership. Its reach is much narrower than most of the other language papers. Besides, its readership is confined to a section of the population which is largely divorced from the realities of the people, like some of the elitist English newspaper editors.

Now about the 'independent' line pursued by the English language papers. On any subject today the Indian language papers can take legitimate pride that they were and are more objective and fearless. It was particularly evident during the days of the Emergency. The Indian language papers were more free and forthcoming in airing their views. The proximity to power and identification with their 'constituency'—bureaucracy—inhibited most of these 'elite' papers from discharging their responsibilities and making use of their 'power.' In most cases it was fear of power and lack of responsibility.

I would also point out that the Indian language papers which are sis-

Having editions from three or four of our big cities does not make a paper 'national' nor does having a larger circulation among the bureaucracy.

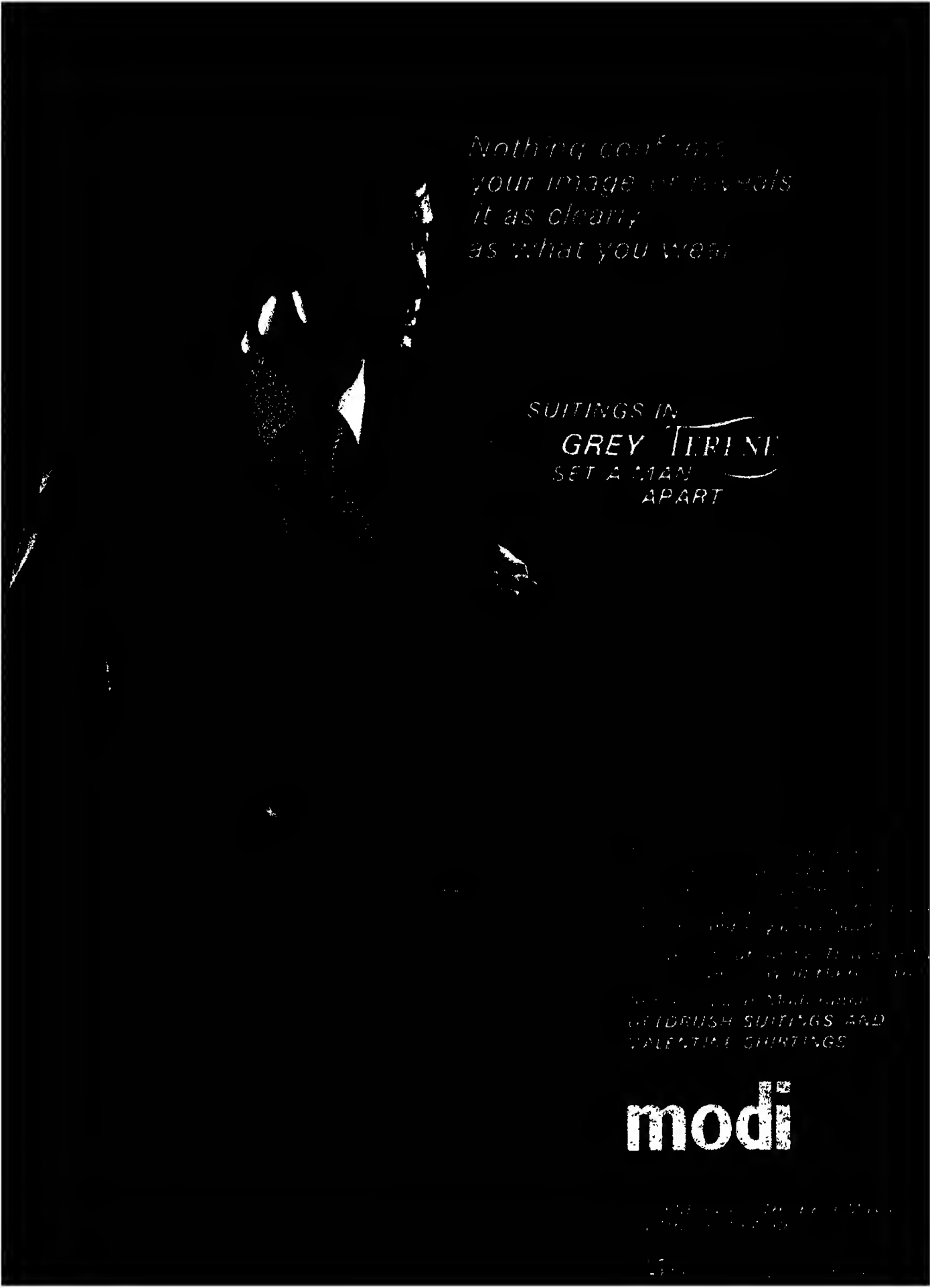
ter publications of the English language newspaper groups also suffer on the same grounds. The government and bureaucracy use two different yardsticks in dealing with these papers and forming their attitudes. Foreign affairs, for instance, is considered to be the exclusive privilege of the English language newspapers, for what reason it is impossible to guess. What I would like to ask is: how many times has the foreign office taken the opinion and views of the Indian language papers and how much is it conditioned by the rhetoric of the English language press in these matters? Even when a foreign policy issue is to be publicised or briefed to the press, it is only the English language papers which are thought of first, while Indian language papers, which also take interest in these matters, occupy a secondary position. The government media has also adopted this approach. Whether it is a debate on gober gas or nuclear energy, it is the same set of experts from the English language press who are taken into consideration.

It is also said against the Indian language press, that it is the economic compulsions of having larger circulations that makes them take certain stances which are contrary to national

integration. Today, can anyone point a finger at the largest circulating Indian language dailies in the country and say they are impeding national integration? English language papers which are situated in the capital or other metropolitan cities are away from realities and it is the Indian language papers which are aware of the real background to a particular development in a particular area. Thus, whether it is the Assam situation, or the Naxalite trouble in Kerala, the Indian language paper is in a better position to cover it objectively than the English language paper, which is away from the centre of events and nearer to those in authority. I do not rule out the possibility of certain vested interests taking advantage of a particular situation when a communal riot or some other similar development occurs. But it does not suit English language papers to say that the Indian language press as a whole is impeding national integration. Indian language papers have a better sense and tradition in these matters. A tendency among the Indian language papers is to consider whatever is reported in English language papers as more authentic. Some Indian language papers thrive in reproducing columns and articles from English language papers. This is wholly unnecessary because in relation to many regional situations, the Indian language paper can do better. One point that is made by the authorities with regard to advertisement rates is that Indian language papers always ask for lower rates. This complex should also be done away with.

We should also recognise that there is no 'national' press in the country. All papers, including those which play below their masthead the "leading national daily," are in reality regional papers. Having editions from three or four of our big cities does not make a paper 'national,' nor does having a larger circulation among the bureaucracy make it 'national.' And no paper can claim it has a nationwide reach or that it has definite influence on the people. There are many instances which substantiate this—a recent one being the prediction of the results of the last general elections. It is time to give up the attitude that an English language paper published from Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta, however small its circulation, is a national paper and an Indian language paper, however large its circulation, is regional and a mere 'language' paper. A paper should be judged by its contents and character.

No one is questioning the need for integration, or for a truly national press. But what the English language press offers today as 'national' news is in fact not so. And with unfair influence and downright rapacity, the English language press is handicapping and incapacitating the growth of the Indian language press, which alone, in the stark logic of history, can become the media base for national integration.



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your image or reveals
it as clearly
as what you wear*

SUITINGS IN
GREY TIERNE
SET A MAN
APART

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Asia really starts in Athens, however much Greece may pretend to be part of Europe. The same airline which slides through acres of space with pinpoint timing in the west, succumbs to the Asian Disease with beguiling unconcern the moment it lands in Athens. TWA's Flight 880, scheduled to take me to Cairo, reached the capital of Greece in time, and then dawdled for all the "legitimate" reasons we know so well—delayed VIP luggage, for one. But we would not have left Athens on time even without this: there was simply lack of coordination between the various elements that process the formalities before an international flight, and punctuality was not an important criterion. The languorous middle-aged lady (TWA staff) at the exit, for instance, kept chattering away to the security people with irritating abandon. Any enquiries were met with that classic, all-time favourite reply, "Just five more minutes." She kept saying "Just five more minutes" for more than half an hour. It was the kind of thing to make one homesick.

The colour of life changes. Greeks themselves are not Aryan-fair; in any case, an Athens-Cairo flight makes you conscious that you are now returning to your own world. So far, the planes I had travelled in had had a sprinkling of brown or a speck of black in a sea of white; now it was brown and black dotted with occasional white: a small group of Hungarians going to Cairo on business, two elderly French couples who looked more like archaeologists than tourists. And there were two drunk, very drunk white sellers who insisted on inviting everyone in the vicinity to go horseriding with them in the afternoon and whoring with them in the night. One of them was English, had gaps in his teeth and colourful tattoos all over his body, could neither read nor write, sang most discordantly, and insisted on disturbing my all-too-diligent reading (he was sitting beside me) with choice descriptions of what precisely he was going to do with Cairo's excellent horses and better prostitutes. Somewhere in his monologue he got confused about what he was going to do to which, then solved the problem by promising to do the same thing to both.

Every young man in Athens keeps trying to look like a classical Greek god, an effort generally sabotaged by the fact that he is wearing brightly coloured undies. Every old man in Athens keeps trying to look like Anthony Quinn.

NOTES FROM ATHENS

BY M. J. AKBAR

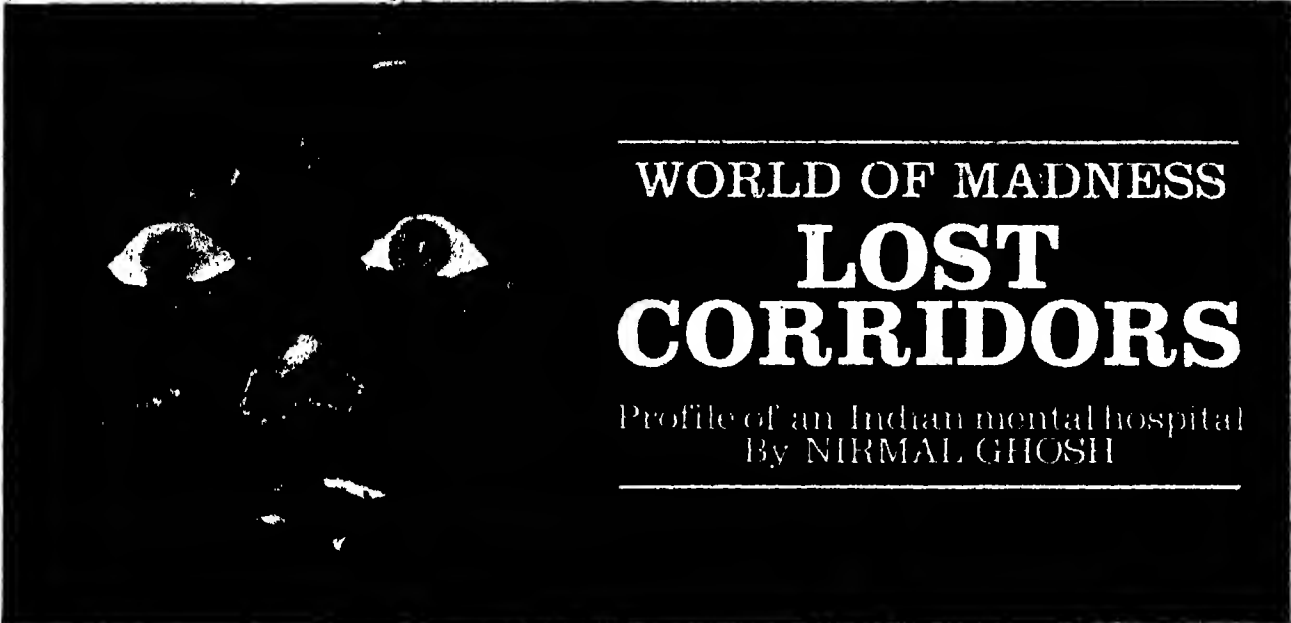
Their common purpose seems to be to attract the vast number of young women tourists roaming the cobbled plazas in various states of undress. They have come out here for the sun, and boy, aren't they going to take their money's worth of it! It is only when one sees so many near-nude bodies in glaring sunlight that one suddenly realises how ugly the human race really is: it is a humbling thought.

The Athenians, like the Calcuttans, love football. While I was there, Aston Villa, the English champions, were scheduled to play AEK, the champions of the Greek league. I could hardly resist the temptation, and dutifully trooped off to the stadium in the suburbs of Athens. The match was to start at nine: nine p.m. in Athens is twilight time in summer; sunset that day was around 8.45. It was a lovely sight. To my left, a still bright sun dropping out of a cloudless blue sky into the hills which are just a shade less blue than the sky or the sea that laps around the city. Clouds of thin smoke, white against the quickly darkening atmosphere, began rising from the stadium: this was not a mist from romance, but just the end result of thousands of Greeks puffing away at their cigarettes in their nervousness. They take their football seriously: and beating the English champions was a matter of honour. The match began: for twenty minutes Aston Villa barely allowed their opponents to touch the ball; it was a 21-man-need-one-goalmouth situation. And then the Greeks touched the ball, and as often happens, took it across and scored the first goal! The packed stadium went crazy: streamers, cheers, floras, songs. The chap next to me kept jiggling in excitement for ages, and kept telling me, "See...brevol! brevol! See English? Champions, pah!... Bravol Bravol!" And so on and so forth. We had introduced ourselves which is why he occasionally informed me in English of his stirring emotions: most of his continuous chatter was in Greek. His name was Socrates end, as he explained, he was a

pert-time philosopher: "What to do...with my nama...have a reputation to maintain..." Among other things, Socrates was convinced that 80 per cent of India was permanently high on drugs end, being an Indian, I would have some hashish in my pockets: I suspect that inspired his initial interest in a brown stranger. I told him no one was on a permanent high in India. "Very good to be patriotic," Socrates replied, "very good..." Incidentally, within a short while Aston Villa equalised in the football match, and then quickly went ahead. The silence that greeted the two goals could be heard miles away. In the dying stages, the Greeks scored again, but I left with the feeling that Aston Villa had drawn the match out of courtesy.

Greece remains imperishable in Gones memory because of what lies outside Athens. The country has nine million people and 140 olive trees (a gift of the goddess Minerva). Then there are the exquisite cypress trees. The Greeks believe that there are two kinds of cypress trees, the male and the female: the female is the one with the open branches. Near every Greek temetery there is a cypress tree: they believe that the soul travels faster to heaven if it goes through its branches. And their ancient architecture! I went to the Akropolis prepared to be bored by the cliché, and returned awed. The temple to Apollo at Dalphi, home of the famous oracle, is another stunning structure: temple, treasuries, a theatre, even a stadium to hold seven thousand, all on the top of a mountain. All this was destroyed by the "civilised" Christian rulers of the Byzantine empire, who raised to dust this "pagan" house of God. One is repeatedly amazed at the creativity, the strength and the vengeance that man displays when he prepares to honour his gods.

One tribe of people I cannot stand is those who inscribe their names on ancient pillars and walls: this is the most egoistic and pointless destruction of art that I can imagine—'Jeetu loves Rekhe' notched on priceless marble crafted with love and talent: ugh! In Greece I discovered the man who could surely be considered the godfather of this tribe of pests. On one of the exquisite columns on Sounion, high on the hill overlooking a perfectly blue Aegean Sea, Byron has cut out his name. Of course Lord Byron loved Greece enough to die there, but this was hardly the way to show his love for the ancients.



WORLD OF MADNESS LOST CORRIDORS

Profile of an Indian mental hospital
By NIRMAL GHOSH

The first thing the patients do is come and touch my feet as I walk into Occupational Therapy. One of them implores me to get him out, and I nod and say I'll see what I can do. There are women sewing in one room; in another room, men are playing carrom, table-tennis and painting. There is music and carpentry equipment available, and no raving lunatics to satisfy public notions—most of the patients are very lucid and manageable.

Next, to the sub-acute male wards. More touching of feet, perhaps because I am with the medical superintendent (MS). Patients crowd around us, jabbering and asking questions, or just staring. The wards are locked, the beds are about 4 feet from each other, with one or two catatonics sitting motionless on them in their own private world. I can't help noticing that none of the lamps in the ceiling have bulbs. If there are any extreme cases going through a bad time, you see him on the floor in his own filth, or you may see someone being subdued after lashing out at an attendant or a fellow-patient, and being dragged away (they use chains in some hospitals) for a tranquilising injection or electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) after which he will be placed in one of the isolation wards: little bare concrete rooms with either a heavy wooden or a cement bed and a primitive toilet.

What strikes me most is the patients' complete servility, a product of being in a 'total institution,' a world by itself. No one is more helpless, dispossessed and degraded than a patient in a hospital—the very fact that he is there implies that he is ill, and whatever he says or does, good or bad, is viewed with absolute suspicion. And



Play therapy for retarded children

there is always ECT. I pass that room now, securely locked. They don't use muscle relaxant or anaesthesia in this hospital, which is why they have had no mortalities at least in the last few years. The absence of these increases the horror, but diminishes the risk. ECT has its proven merits, but its strong critics as well. The cure is best when it is basic: 'the cure is like a ceiling' a psychiatric social worker told me. 'ECT and psychotropic drugs are the pillars that hold up the ceiling.'

On to the female wards, and an attractive young girl, about 25, illustrates a heart-breaking aspect of mental hospitals. She committed a minor crime while mentally unstable, and was transferred from jail to the hospital. She is cured now and wants to go. But nobody wants her. Her husband, who belongs to another community, and who had loved her, doesn't want her. Her in-laws don't want her. Her parents don't want her. And the hospital cannot just dump her on the roadside. So she stays (and she may become disturbed again, surrounded as she is by psychotics). The MS tells me he does not know how to face people like her. She asks him when she can go, and he doesn't have an answer. She asks me, and I despise myself for not knowing either.

A quick look at the kitchen, then the tiny hole in the wall which serves as the barber-shop. 'It is very easy to say the doctors are lousy, the system is lousy, but why is it so?' asks Dr Sethi who I had spoken to earlier. Even the better mental hospitals in India present a picture of unrelieved gloom and depression. What else can you expect when the Act governing the hospital is dated 1912? Since 1950 the Indian

Psychiatric Society has been pressing for a new act. But so far, nothing has come of it

The hospital's services are free—it runs on a grant of around Rs 44 lakhs annually. Each psychiatrist handles an average of 150 patients in 2 to 4 hours every day in the out patient's department (OPD). There are 4 psychiatrists to take care of more than 560 in-patients. There are 77 nurses and 8 medical officers. Every day 2 or 3 patients are discharged, and as many admitted. The hospital's senior psychologist tells me that he handles 20 cases of psychotherapy a month, with each patient needing 3 hours of work. So quality goes out of the window, and psychologist learn short-cuts like analysing a patient through his or her letters.

Food is, to say the least, not very good: where is the money to provide good food? Mail is censored, though hospital staff won't use that word. Follow-up treatment after a patient has been discharged is virtually non-existent because there is no one to do it. So a number of ex-patients periodically have to be re-admitted: the 'revolving door' syndrome.

Male and female patients are sepa-



The depressing psychiatric ward

rated, but there are social occasions like movies, television, sing-alongs and the odd picnic. Even for an 'open plan' hospital, recreation of this type is all too rare. Individual therapy, let alone group therapy, is an event.

There are two basic ways for a patient to be admitted—voluntarily or involuntarily (through the police for instance). Once in, they are allowed visitors if it does not upset them. All this in one of the better, slightly more progressive hospitals. The worse ones are, well, infinitely worse.

Mental patients are human beings. They are for the most part frightened and confused, conditions make them servile and cringing. They are not sub-human. They are not monsters. However manic some may become occasionally, they are just very very ill, and need looking after, with proper treatment. They do not need dismal, dehumanising conditions and slapdash treatment. Why run away from what goes on behind those closed doors and dumb windows at a mental hospital? Inside there are doctors and nurses trying their best. The brutal fact is that their best is not good enough, because their hands are tied. And society has helped to tie them.

BLIND HORIZONS

A report on the laws governing madness



An inmate: lost in his own world

The world is frightening if you're schizophrenic. You walk the floor of an ocean, through past and future colliding with brilliant colours. Everything around you moves, even buildings and tables. Everyone is talking to you at once about different things. There are voices where there are no people; animals, tables, chairs, buildings and people where there is really nothing but empty space. You don't know what to do, where to hide, which way to run. And you are frightened. Because you know you are insane.

Step into an Indian mental hospital. Step into twilight. You immediately become less than a human being, because you are sick, crazy, mad, insane, you have reached the depths. If you are docile you are left alone, hoping you will get to see the psychiatrist. If you are overexcited, they put 110 volts through your brain, end to end. And you are carried out more dead than alive. You don't know who you are for the next hour or so. You don't know your own name. They have made you forget it, by putting electricity through your brain...

The main tragedy is the name and date of the law that governs the system in India. The choice of phrase is unfortunate: it is called the Indian Lunacy Act. A glance at the date partly explains this. The date is 1912. Dr Jha, one of the senior most and very highly respected psychiatrists in India, with 25 years of experience



The OPD: world of grey shadows



patient lying on the floor of an overcrowded mental hospital



An ECT apparatus

behind him, calls the Act 'an imperfect copy of the English Lunacy Act of 1896.'

Given this basic, glaring flaw, it is no surprise that mental healthcare in India is hardly worth talking about. WHO studies have revealed that a minimum of 1% of the population is, at any given moment, in need of mental care. Since the term 'mental disorder' is very wide, beginning with retardation and epilepsy and ending with severe psychosis, the figure could be as high as 3.5%. With a population of more than 600 million, that leaves a very minimum of 6 million people in India who categorically need mental care at any given moment. For these 6 million, there are officially 900 qualified psychiatrists, 400 psychologists, 100 to 300 psychiatric social workers, and 200 trained psychiatric nurses. There are 42 mental hospitals, with a total of 20,000 beds, with upto 1500 psychiatric beds in general hospitals. So the equation adds up to a demand of 6 million beds, and a supply of 1,500. And informed doctors will tell you that some 50 of the 900 psychiatrists are not qualified MDs.

The curriculum of medical undergraduates does not put enough stress on mental disorders. There are only 54 departments of psychiatry in medical colleges. This aside, there is a marked absence of mental health care at the community level.

Each sub-division in India is divided into blocks. Each block has one primary health centre, which in turn has three sub-centres. Sometime in the (not too) distant past a recommendation followed by a plan was made to convert each sub-centre into a primary one. Nothing has been done so far. Health is a state subject: there is no feedback to the centre regarding utilisation of funds, and control is loose. The situation will always be like this as long as a sense of priorities is lacking. The budgetary allocation to health is less than 3%. This is health in general, leave alone mental health. Health, especially mental health, is an

afterthought,' says Dr Sethi, a dynamic young psychiatrist who, along with Dr Wig insists that the answer lies in providing mental health care at the community services level. In fact, says Dr Baqar Mujtaba, the medical model is used too much: 'Wiping out symptoms through drugs and electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) is no treatment.' The answer lies in attacking the source of the problem, at the grassroots, i.e. the community, the village.

Lack of priorities, inadequate resources and inefficient implementation of plans and projects and ineffective utilisation of existing resources have always been the bane of this country. If priorities are right, everything else will follow. As Dr Sethi says, 'Our priorities are so vague that we don't think of health until we're ill; we think of defence, or sports, or what Rajiv Gandhi will do next.' The fact that new legislation to replace the 1912 Indian Lunacy Act has been pending before Parliament on and off for the last decade is proof of this.

However, with proper funding and organisation, recognition of the problem, mental healthcare at all levels in society could be promoted and the taboo and social stigma of mental disorders, which is a major handicap, can be done away with. Personnel too, needs, to be efficiently utilised. The ratio of doctors and nurses to patients, which is distressing in medical hospitals and pathetic in mental hospitals needs to be raised. In the psychiatric out-patient-department (OPD) of a general hospital, a psychiatrist usually handles an average of 30 patients in four hours. And a psychiatrist needs about 80% more time than a medical patient. With more students coming into psychiatry, this problem too can be alleviated to some extent. As Dr Sethi, rather optimistically stated: 'Within existing resources with minor modifications in the existing infrastructure, major mental health problems can be taken care of.' Just one question remains: when will these modifications, (if at all) come about?

Conditions are less pathetic for children



T. S. SATYAN



There are not enough beds for the female inmates either



Was Mahatma Gandhi a schizophrenic?

In Murphy's much-discussed book *Lon* on social tension, written more than two decades ago, he voiced the opinion that Mahatma Gandhi was a schizophrenic, citing as proof Gandhiji's periodic fasts and sexual abstinence, as evidence of 'abnormal behaviour.' This goes to show how complex and delicate the phenomenon of mental illness is, and how easy it is to drop bricks. The greatest wonder in our universe is not the Taj Mahal, not the pyramids, not space. It is the human mind.

Standards of treatment of mental disorder in India are claimed by many to be lagging behind those in the West. For instance in the West there is a tendency to cut down on the use of electro-convulsive therapy (ECT), relying more on conventional therapy and psychotropic drugs. In India ECT is still very much in use, and group therapy has yet to develop to its full potential.

A person becomes mentally ill when he fails to adapt to his environment, automatically devising ways to withdraw from reality. In the context of Murphy's own environment, Gandhiji's behaviour was decidedly abnormal. According to Indian standards and culture it was not. Consequently the straightforward application of standard norms in diagnosis and treatment cannot be done without modifications to suit the nature of the environment which has given rise to this 'maladaptive behaviour.'

Mental disorders have increased during the last three decades, the

causes being industrialisation and associated economic problems giving rise to neuroses, increased use of psychedelic drugs which enhance the probable occurrence of psychosis, greater life-expectancy which heightens the frequency of senile dementia and other illnesses associated with old age, standards of nutrition and environmental pollution that increase birth defects. Emotional problems are of course inseparably linked to the first three.

Contrary to popular belief which holds that mental disorders are a product of urban civilisation, they are very common in rural areas of India. It is surprising to note that acceptance of the mentally disordered and response to treatment centres is high in rural areas, once understanding is imparted. This was evident in experiments conducted in Chandigarh and Rajarani. There is a desperate need for more psychiatric social workers to increase awareness among the rural population, thereby automatically creating acceptance and instigating preventive measures that would result in less chronic cases later.

Until now, there are only two organisations which provide immediate help to people with emotional problems (and neither really belongs to the realm of mental health). They are the Samaritans and Sanjivni, which is constantly fighting for more funds, facilities and recognition—which are traditionally lacking for most meritorious causes in India.

Calibre: It's knowing that the future is not a predetermined destiny but a set of alternatives open to an intelligent and responsible choice.



Handwritten notes on the right margin, including a vertical dashed line and a large handwritten letter 'A' at the bottom.



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THE RISE OF THE JATS

The Jats played a vital role in the disintegration of the Mughal empire in India. Unfortunately, this has rarely been acknowledged by historians. For the first time, K. Natwar Singh, well-known author and an ambassador to Pakistan, tells the fascinating story of the rise of Jat political powers in his biography of Maharaja Suraj Mal, the Jat soldier-statesman of the eighteenth century (*Maharaja Suraj Mal, 1707—1763*: B. I. Publications, Rs 150). In the first of two extracts, the author examines the reasons for the emergence of the Jats, and their first heroes, against a backdrop of collapsing Mughal power in Delhi.



Maharaja Suraj Mal: the Jat soldier-statesman of the eighteenth century

Aurangzeb and Suraj Mal's forebears

Much ingenuity has gone into guessing the origin of the Jats. The historical data are scanty, the theories multiple. In fact, mystery surrounds their origin. Some claim foreign descent, others divine. Where legend ends, mythology takes over. The unpalatable truth is that for a vast number of people in north India immaculate ancestry is a mirage. Intermixing of races is a striking feature of north Indian history. He is a brave man who can with certitude prove his Aryan or Scythian descent. He that has traced his birth back to a mythological ancestor has done so to draw attention away from intervening generations. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has described the Jats as 'the most important racial element' in the vast tract of land that stretches from the bank of the Indus, through the Punjab, the northern states of Rajputana and the upper Jamuna Valley, down to Gwalior, beyond the Chambal. I shall follow Sir Jadunath's wise course and not concern myself with the sterile debate about their Scytho-Aryan origin.

There is now general agreement that the Jats are of Aryan stock. They brought with them certain institutions, the most important being the *panchayat*, a village assembly of five elders who acted as judges and wise men.

Every Jat village was a small republic made up of people of kindred blood who were as conscious of absolute equality between themselves as they were of their superiority over men of other castes who earned their livelihood as weavers, potters, cobblers, and scavengers. The relationship of a Jat village with the state was that of a semi-autonomous unit paying a fixed sum of revenue. Few governments tried to assert authority, and those which did soon discovered that sending out armed militia against fortified villages was not very profitable. The Jat's spirit of freedom and equality refused to submit to Brahmanical Hinduism and in its turn drew the censure of the privileged Brahmins of the Gangetic plains... The upper caste Hindu's denigration of the Jat did not in the least lower the Jat in his own eyes. On the contrary, he assumed a somewhat condescending attitude towards the Brahmin, whom he considered little better than a soothsayer or a beggar, or the Kshatriya, who disdained earning an honest living and was proud of being a mercenary. The Jat was born the worker and the warrior. He tilled his land with his sword girded round his waist. He fought more battles for the defence of his homestead than the Kshatriya, for unlike the Kshatriya the Jat seldom fled from his village when the invaders came. And if the Jat was maltreated or if his women were molested by the conqueror on his way to Hindustan, he settled his score by looting the invaders' caravans... His brand of patriotism was at once hostile towards the foreigners and benign, even contemptuous, towards his own countrymen whose fate depended so much on his courage and fortitude.

Prof. Kanungo singles out the inbred democratic strain in the Jat. 'The Jat community has been within historic times, the great refuge of the victims of Hindu social tyranny, and the uplifter of the depressed and untouchables to a more respectable status, transforming all recruits to a homogenous Aryan mould... in physical features, language, character, sentiments, ideas of government and social institutions, the present day Jat is undeniably a better representative of the ancient Vedic Aryan than any member of the three other castes of the Hindus.' Fate, destiny, migratory accident, call it what one may, placed the Jats in the geo-political heart of Hindustan. Within a few years of Aurangzeb's ascending the throne the Jats first became an irritant, then a nuisance and finally a horn in the aging body of the emperor and the empire. Their area was the imperial district which was roughly a rectangular wedge of territory about 250 miles from north to south and 100 miles broad. The river Yamuna was its axis; Delhi and Agra its two chief cities. It also contained some of the most holy and sacred shrines and temples of the Hindus at Brindaban, Gokul, Govardhan and Mathura. To the east it stretched towards the Ganga, to the south to the Chambal; except for

The ruling house of Bharatpur



the mountains north of Ambala and the desert to the west it had no real frontiers. This region was nominally subject to the direct rule of the emperor, but was in practice parcelled out amongst a number of chiefs and mansabdars, who were supposed to hold their lands as assignments for the upkeep of the troops. The Jats were sturdy countrymen who, though normally peaceful, would pay no more revenue than could be extracted by force, and who by means of mud walls turned their villages into fortresses which could only be reduced by artillery.

The role of the Jats in the disintegration of the Mughal empire has not received sufficient notice from historians. Jawaharlal Nehru and K. M. Panikkar do not even mention Suraj Mal. Tod is tardy and inaccurate. The Jats have long memories, but little sense of history. They came on the national scene rather late and after the death of Jawahar Singh (1768) decline in their fortunes was rapid till Lord Lake's failure to take Bharatpur in 1805. Thereafter the Bharatpur complex set in at Whitehall and Calcutta. Lake's failure was to be underplayed and after 1826 when Bharatpur finally fell mention of Lake's campaign was taboo. Muslim historians were not likely to sing the praises of the Jats. The Brahmins and the Kayastha writers were cautious, anxious not to displease the new rulers, the British. But the main fault lies with the Jats themselves. They have a proud history but no historian. Their record in patriotic valour is second to none.

Father Wendel writes: 'The Jats have made so much sensation in India for many years and the extent of the territory they have is so great and their fortunes have risen high in so short a time, that, in order to understand the present state of the Mughal empire, it is necessary to know these people who have gained such reputation... If one considers the upheavals which in this century have so violently disturbed the empire, one must conclude that the Jats—if not the only cause of these—are at any rate the most important.'

So long as there was a strong and effective government at Agra and Delhi the Jats kept their noses to the ground. They tilled their lands, paid the land revenue and provided men for the army. History passed them by.

Aurangzeb's long absence in the Deccan (1681 to 1707) inevitably led to all-round slackening. His sons and most senior generals and advisers were with him. Second-raters were left to mind the shop in Delhi. It was government by remote control. The seventeenth century was not a good time for this. The treasury was drained to meet the cost of the Deccan campaigns. The peasants were harassed and hounded by imperial revenue collectors. But the empire was no longer capable of effectively dealing with those who withheld land revenue. Aurangzeb's plight gave the Jats of the

"Democrats by tradition, independent by nature, the early Jat leaders drew their strength not from courts but from the countryside. They were products not of an organised movement but a mood..."

imperial district their opportunity. The Jat population in a province requires strong government and constant vigilance on the part of the ruler. As the proverb runs, "The Jat, like a wound, is better when bound".

As central control weakened, Mughal officials became overbearing and their morals left much to be desired. The Jat farmers of the Mathura and Agra districts had for long been victims of their aggression and misrule. A local *faujdar*, Murshid Quli Khan Turkman, earned notoriety as a licentious brute. No beautiful lady was safe. His harem was large. He was obviously a spirited rogue. On the birthday of Krishna, large numbers of Hindu men and women converged on Govardhan. The Khan, with his forehead painted and wearing a dhoti like a Hindu, mingled with the crowd. As soon as he saw a good-looking woman 'he snatched her away like a wolf pouncing upon a flock and placing her in the boat which his men had kept ready on the bank, he sped to Agra. The Hindu (for shame) never divulged what had happened to his daughter.' Such conduct was unlikely to endear the officials of the empire to the people.

Aurangzeb appointed a devout Muslim, Abdun Nabi Khan, as the *faujdar* of the restive district of Mathura. His orders were to root out idolatry. He held his post for almost ten years, from 1660 to 1669. How insensitive to Hindu sentiment he was is clear from his decision to build a mosque in the heart of Mathura on the ruins of the Keshva Dev Temple. Other outrages followed till the Jats found a leader of uncommon organising ability.

Not much is known about his antecedents except that Gokal Ram or Gokla as he was popularly known, had by the middle of the 1660s become the most influential Jat landowner in the Tilpat region. As *zamindar* of Tilpat he posed a challenge to Moghul authority, when it was a truly hazardous undertaking. He had considerable organising capacity, and was not lacking in courage or tenacity. U. N. Sharma suggests that he was born in Sinsini and was a forebear of Suraj Mal. He became the leader of the Jat, Gujar and Ahir cultivators whom he asked to withhold land revenue from the Mughals.

A rebellion by an unknown *zamindar* in the imperial district was not to

be tolerated. Aurangzeb sent a strong force first under Radandaz Khan and a second one under Hasan Ali Khan. They were appointed *faujdar*s of Mathura in succession. Overtures were made to Gokal Ram. He would be granted pardon provided he returned the loot he had collected. An assurance of future good behaviour was also sought. Gokla did not oblige. The situation continued to deteriorate. Emperor Aurangzeb himself marched from Delhi on 28 November 1669 to the area of discontent. A sledgehammer was used to kill a fly. On 4 December Hasan Ali Khan, assisted by Brahmdev Sisodia, attacked villages held by Gokla and his supporters, who fought with amazing courage and zeal. In the end they were overcome, losing 300. In a rare display of tolerance and humanism Aurangzeb detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them or taking any child prisoner. Hasan Ali Khan was commended by the emperor, made a *mansabdar* and appointed *faujdar* of Mathura.

The odds against Gokla increased each day. In December the imperial forces that captured the several Jat fortresses consisted of 200 cavalry, 1,000 gunmen, 1,000 archers, 1,000 rockets, 25 cannon and 1,000 trenchmen. These were further augmented to crush Gokla and his defiant clansmen. With a force of 20,000 Jat, Ahir and Gujar peasants, Gokla faced the imperial forces led by Hasan Ali Khan and Shakh Razi-uddin Bhagalpuri (who was a rare combination of soldier, theologian, traveller and businessman). Gokla and his uncle Uday Singh fought with superb courage, but they had no answer for Mughal artillery. After three days of grim combat Tilpat fell. Losses on both sides were heavy, 4,000 Mughal soldiers being killed and 5,000 Jats. Gokla, his uncle and other members of his family were taken prisoners.

Here confusion reigns. Sir Jadunath and U. N. Sharma assert that Gokla and Uday Singh were brought to Agra and on refusing to be converted to Islam were hacked to pieces in front of the Kotwali in Agra. Gokla's son and daughter were converted to Islam. 'They were handed over to Jawahar Khan Nazir and the girl was married to Ghulam Shah Kuli and the boy was made to learn the Koran. His reading greatly pleased the emperor.' The episode does not ring true. How did Gokla allow his entire family to become prisoners? Normally the Jat women fought with their men and met their end with them. Perhaps Kanungo has the most satisfactory explanation. 'The peasants fought long and steadily, displaying that cool obstinate valour which has ever characterised them. When resistance became hopeless, many of them slew their women and rushed upon the Mughals to sell their lives dearly... Gokla's blood did not flow in vain, it watered the newly sprouted seeding of liberty in the hearts of the Jats.'

Raja Ram

Gokla's fame endured, his example continued to inspire. The Mughals were not permitted to rest for long. The Jats displayed extraordinary *esprit de corps* in times of adversity. (In normal times their principal activity is to destroy each other.) Its roots were feudal and religious, not national or ideological. Democrats by tradition, independent by nature, the early Jat leaders drew their strength not from courts but from the countryside. They were products not of an organised movement but a mood.

Having for the time being subdued the Jats, Aurangzeb returned to Delhi. The mantle of Gokla first fell on one Khan Chand who was selected by the Sinsinwars to be the sardar of Sinsini. He had four sons. Two sons left Sinsini to try their fortune in other parts of the Jat lands. Brajraj Singh and Bhajja Singh remained in Sinsini. They were modest farmers, with no great ambition. A charming and probably apocryphal story about them has remained a part of Sinsinwar legend. Between them Brajraj and Bhajja had one plough and a pair of bullocks. Their house had a thatched roof. One day a mendicant Brahmin came to Sinsini. No one gave him food or shelter. Finally, he came to the house of the two brothers. They fed him and asked him to spend the night in their thatched mud house. Next morning, when the Brahmin was about to leave, Bhajja Singh came up to him, bowed and with folded hands said, 'We cannot let you

Deeg fort



leave our house without giving you a dharma. We only have a pair of bullocks. My brother and I are happy to offer these bullocks to you.' The Brahmin was deeply touched and on the spot blessed them, reciting a couplet which roughly means that the Sinsinwar Jats of Sinsini with the blessings of God would rule the lands between Agra and Delhi.

From that day the fortunes of Bhajja and Brajraj took a turn for the better, and Bhajja Singh's son Raja Ram was selected chief of the Sinsinwar Jats. He was a man of many parts and has gone down in history for looting Akbar's tomb at Sikandra near Agra. Not only was he a daring soldier, he also possessed uncanny political sense. He united the two principal Jat clans, the Sinsinwars and the Sogharias (those with a hundred houses). The village of Soghar was a few miles south-west of Sinsini. There Ram Chahar Sogharia presided over a prosperous and tenacious clan. Soon Raja Ram and Ram Chahar Sogharia made their presence felt in the imperial district. But to consolidate his position Raja Ram needed a spectacular march or encounter against the imperial forces. An opportunity offered itself very soon.

In the prosperous village of Auoo, about four miles north of Sinsini was posted a police-cum-military troop of modest size to keep order in the restive area, which yielded almost 200,000 rupees in annual land revenue. The officer in charge of the post was a sexual athlete named Lal

Beg. He had a roving eye. One day an Ahir and his newly-wed wife sat down to rest in the vicinity of the village well. The *bhisti* water carrier of Lal Beg was passing by and he noticed the exceptional beauty of the Ahir woman. In no time he informed his master who sent a few troopers to bring the Ahir couple to him. The man was released but his wife met the usual fate of joining Lal Beg's growing harem. In a small town news travels fast and soon Raja Ram heard of the abduction. The annual fair was about to be held at Govardhan a few miles away. Many people from surrounding areas came to the fair. Most came by bullock cart, others on camels and the better off on horses. Large quantities of grass and fodder were needed to feed them. Lal Beg granted permission for the carts carrying grass and fodder to enter the fair grounds. In these were hidden Raja Ram and his stormtroopers. Once through the checkpoint they set fire to the carts and in the ensuing melee killed Lal Beg. Raja Ram had proved his worth.

Thereafter he set about to give the disorderly host of the tribesmen the appearance of a regular army, organised in regiments, equipped with firearms and trained to obey their captains. Small forts (*gharis*) were built at vantage points and in almost trackless jungles of the Jat country. These were strengthened by mud falls on which artillery made little or no impression.

Soon, Raja Ram flouted Mughal authority, then defied it and eventually openly challenged it. In all his military forays he was accompanied by the Sogharia chief Ram Chahar and other village heads belonging to the Khuntal, Sekharwar and Bhagore Jat clans. The Agra district was the main target and no one could pass without paying a fee to Raja Ram (travelling thirty miles from Dholpur to Agra travellers paid 200 rupees per head), who was bent upon avenging the execution of Gokla. His aim was to demolish Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. On account of Raja Ram's activities Safi Khan, the Governor of Agra, could hardly stir out of the city. The first attempt failed as Mir Abul Fazal, the *saujdar* of Sikandra managed to save the tomb with great difficulty after much loss of life. He himself was wounded. The emperor was pleased with his performance and promoted him to a *mansabdari* of 2,000 horses. On his return journey from Sikandra to Sinsini Raja Ram looted a number of Mughal villages. He needed money and acquired it by rather unorthodox means.

With the passage of each month Raja Ram grew bolder. In 1686 the well-known Turrani general Agha Khan was on his way from Kabul to join the emperor at Bijapur. When his caravan reached Dholpur Raja Ram's guerilla bands fell upon the unsuspecting troops of Agha Khan. No one in the past had risked attacking an imperial convoy so openly. The Khan had been away in Kabul for a number of years and was unaware of the emergence of

"In far-off Deccan Aurangzeb heard of the fate of his Turrani general and acted fast. He did not underestimate the Jat rebellion which was flouting Mughal authority in an area which was the preserve of the emperor."

the Jat menace in the imperial district and failed to take even the elementary precautions. Worse still he impetuously gave chase to the raiders on discovering the loss of his baggage, horses and women. When he caught up with the Jats, he and eighty of his soldiers were promptly killed by Raja Ram. The Jats lost about two hundred men.

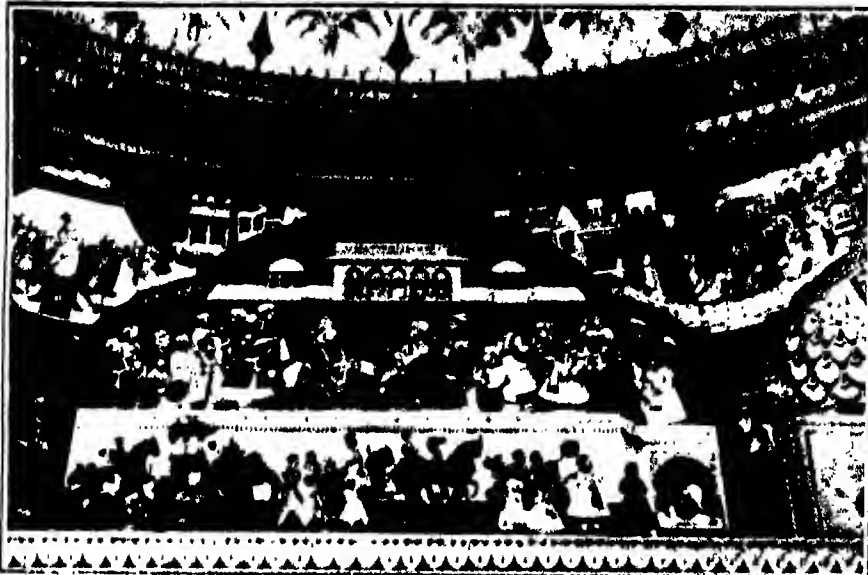
In far-off Deccan Aurangzeb heard of the fate of his Turrani general and acted fast. He did not underestimate the Jat rebellion which was flouting Mughal authority in an area which was the special preserve of the emperor. He sent his uncle, the renowned *khan-i-jahan* Kokaltosh Zafar Jang, to deal with the Jats. The *khan-i-jahan* was unsuccessful and Aurangzeb then decided to appoint his son Prince Azam to assume command of the operations against the Jats. The Prince could not get beyond Burhanpur when his harassed father recalled him to proceed to Golkanda. Instead, in December, Aurangzeb appointed Azam's son, Prince Bidar Bakht, to lead the Mughal armies against Raja Ram. Bidar Bakht was only seventeen years old. He lacked experience but not courage. The *khan-i-jahan* was to be his principal adviser. These frequent changes of command caused confusion and bred intrigue among the imperial military establishment where jealousy was rampant. Raja Ram took full advantage of this. He had his informers in the Mughal camp and was kept informed of Mughal intentions.

In those days the journey from Bijapur to Agra took many weeks. The seventeenth-century Mughals, unlike Babar's sixteenth-century stalwarts, did not travel light. Thus before Bidar Bakht reached Agra Raja Ram had inflicted a severe and humiliating blow to Mughal honour and prestige. First he attacked the camp of Mir Ibrahim Haidrabadi at Agra. The Mir was on his way to the Punjab to take up the Viceroyalty of that *subha*. Mir Ibrahim succeeded in repulsing Raja Ram but his losses were heavy and he received no assistance from *khan-i-jahan* Kokaltosh Zafar Jang who saw no reason to help Mir Ibrahim or from the new *subedar*, of Agra, Shaista Khan, who did not take kindly to the Mir's elevation.

In March, 1688, when the weather



"Churaman had one loyalty—to himself. Nobility of sentiment and generosity of heart were alien to his nature..."



Mural—Suraj Mal's chattri at Goverdhan

was at its best, free of the heat and dust of the summer, the malarious humidity and ankle-deep slush of the monsoon and the biting chill of the winter, Raja Ram pounced on Sikandra and all but destroyed Akbar's tomb. It was not an outstanding example of Mughal architecture but was doubtlessly a symbol of Mughal authority. According to N. Manucci, the Jats began their pillage by breaking in the great bronze gates which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plate of gold and silver and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Digging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them. Thus was avenged Gokla.

Raja Ram won a military victory but the stigma of his vandalism haunted the Jats for a long time. While nothing can excuse the religious insensitivity of Raja Ram, the temper of the times must be borne in mind. Aurangzeb had sown the wind and he was now reaping the whirlwind. The wanton destruction of Hindu temples and the erection of mosques in their place could only produce feelings of rage and revenge.

Soon after the sacking of Sikandra, Raja Ram and Ram Chahar Sogharia's attention was diverted to the north-west where the Chauhan and Sekhawat Rajputs were engaged in mortal combat. The Chauhans sought Raja Ram's help. He responded with alacrity. He was shot dead by a Mughal musketeer on 4 July 1688 at a small and obscure village called Baijal. The Sogharia chief met a similar fate on the same day.

With their untimely deaths the Sinsinwar and Sogharia Jats and their followers in the other communities suffered a severe blow. The Sinsinwar Jats did not as yet accept the law of

primogeniture and Raja Ram's sons were not considered fit to succeed their father as clan chiefs. The clan leaders assembled at Sinsini and invited Raja Ram's father, the aged Bhajja Singh, to be their leader. He reluctantly accepted.

When Aurangzeb heard of the ransacking of the tomb of his illustrious great grandfather he was understandably outraged. The Jats had to be punished and put in their place. He sought out Bishen Singh, the newly-enthroned Raja of Amber, to crush these 'Jat wolves'.

Raja Bishen Singh was appointed *faujdar* of Mathura. His task was to root out the Jats and as a reward Sinsini was to be granted to him as a *jagir*. Bishen Singh was rash enough to assure the emperor that he would take Sinsini in no time and put an end to Jat insurgency in the imperial district once and for all. Bishen Singh was anxious to distinguish himself and emulate his ancestor Mirza Raja Man Singh, who had made a name for himself in Akbar's reign.

Though they were not led by a man of high calibre the Jats gave Bidar Bakht and the Amber Raja a run for their money. The siege of Sinsini lasted many months and the imperial armies were not allowed a moment's respite by the intrepid Jats. The first assault on Sinsini failed. The second succeeded in January 1690. Hundreds lost their lives in the fierce hand-to-hand combat. Some members of Bhajja's family escaped to Thun and Soghar. Among them was Churaman, son of Bhajja Singh's brother Brajraj Singh and Suraj Mal's great-uncle. We shall hear more of Churaman, whom Tod has called the Jat Cincinnatus. Next year the Mughals captured Soghar. By the end of the century

other Jat fortresses in the area also fell and it appeared that the Jats were once again sinking back into obscurity. This was not to be. In Churaman the Jats found a born leader whose deeds were to outshine those of Gokla, Raja Ram and Ram Chahar.

Thakur Churaman Singh—the Jat Cincinnatus

We know a little more about Churaman Singh than we do about Gokla and Raja Ram. He lived to a good age. When Churaman Singh committed suicide in 1721 his grand-nephew Suraj Mal was fourteen years old. Churaman was on the scene for a much longer period and after Aurangzeb's death his activities had a direct bearing on the empire's affairs in the imperial district. His father Brajraj had two wives, Indra Kaur and Amrit Kaur. Both came from petty *samindar* homes. Churaman's mother, Amrit Kaur, was the daughter of Chaudhuri Chandra Singh of Chiksana, which today lies halfway between Mathura and Bharatpur. She had two other sons, Ati Ram and Bhav Singh, who also were modest *samindars* (landholders). Churaman is not heard of during the lifetime of his uncle Raja Ram, but it is not unlikely that he was involved in some campaigns and that after the capture of Sinsini disappeared into the jungle-infested tracts of Deeg, Bayana and the Chambal ravines. Here he carried on his hit-and-run depredations. The Jats travelled light and were familiar with the topography of Braj and the Doab. Churaman could not have carried on the way he did unless he had the support of the people, who abhorred the Islamisation set in motion by Aurangzeb.

Churaman's morals and scruples would not pass muster under strict scrutiny but they matched the prevailing standards. The Marathas were soon to excel him by exhorting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from all and sundry. Churaman had one loyalty—to himself. Nobility of sentiment and generosity of heart were alien to his nature. It was a hard age and the Jats lived hard lives. They expected no quarter and gave none. Churaman was an immensely energetic and practical man. He raised and built up the fortunes of the Jats and for the first time we hear the phrase 'Jat power' uttered. Under Badan Singh and Suraj Mal this power was to become a force and factor to be reckoned with in eighteenth-century Hindustan.

Churaman possessed the requisite qualities of leadership—a stout heart, a hard head, resourcefulness, luck, an easy conscience, tact and a capacity for binding together highly individualistic and mutually antagonistic elements whom he knit into an impressive guerilla fighting force. It was his policy not to confine himself in any stronghold or *ghari*, but to be constantly on the move with a body of select

men, to organise resistance, plan attacks, keep discipline and open a series of second fronts. These gave no respite to the enemy, who, less familiar with the terrain and encumbered with the paraphernalia of a Mughal convoy, lacked mobility and lost their way in swamps and jungles. With the assistance of the Jat chiefs of Mursen and Hathras, this Sinsinwar all but closed the imperial highway between Delhi and Mathura and between Agra and Dholpur. Only those accompanied by strong armed escorts got away without trouble. This is not to suggest that the Jats were always the victors. For almost a decade Churaman was on the run, waging what seemed a losing battle against the forces of the empire first now by a Mughal prince, another time by the Amber Raja and his blood-thirsty general Hari Singh. But he was neither captured nor ever decisively defeated. By the close of the century he had enlarged his area of influence and his following, gaining experience and controlling a well-equipped army of 10,000 veterans—musketeers, cavalry and foot soldiers. He made incursions into the Rajput states of Kotah and Bundi. In 1704 he recovered Sinsini but lost it again in 1705 to Mukhtar Khan, the *faujdar* of Agra, and shifted his headquarters to Thun where he built a strong fort.

Aurangzeb's death was followed by the now familiar scenario of fratricidal war. This suited the opportunistic Churaman. He had in the intervening years begun to resemble a baron in medieval England. His retainers were liveried and the rustic Jat was beginning to adopt Persian etiquette, if not Persian style.

In the war of succession among Aurangzeb's unworthy sons, Churaman picked a winner. The issue was decided in the hottest part of the year on 13 June 1707 at Jejau, in Jat country, south of Agra. Asam lost his son, the battle and his life and Muassam ascended the throne as Shah Alam I.

When the opposing armies of Azam and Muassam met at Jejau, Churaman with handpicked troops watched and waited before striking. First he looted Muassam's camp. When he saw Asam losing he fell on him with meticulous impartiality. We need not take too harsh a view of his behaviour. This loot made Churaman a very wealthy man. Mughal cash, gold, priceless jewellery, arms, horses, elephants, provisions, all fell into his hands. This fortune enabled him to be relieved of financial worries as long as he lived. There is little doubt that a part of this vast wealth found its way to the treasuries of Thakur Badan Singh and Maharaja Suraj Mal after Churaman's suicide in 1721.

Churaman could now pay his troops, buy those who opposed him and build the fortresses he needed. The fort at Thun was constructed and fortified through this wealth. Emperor Bahadur Shah was grateful for whatever help he could get. The Sinsinwars got their share of the imperial awards for their

An opportunist par excellence, Churaman rendered faithful service to justify his newly-acquired rank as an imperial commander...



Gopal Bhawan in the historic town of Deeg built by Maharaja Suraj Mal

help at Jajau. Bahadur Shah conferred on Churaman a *mansab* of 1500 zat and 500 horse. The rebel had suddenly found a place in the establishment. An opportunist *par excellence*, Churaman rendered faithful service to justify his newly-acquired rank as an imperial commander. He accompanied the emperor on his expedition against the Sikhs in 1710-11 and was present at Lahore where Bahadur Shah died on 27 February 1712. Churaman's heart was not in the campaign against the Sikhs, many of whom were, like him, Jats, though professing Nanak's religion.

Though Bahadur Shah did not leave his mark on history, he did not, during his short reign, disgrace the throne. His mild manner, vacillating spirit and chronic indecision allowed matters to drift. The emperor's administration was carried on as in his father's time, but gradually the great pillars of the empire disappeared and the inevitable decline set in. Bahadur Shah was neither feared nor respected but he was accepted. Those coming after him were merely used and tolerated by the ambitious nobility.

All his four sons were with the emperor in Lahore at the time of his death. The inevitable war of succession took place with unseemly haste. Jahandar Shah killed his three brothers and ascended the throne. He is remembered as the lover of a lady of easy virtue named Lal Kumari or Lal Kanwar who considered herself as the new Nur Jehan although she was a common street slut. A man of Churaman's temperament was not likely to feel at home in so decadent and treacherous an atmosphere. As soon as the opportunity occurred Churaman left to tend his people and estates.

When Farrukh-Siyar turned up in Delhi to challenge Jahandar Shah, the latter asked for the Sinsinwar's help. By now Churaman had become the *de facto* ruler and lawgiver of the Jats and other Hindu people's living on the western bank of the Jamuna. From Delhi to the Chambal his attitude practically determined the friendship or hostility of the whole rural population towards a particular candidate for the throne of Hindustan. Churaman answered Jahandar's appeal by moving up to Agra with a large contingent of his followers. Jahandar presented him with a robe and showed him due deference. Battle was joined between the armies of the two degenerates contending for the imperial throne on 10 January 1713. Churaman, without batting an eyelid, lightened the burdens of both sides by looting them in succession and then left for Thun. Jahandar Shah was soon strangled to death and Farrukh-Siyar was crowned emperor.

Real power, however, was in the hands of the two Sayyid brothers. Sayyid Abdullah became the *wazir* and Sayyid Hussain Ali the commander-in-chief. Chabela Ram was appointed *subedar* of Agra. He made unwise moves to curb the activities of Churaman, but without success. Above the *subedar* was the Governor of Agra—Shams-ud-Daulah, who carried the impressive imperial title of *khan-i-dauran*. Shrewd and far-sighted he had no desire to follow the example of his *subedar*, Chabela Ram. Shams-ud-Daulah made friendly approaches to Churaman as he did not wish to cross the path of the formidable Jat and thus risk his reputation in a doubtful enterprise. Although Churaman had looted Farrukh-Siyar's armies and effects, he was shrewd enough not to

continue offending the new emperor. The *khan-i-aurangzeb* obtained the emperor's pardon for Churaman who was invited to Delhi. Once again Churaman marched to Delhi at the head of 4,000 horsemen and was escorted with honour befitting a Raja from Baraphula into the city. He was conducted to the *dewan-i-khas* by *khan-i-aurangzeb* himself, and appointed by the emperor to be in charge of the royal highway (*shah-rah*) from the neighbourhood of Delhi to the crossing of the Chambal. Prof. Kanungo, commenting on his change in Churaman's status, remarks, 'A wolf was left to watch over the flock' or, to put it less bluntly, the poacher had turned gamekeeper. Churaman thus had finally acquired the seal of imperial approval. He was now authorised to levy a toll on traffic in the area left in his charge. He went about his collections with the same zeal with which he had looted Mughal convoys. He was a tough tax collector. Complaints of Churaman's high-handedness reached Delhi but an impotent emperor could do nothing to check or punish him. Besides, while attaching himself to the Sayyid brothers, Churaman also exploited the differences existing between the *khan-i-aurangzeb* and Sayyids.

Farrukh-Siyar owed his throne to the Sayyids, yet he intrigued against them. Knowing that the Jaipur ruler was not considered friendly by the Sayyids (who encouraged Churaman in cutting the Kachawa down to size) Farrukh-Siyar went behind the backs of the Sayyids and asked Jai Singh Sawai of Jaipur to attack Churaman's stronghold at Thun. Rivers of blood divided the Kachawas and the Sinsinwars. Aurangzeb had used Raja Bishan Singh to crush the Jats. Now Jai Singh was the new mercenary. He was liberally supplied with men, money and arms. The Rajas of Kotah and Bundi too had grievances against Churaman and they joined Jai Singh. Churaman was kept informed by his agents at

"At the appropriate moment Churaman shifted his allegiance to the new emperor, Mohammed Shah, who offered the Jat chief large rewards which he accepted considering it foolish to incur the enmity of the emperor for nothing..."



Thakur Churaman Singh

Delhi of all that was being planned to destroy him. He prepared himself for a long campaign against Jai Singh. Churaman gathered grain, salt, *ghee*, tobacco, cloth and firewood for twenty years. He also sent away all those who were not involved in the fighting, thus saving unnecessary expenditure on ra-

tions. The siege lasted twenty months, without any conclusive result. Court intrigues at Delhi between the Turrani and Irani factions proved Churaman's salvation. The besiegers were allowed no respite by the Jats. In the summer the Thun area became a cauldron of heat and dust and in the monsoon a swamp. This military stalemate did not suit either side. Churaman opened negotiations with the Sayyids over the head of Jai Singh, agreeing to pay a tribute of five million rupees to the emperor. This gives some idea of the enormous wealth the Sinsinwar had accumulated. The emperor readily accepted. The Thun siege had cost the imperial treasury twenty million rupees, besides loss of life and prestige. Jai Singh was ordered to raise the siege. He left, publicly fretting, privately glad.

The Sayyids had enough of Farrukh-Siyar. They decided to do away with him. First they blinded him and executed him in an ignominious manner. The blind man was actually strangled to death in his harem.

Churaman followed the Sayyids like a shadow; he was with the army of Hasan Ali at the time of Farrukh-Siyar's deposition. Later he accompanied him to Agra in the expedition against a pretender, Neku-Siyar, who had been proclaimed emperor by title of Raja, which, to avoid arousing jealousies among other Jat chiefs, he declined. In any case the Sayyids could not live to fulfil their promise as both were soon murdered. At the appropriate moment Churaman shifted his allegiance to the new emperor, Mohammed Shah, who offered the Jat chief large rewards which he accepted considering it foolish to incur the enmity of the emperor for nothing. But he could not resist looting the camps of Sayyid Abdullah and the emperor at the battle of Hodal in 1720. Churaman first looted the emperor's camp and then Abdullah's and retired with spoil amounting to six million rupees, thus

The jhoola at Deeg



making good the expenses he incurred during the siege of Thun. *Shah-rah* Churaman now behaved and acted as an independent Raja. He had an alliance with Ajit Singh Rathor of Jodhpur to keep Amber subdued. He also helped the Bundelas. But his depredations, his constant change of side, his lack of loyalty and his opportunism were getting too much even for some of his close clansmen, whose claims and causes he contemptuously ignored.

Following the death of his brother Bhava Singh, Churaman had brought up his two nephews, Badan Singh and Roop Singh. Churaman was installed at Thun and Badan Singh lived in Sinsini. Badan had no stomach for his uncle's methods and double-dealings. He believed that the time had now come for the Jats to conduct themselves as rulers and not as rebels. Churaman had wealth, territory and a Mughal title. Why should he not settle down and take care of his estates? The Jats were at this time divided into two groups. Those siding with Churaman and his uncontrollable son Mokham Singh were Sardar Khem Karan Sogharia, Vijai Raj Gadasia, *Faujdar* Fateh Singh of Chattarpur and Thakur Tula Ram. They all belonged to an older generation. Badan Singh was supported by *Faujdar* Anoop Singh, Raja Ram's son Fateh Singh, the Thakurs of Gairoo and Halena, and chiefs from other communities. Badan Singh also maintained contact with Churaman's deadly enemy, Jai Singh of Jaipur. Under the influence of his hot-headed son Churaman made the gravest error of his life on a flimsy pretext—he arrested Badan Singh and Roop Singh and kept them at Thun. This news spread like wildfire in the Jat country and caused great dismay. All Jat chiefs pressed Churaman to set his nephews free. Churaman's conditions for their release were that Badan Singh would have none of it. At least one historian has suggested that Churaman at one stage thought of doing away with Badan Singh but no historical evidence is forthcoming. What is known is the refusal of important Jat sardars to attend the wedding of Mokham Singh if Badan Singh was not set free. This protest had the desired effect. Churaman finally saw the writing on the wall and released Badan Singh and Roop Singh. The former first went to Agra and then to Jai Singh at Jaipur.

Few events in human affairs produce the debris that family feuds do. All that Churaman had achieved, built, fortified and won was soon to be destroyed and demolished by none other than Jai Singh Sawai of Jaipur, and that with Churaman's nephew

helping him. This time Jai Singh did a thorough job. He avenged the disgrace of his earlier failure at Thun. Churaman committed suicide before the Amber armies guided by Badan Singh reached Thun.

But first the story of Churaman's suicide. One of his relations, a wealthy merchant, died childless. The brethren sent for Mokham Singh, the eldest son of Churaman, and made him head of the deceased's *zamindari*, and gave over to him all his goods. Zulkaran Singh, the second son of Churaman, said to his brother, 'Give me a share too in those goods and admit me as a partner.' A verbal dispute followed and Mokham made ready to resist by



Author K. Natwar Singh

men and attacked his brother. The elders sent word to Churaman and showed himself ready to fight his father as well as his brother. Churaman lost his temper, and from chagrin swallowed a deadly poison which he always carried with him (in the event of his capture by the enemy) and riding to a remote orchard, he lay under a tree and died. Men were sent to search for him and found his dead body. The poison which no enemy had succeeded in making him swallow was now 'administered' by a foolish and disobedient son. Thus died Churaman Singh, unsung and unwept, in October 1721.

The next year Thun was taken. (Mokham Singh escaped to Jodhpur to take refuge with his father's ally, Ajit Singh Rathore.) Jai Singh had 14,000 horsemen and 50,000 troopers. The impenetrable jungle belt on the outskirts of Thun was first cut down. Badan Singh directed the attack as he knew the weak spots. On 18 November 1722, Thun fell. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes, 'The Jat levies raised and held together by Churaman, after escaping

the slaughter of the battle-field, had been dispensed to their homes and forced to turn their sword into ploughshares. The city of Thun itself was ploughed by asses under orders of the victor, to make it an accursed soil, unfit to serve again as a seat of royalty. The work of Raja Ram and Churaman left no trace behind it, and their successor had to begin everything from the very foundation.' Dr Satish Chandra in his erudite work, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740* puts it less dramatically: 'Although Jai Singh was keenly desirous of curbing the Jat pretensions, with his previous failure in mind he refused to move till he was also appointed the Governor of Agra. This was done on 1 September, 1722, and soon afterwards, Jai Singh left Delhi at the head of an army of 14-15,000 sawars. By this time, Churaman had died and his son, Mukham Singh, had assumed the leadership of Jats.

Jai Singh laid siege to Thun, the Jat stronghold, and proceeded by systematically cutting down the jungle, and closely investing the garrison. A couple of weeks passed in this way. It is difficult to say how long the siege would have lasted, but dissension broke out among the Jats. Badan Singh, the cousin of Mukham Singh, came over to the side of Jai Singh and pointed out the weak points in the Jat defences. Mukham Singh's position now became precarious. One night, he set fire to the houses, exploded the magazines, siezed as much cash and jewellery as he could and fled to Ajit Singh who gave him shelter. Jai Singh now entered the fortress in triumph and levelled it to the ground, having the ground ploughed up by asses as a sign of contempt.

For this victory, Jai Singh received the title of *Raja-i-rajeshwar*. The terms granted to the Jats are not mentioned by any contemporary author. Badan Singh succeeded to the headship of the Jats, and received the *zamindari* of Churaman. It maybe inferred that while the important fortresses were destroyed, Churaman's family was not deprived of the entire state they had gradually won. Henceforth, Badan Singh humbly styled himself a feudatory of Jai Singh. But apparently, he was a good administrator, and under his watchful stewardship the Jat house of Bharatpur gained in power silently and steadily for the next two decades. Thus, the setback to the growth of the Jat power was more apparent than real.'

From the ashes of Thun and Sinsini, Suraj Mal was to create a vast and powerful Kingdom the like of which the Jats were never to see again.

To be continued

Born in 1931, K. Natwar Singh graduated from St Stephen's College, Delhi with a first class in history honours. In 1952 he went to Cambridge University; after which he qualified for the Indian Foreign Service, ranking first in India in personality test. He was a member of Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi's personal staff from 1966 to 1971. In 1971 he was appointed ambassador to Poland, and in 1973 became deputy high commissioner in London. In May 1980 he was given the crucial job of ambassador to Pakistan. Mr Singh has several books to his credit: *E. M. Forster—A tribute* (Harcourt Brace, New York, 1964), and *The Legacy of Nehru* (John Day, New York, 1965). *Of Diplomacy and Diplomats—An analytical study for aspiring diplomats is due in 1982.*

THE WORLD

Did the Shah hate Liz? Nixon at it again



Shah of Iran: prejudiced

Just before she met her current husband, Republican senator John Warner, Elizabeth Taylor had a torrid affair with a sophisticated 48-year-old man who was one of the most sought-after bachelors in America: Ardeshir Zahedi, the late Shah of Iran's former son-in-law. According to an unauthorised biography by Kitty Kelley, Ms Taylor met Zahedi in 1975 at a gala ball in Washington where he was posted as the Iranian ambassador to the USA. Zahedi had divorced the Shah of Iran's eldest daughter and was leading a luxurious life. "I found out later that she (Elizabeth Taylor) wanted to marry Ardeshir but the Shah had forbidden it," claims Miss Kelly in her book. "He informed Ardeshir that he could not remarry during the Shah's lifetime, and he certainly could not marry a commoner converted to Judaism and make her the step-mother of the Shah's grandchildren."



Liz Taylor: insatiable lover

di had divorced the Shah of Iran's eldest daughter and was leading a luxurious life. "I found out later that she (Elizabeth Taylor) wanted to marry Ardeshir but the Shah had forbidden it," claims Miss Kelly in her book. "He informed Ardeshir that he could not remarry during the Shah's lifetime, and he certainly could not marry a commoner converted to Judaism and make her the step-mother of the Shah's grandchildren."

"Get rid of that son of a bitch," said the then US President, Richard Nixon, in 1970; this order is on tape and will soon be used as evidence by lawyers pursuing another case against Mr Nixon. In a petition lodged with the US Supreme Court, these lawyers claim that an air force official, Ernest Fitzgerald, was given the sack in 1970 because the then President was displeased with him; Fitzgerald had revealed the extent to which the air force's C-5A transport aircraft had exceeded their planned costs. The air force authorities told him that his job was abolished because of budget cuts. He filed a suit for wrongful dismissal at the Supreme Court. And here comes the crunch: the petition claims that in early 1980 Mr Nixon made a secret payment of \$144,000 to Fitzgerald and promised him a further \$34,000 if the Supreme Court did not eventually uphold his claim.

Briefly

Ape defects to East Berlin

A West Berliner, whose pet ape (called 'Charlie') escaped to East Germany in June this year after scaling the Berlin Wall, will have to pay £124 to get the animal back. Communist authorities in East Berlin insist on recovering the money which they claim to have spent on looking after the ape in the last two months.

Russia: sex conscious

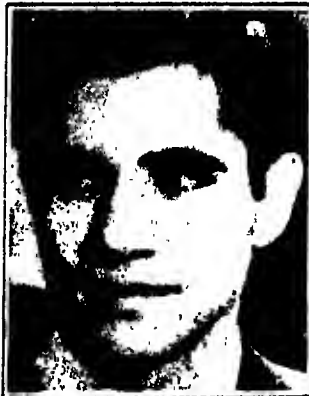
The Soviet Union has decided to break down traditional resistance to sex education by introducing a "pilot scheme" in most schools. Henceforth, 14-year-olds in Russia will be instructed on the basic biology of sexual relations and 16-year-olds will be taught the moral and psychological aspects of partnership and marriage.

Edward beware!



Edward Kennedy: last target?

Jordanian immigrant Sirhan Sirhan (38) who assassinated senator Robert Kennedy, has been making elaborate plans to kill Edward Kennedy as well. His prison term at Soledad (California) ends on 1 September 1984 and the Los Angeles district attorney, John Van de Kamp, has filed a petition demanding that he should not be released as he is a potential threat to the life of Edward Kennedy. The petition quotes another prisoner at Soledad as saying that he



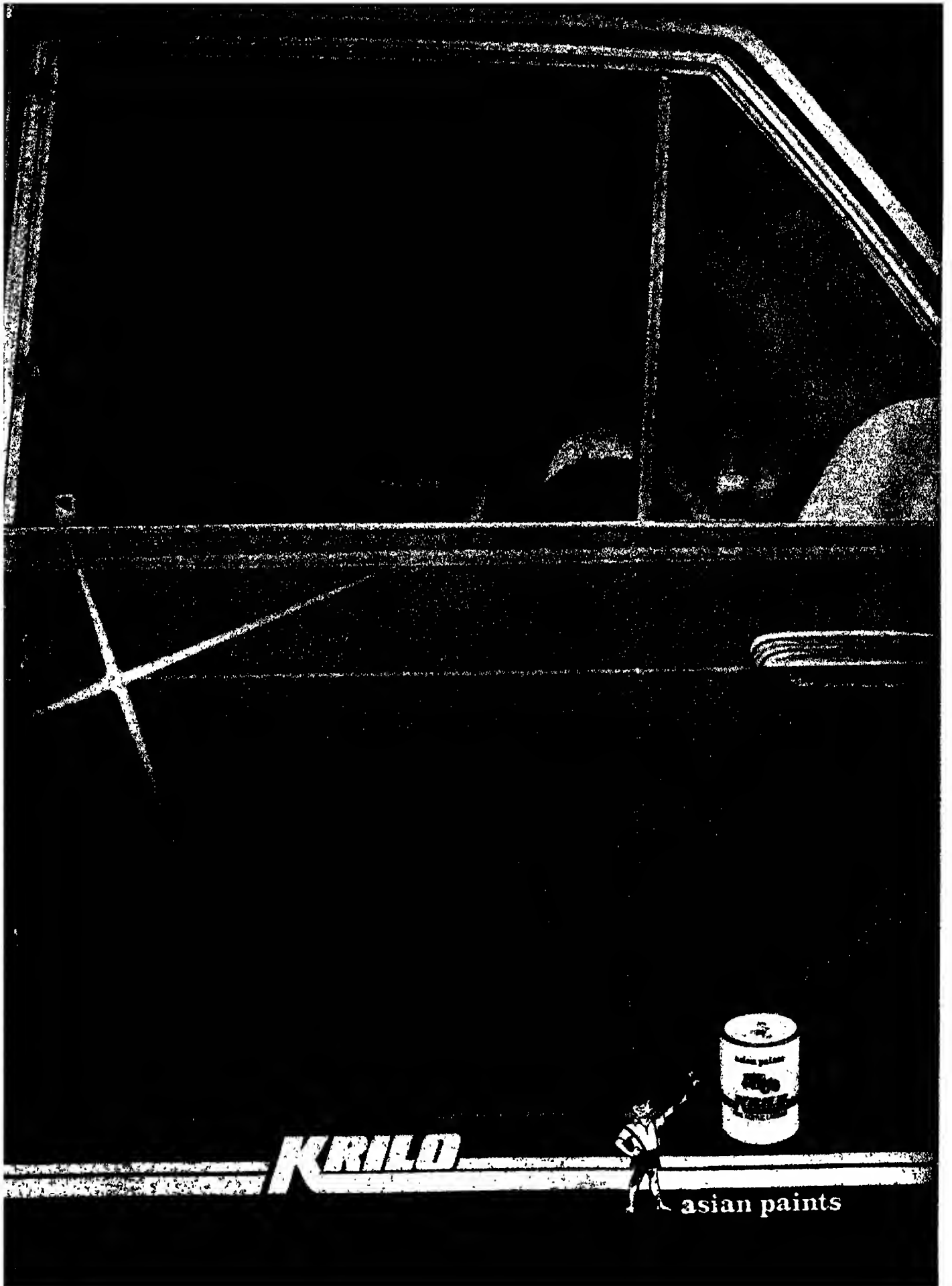
Sirhan Sirhan: bloodthirsty

had discussed the possibility of senator Edward Kennedy becoming the President of the USA with Sirhan. It was then that the assassin declared, "If I get out of here in 1984 and he's still President I'll take care of him myself...I've got a commitment to certain things." The petition further claims that Sirhan often spoke about guns and bombs and claimed that he had become a hero in the Middle East after killing the pro-Israel Robert Kennedy.

Still in love



A touch of class and old-fashioned romance: Prince Charles kisses his bride's hand on the banks of the river Dee in Balmoral (Scotland). This photograph was taken on the fourth day of the royal couple's honeymoon stay at Balmoral Castle where they arrived after a two-week Mediterranean cruise.



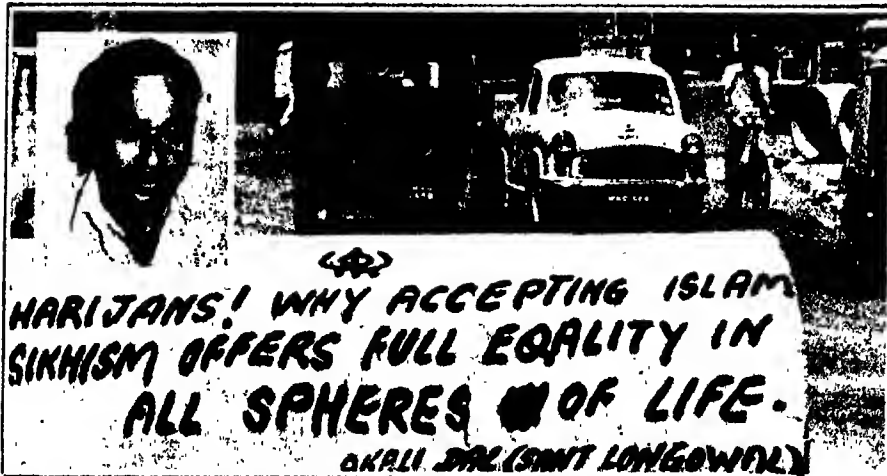
KRILD

asian paints

BIHAR

Harijan doctor calls for mass conversion

Reason: criminal discrimination by authorities



'Convert to Sikhism' say writings on a drain pipe in Delhi (inset) Dr. Ram

Patna: Bihar may be the next state where mass conversions to Islam will take place. Dr Harinandan Ram, a harijan doctor has announced that next year, on Republic Day, 26 January, he along with 500 other harijans, mostly employees of government institutions, will embrace Islam. The reason: discrimination in appointments and promotions in government offices.

The case of Dr Ram, who is a demonstrator in Patna's government Ayurvedic College, is one such example of gross discrimination. On 10 March 1976, he had applied for the post of a manager in this institution. On 2 July, the selection board of the Bihar Public Service Commission (BPSC) approved of his candidature and his name was placed first on the list. However, Dr Nagesh Dwivedi, a Brahmin, who is the director of Deshi Chikitsa and the only expert on ayurvedic medicine on the board, forwarded the name of another candidate, Srikant Dubey, a Brahmin, for the post. But the harijan members on the board of BPSC successfully managed to keep Dr Ram's name first on the list as they said the seat was reserved for a scheduled caste candidate.

Next, however, a move was made to disqualify Dr Ram on grounds of inadequate qualifications. The minimum qualification for applying for the post of the manager is three years' experience. Dr Ram had accordingly submitted a certificate of experience from a

private ayurvedic firm, M/s Deshbandhu Ayurvedic Bhawan, Patna, stating that he had the necessary experience. But, according to Dr Ram, on 21 July 1976, the proprietor of the firm, Mr S. K. Jha, landed up at his house and asked for the certificate for re-checking with the firm's records, with a promise that it would be returned. Dr Ram then handed over the certificate to him. The certificate was, however, never returned. Mr Jha later issued a written denial stating that he had not given a certificate of experience to Dr Ram.

This put Dr Ram in a fix as he was unable to submit the original documents relating to his experience. The health department lost no time in

Dr Ram with his family



registering a case of forgery against him and the sub-divisional officer of Patna (city), Mr G.D. Mishra, was instructed to conduct an enquiry against Dr Ram. Mr Mishra, a Brahmin, submitted his report soon after, in which he stated that no firm by the name of Deshbandhu Ayurvedic Bhawan existed and that Dr Ram had submitted a false certificate of experience. On 10 October 1976, Dr Ram was suspended from the post of demonstrator.

Dr Ram's wife, Mrs Bharti Ram wrote letters to Mrs Gandhi, Mr Jagjivan Ram and Mr Bholu Paswan Shastri (who was then the chairman of the central harijan adivasi commission) pleading justice for her husband, but they went unanswered. (At that time the chief minister of Bihar was Dr Jagannath Mishra. Meanwhile, the post of the manager remained vacant.

In 1977, when the Janata Party came to power, both at the centre and in the state, Jabir Hussain, Bihar's new health minister ordered a fresh probe into Dr Ram's case. Mr Prabhakaran, the then health commissioner, conducted an inquiry and submitted a report which ran contrary to the report submitted by Mr Mishra. It said: "M/s Deshbandhu Ayurvedic Bhawan is situated in Patna city and has been supplying *deshi* medicine to the government for the last 20 years. Dr Ram had got an experience certificate from this firm which was duly attested by the principal of Tibbia College and shown to the commission authorities at the time of the interview." Dr Ram was reinstated as the demonstrator of Patna's Ayurvedic College on 4 January 1978.

Later, under the chief ministership of Mr Ram Sundar Das (who was a harijan chief minister), a harijan welfare committee of the Assembly examined Dr Ram's complaint and declared that Dr N. Dwivedi, through unfair means and with the help of Mr S.K. Jha had declared Dr Ram unfit for the post of the manager and that "there was no concrete ground to suspend him nor the allegation of the false certificate proved." It further stated: "Dr Ram, who was the first choice of the BPSC, may immediately be appointed to the reserved post of manager and legal action be taken against Dr N. Dwivedi."

Though six years have passed, the post still remains vacant. Questions have been raised in the Assembly and on 23 July 1979, the government while replying to a question put by Badulal Madhukar, MLC, assured that within two months Dr Ram would be allowed to join his post. But nothing came of that. Finally, after realising that he can do little in face of the criminal discrimination against harijans, Dr Ram has decided to embrace Islam. He has contacted many Muslim leaders and has circulated an open letter calling on fellow harijans to convert to Islam. The letter ends with the slogan: "Jai Bharat, Jai Islam, Jai manav, Jai iman. (Victory to India, victory to Islam, victory to mankind, victory to the faith in Islam)."

Arun Ranjan

Does Sharad Pawar matter?



Devaraj Urs: left high and dry



Sharad Pawar: at the helm

New Delhi: The younger elements in the Congress(U), as the party was known till the Election Commission derecognised it in late July, have won a protracted struggle against the old guard. Mr Sharad Pawar, a former chief minister of Maharashtra, has finally taken over as the party chief from the former Karnataka chief minister, Mr Devaraj Urs. Mr Urs had been the target of the younger group, led by Mr Pawar, for a long time. But the derecognition of the party, the departure of stalwarts like Mr Y. B. Chavan and Babu Jagjivan Ram, and the further depletion of the party's dying strength led to the final eclipse of the Karnataka leader.

Mr Urs did not expect to be as isolated as he found himself to be when the party's working committee met in New Delhi on 24 July, for the first time since the Election Commission's verdict and the consequent approval by the Supreme Court. To stave off the offensive, Mr Urs volunteered to resign. But there was a catch. In his resignation letter, Mr Urs asked the party to ponder whether a change of leadership was "desirable." He had expected at least a section to rally around him, but the support for him was lukewarm. Tamil Nadu's PCC chief Mrs Ananthanayaki, Haryana president Mr O. P. Malik, Bihar's Mr Ramlakhan Yadav and Jammu and Kashmir's Mr Bhim Singh were the only ones who made some noises in favour of Mr Urs. And that was insufficient to keep him in his chair. He was asked by the CWC members to prop-

ose the name of his successor, Mr Sharad Pawar, to make the succession look peaceful. He refused.

Mr Sharad Pawar has not become the president of his party at a comfortable time. At one stage, in July, it was Mr Pawar who was causing concern to his comrades because of his wavering on whether to stay in the party or cross over to Mrs Gandhi's fold along with his mentor, Mr Y. B. Chavan. But he decided to remain in the opposition.

(And as a result perhaps, Mr Chavan's welcome in the Congress(I) turned sour.) Now, as the president, Mr Pawar will have to spend long nights persuading his partymen, particularly in Kerala and Karnataka, not to cross over to the Congress(I). The Karnataka PCC(U), led by Mr D. D. Chandre Gowda, and a section of the Kerala party, led by Mr Vyalar Ravi, a working committee member, are seriously considering crossing over to the Congress(I). Mr Ravi did not attend the CWC meeting fully, and that has added to the speculation about his future moves. Messrs Gowda and Ravi tried to rope Mr Priya Ranjan Dasmunsi into a conspiracy, but Mr Dasmunsi did not agree.

That is not the only problem before Mr Pawar. The working committee which elected him had among other things to find a new name for the party. Eventually, that decision was postponed. So, Mr Pawar gets a fully *ad hoc* organisation, with not even a name decided. The properties of the party are also now disputed, after the Election Commission verdict. The Congress(I) has taken over the Congress(U) offices outside Delhi, but in the capital, in the gaze of the national press, it has refrained from taking any such step. But every day begins for the Congress(U) office at 3 Raisina Road with apprehensions.

The emergence of Mr Pawar, however, may prove to be a positive development in the opposition camp. Mr Pawar has been in constant touch with Mr Chandra Shekhar, the Janata Party president, over the last few months, and sources close to him say that he is in favour of at least a working unity, if not merger with the Janata. Mr Pawar does not also have any ego problems vis-a-vis Mr Chandra Shekhar. He is willing to work under him. Mr Pawar today heads one of the most dynamic and youthful teams in the opposition camp, of people like Mr Dharam Bir

The escape visa for businessmen

New Delhi: India's biggest industrialists always have visa permits to one or two countries stamped on their passports throughout the year. These tourist visas, permitting a stay of three months, are periodically renewed by each industrialist so that if need be the gentleman concerned can fly out of the country by the very next flight. According to informed sources the number of Indian businessmen who are always prepared for a quick exit runs into several hundreds. The list includes names of a number of pillars of the Indian economy.

There is at least one person on the office staff of each tycoon entrusted with the responsibility of renewing the entry visas. Visas for more than one country are obtained so that the tycoon can choose to go to the point

most convenient from the political and the business angle. A number of Latin American countries figure prominently in the list of favoured sanctuaries. One reason for this is that Latin America is so far from India that by going there the tycoon can simply "disappear" from the eyes of the investigating agencies.

Though business circles insist that the visa-game is used only as a final resort, there are innumerable occasions when a business magnate makes a quick trip abroad to postpone local embarrassment. One of the most celebrated cases in this context was Mr K. K. Birla's hurriedly arranged foreign trip a couple of years ago, when former industry minister Mr George Fernandes had clashed with Mr Birla. Anil Saari



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Remember the elephant!

Sinha, Mr A. K. Antony, Mr P. R. Dasmunsi, Mrs Ambika Soni, Mr K. P. Unnikrishnan, Mr Saugata Roy. Besides, his party has in some states veterans with good reputations. For example, almost the entire pre-split Congress leadership in Assam, former CM Mr Sharat Chandra Sinha, former AICC president Mr D. K. Barooah and Mr Bedabrata Barua is with the party. Another veteran Assam leader, Mr Dinesh Goswami, who at present sits as an independent in the Rajya Sabha, is thinking of joining the party. In Bihar, the party has Mr Ramlakhan Singh Yadav and three Lok Sabha MPs, Mr Sinha, Mr R. P. Yadav and Mr D. P. Yadav. Besides, veteran leader Mr Bhola Paswan Shastri is in the party. In Uttar Pradesh, the party, though badly truncated, has a senior leader like Mr Raj Mangal Pandey. The effective units of the party, however, are in Maharashtra, Kerala

and Karnataka. And in the last two states trouble is brewing.

In his maiden statement after assuming office, Mr Pawar has listed the parties with whom he would like to work in close cooperation: the Janata, the Lok Dal, the Democratic Socialist Party and the Janwadi party (of Mr Chandrajit Yadav). This long list may make cooperation difficult; the opposition parties are unable to decide upon the parameters of an alliance. Some would like to include the BJP, others shun that party. Similarly, it is unlikely that the Janwadi party of Chandrajit Yadav can sit along with Mr Bahuguna and Mr Raj Narain's Democratic Socialist Party. Again, both Janwadi and DSP will be anathema to the Lok Dal. But with Mr Pawar at the helm of the Congress(U), the Congress(U) certainly has become a more acceptable ally for the Lok Dal and the Janata. Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

is well aware that Mr Keishing and Mr Yangmashu Shazia cannot remain together, is doing little to dissuade Mr Shaiza from joining the Congress (I). Mr Keishing is thus in a tight corner and is doing his best to scuttle Mr Shaiza's entry into the Congress (I).

But Mr Keishing is not the only one to have annoyed the Prime Minister. Apparently, the minister of state for home affairs, Mr Yogendra Makwana is now under fire for misleading the PM on the question of the formation of a government headed by Mr Keishing after the lifting of President's rule in the state.

According to reports received by the PM, the law and order situation in the state is deplorable. Insurgency cannot be controlled and the officials are demoralised because of politicisation of the top bureaucracy. It is reported that Mrs Gandhi is now considering the question of having an alternative leader for the state in order to have an effective administration. Mr Burney, secretary, union home ministry, who is likely to be sworn in as the Governor of Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura in the third week of this month will be asked to study the situation and submit a report to the centre. Mrs Gandhi is likely to take a decision about Manipur only after she receives the first hand report. The present situation of the state, however, calls for a quick decision by the Prime Minister, and it is not unlikely that Mr Makwana too, may have to pay a price for misleading the PM regarding the formation of a government in the state.

A Special Correspondent

MANIPUR

Time up for Mr Rishang Keishing?

New Delhi: Mr Rishang Keishing, the chief minister of Manipur, is by all appearances, on his way out. Like his predecessor, Mr Dorendra Singh, who was removed from office because of his alleged involvement in 'anti-national' activities, similar charges are being levelled at Mr Keishing and he may have to give up his ministership before the end of his term.

Problems arose for Mr Keishing shortly after he assumed office for the second term as chief minister. Mr Keishing defied the directive of the Congress high command by inducting six cabinet ministers for his ministry in place of three ministers approved by the high command. This has naturally irked the high command and it is doubtful whether the CM would be allowed to make further expansions in his ministry.

Further, Mr Keishing's name has been associated with the rapeseed oil and wheat products scandals. A CBI inquiry is in progress and the CM's close association with corrupt officials is no secret, especially to the Prime Minister, who is constantly being fed by the intelligence system of various agencies.

Corruption is mounting in the administration. There is no financial discipline and little regard is shown to the budgetary provisions passed in the Assembly. Huge purchases are being made without observing any financial rules. But what has probably stunned New Delhi most, is the cold blooded murder of Mr Bhaumik, the agricultural adviser to the Manipur government in Imphal, and the subsequent unwillingness of the state government to act quickly and effectively to uncover the



Mr Rishang Keishing: on his way out

plot that caused the death of Mr Bhaumik. It appears intriguing to the home ministry that at first the CBI was asked to enquire into the murder and then the government withdrew the request only to ask the CBI again to assist in the enquiry. Naturally, this has led to the suspicion that the Rishang government is trying to shield the people involved in the conspiracy.

Unhappy about the affairs of the state, not only the high command but the Prime Minister too is cooling towards the chief minister. She has already met a number of people from the Congress (I) from Manipur. Meanwhile, Mr Yangmashu Shaiza, the former chief minister of Manipur, is trying to capitalise on Mrs Gandhi's attitude towards Mr Keishing and is doing his best to join the Congress (I) with nine or ten members of his group. The Congress (I) high command which

TAMIL NADU

MGR creates history

Madras: Chief minister, Mr M. G. Ramachandran, recently sent shock waves through the Tamil Nadu secretariat by easing out chief secretary Mr V. Karthikeyan and replacing him with K. Diraviam. Mr Karthikeyan was in charge of the relatively unimportant job of heading the state planning commission, which as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned is one department which is redundant and barely alive.

What has demoralised the top echelons of the state's bureaucracy was not merely the 'demotion' of Mr Karthikeyan but the manner in which his successor was found. In appointing Mr K. Diraviam to the post of chief secretary, MGR found himself with another problem: there were five IAS officers ahead of his candidate in terms of seniority. This included Mr C. V. R. Pannickar who served as chief secretary when Mr Karthikeyan took over as the third adviser to the Governor during President's rule. So MGR did the next best thing: he upgraded all the

four officers to the rank of chief secretary. (Pannickar already holds the rank of chief secretary.)

One of the aggrieved parties contended that MGR selected Mr Diraviam primarily because he was a non-Brahmin. The superseded officers (S. P. Srinivasan, P. S. Shankaran, R. Natarajan and Ramachander) are all Brahmins. In Tamil Nadu where the

anti-Brahmin feelings dominate the two major parties, the AIADMK and DMK, one cannot afford to have a Brahmin in the key government post. (There was a furore when MGR inducted Dr H. V. Hande, a Brahmin, into his cabinet.) History has thus been created in Tamil Nadu with six in the rank of chief secretary. Ashok Kamath

Apparently Dr Rao was unwilling to give Raghu a seat because the boy was a "nuisance." He asked too many questions in class and he was so good in his subject that he "embarrassed" many an ill-equipped lecturer. Dr Rao was often at the receiving end of philosophical arguments in the BA class and consequently developed a dislike for the boy.

Raghu's death brought a wave of protest around the college campus. The students of the college went on a strike demanding a thorough enquiry into the circumstances which led to Raghu's death and asked Dr Rao for an explanation for his callous behaviour with the blind boy and why such a meritorious student was denied admission in the first instance.

The boy's father is convinced that his son could not have committed suicide. "He was mentally too strong to do such a thing. If he had suicidal inclinations he would have done it when he lost his eyesight at the age of 14 and was hospitalised for 91 days. He would have done it when he was declared "failed" in Tamil, because of an error by the computer, when he had indeed done excellently. He could not have hung himself without assistance because of his damaged right leg and he could not even walk a few feet without support. And more than anything else, he could not have considered not getting admission the end of the world because he was to get a scholarship in the near future for higher studies."

Unfortunately, Dr Rao had already changed his mind regarding the admission of Raghu following pressure exerted by other members of the staff, like Dr Harry Roberts, Prof Joseph James of the economics department, Prof Swaminathan of the commerce department and Prof Vishnu Bhat of the English department. But even before he could find time to inform Raghu, the boy had died. Ashok Kamath

EDUCATION

What caused Raghu's death?

Madras: "I don't know what actually happened to my son but I do know what did not happen to him: he did not commit suicide," said Mr S. V. Parameswaran, father of S. P. Raghu who was found hanging on 17 August in a toilet of the Madras Christian College (MCC), Tambaram, situated on the outskirts of Madras city.

Raghu had just completed his BA final in philosophy in the same college. Throughout his three years in college, he had topped his class. But, he was blind since the age of 14 and had only partial use of his right leg due to an orthopaedic ailment he suffered 16 months ago. "He was a model student both in his questions in class and his answers in the examination papers. As his marks prove, he was without doubt the best student of his class," said Dr Harry Roberts of the philosophy department.

On the fateful day of 17 August Mr Parameswaran dropped his son Raghu in front of the college post office at 8.50 am and promised to be back at 3 pm to take him home. That was the last time he saw his son alive. Two of Raghu's permanent consorts, Ravichandran and Chenthamara were to meet him in front of the college post office at 11 am but they did not find him.

When his father returned at 3 pm (he also had an appointment with Dr Abel, the principal of the college) he did not find Raghu at the appointed place. He went to the house of Raghu's best friend Ravichandran but Ravi had not seen him throughout the day either. Around 7 pm one of the guards of the college's NCC armoury went to the toilet and found Raghu hanging by a short nylon cord tied to a pipe connecting the overhead flush tank.

What drove Raghu to his death?

On 3 August Raghu had applied for admission to the MA class in philosophy in MCC. Having topped his Bachelor's examination, he thought he would easily get admission to the MA class. On 13 August when Raghu went to meet Dr Srinivasa Rao, the head of the department of philosophy, in connection with his MA seat, the professor did not seem very enthusiastic about his chances. "Listen Raghu, it is my very sincere advice that you try some-



S.P. Raghu: was he killed?

thing else. You are blind and you will not be able to cope up with the MA standard. There are as many as 40 to 45 books to be studied. How are you going to manage? This is the international year of the disabled and the government and many private companies are offering people like you a lot of jobs. Why don't you go and seek a job? What are you going to do with an MA degree?" Rao is reported to have told Raghu.

RACKETEERING

Be a smuggler and win a free trip

Trivandrum: The offer is unique! Spend six wonderful days in Male. Airfare and all expenses met. Plus you get a handsome sum of Rs 500. A crossword puzzle competition? Beauty contest? No, it's the special offer thrown open by racketeers at Trivandrum to all Indian passport holders: in return they want you to become a "white-collared smuggler."

Male, a duty free port, is the sunny capital of the Maldives, which is a group of over 1,000 tiny coral atolls, basking in the tropical blue of the Indian Ocean off the southwest shores of India. The offer is luring, and an increasing number of college youth

are grabbing this opportunity to make a foreign tour. As the fad catches on, many readily sacrifice the extra Rs 500, and some even bribe the racketeers in order to obtain a place in the 'waiting list.'

Indian Airlines operates three flights a week from Trivandrum to Male for which no visa is required. Before boarding the flight, the courier is given US \$500 with which to make the purchases. At the Maldives Island airport, Hululu, an agent meets him: the agent has already arranged for his boarding and sight-seeing tours. Later the dollars are exchanged for a bundle containing perfumes, pens and some-

times porno-picture books and video tapes.

On the day of the arrival, the 'tour operator' waits at the Trivandrum airport with enough money to pay the customs duty for the goods. Not infrequently, the couriers pass off as innocent tourists, in which case the racketeer makes a rich haul. Says Kurien, a pre-degree student who has just returned from Male: "My boss Rahim Kaka is surely a big-time operator. I was given VIP treatment. The Marwari shopkeeper whom I was asked to contact took me to another room inside the shop where I was told to select from genuine and good quality items. Most of the goods displayed in the shops are 'pirate.'

Most of the shops in Male are owned by Marwaris, Sikhs and Sindhis. Operators from India deal with a selected few shops that supply genuine goods. They offer attractive discounts not only for large purchases, but goods are often under-billed to aid their clients at the customs.

According to the Indian Customs Regulations, the first Rs 1,000 worth of goods is duty free. For the next Rs 2,000 worth of goods a duty of 150% is levied and a duty of 320% for all goods in excess of Rs 3,000. In spite of the exorbitant duty, racketeers manage to make enormous profits by selling the imported items to the phoren-goods crazy Indians. However, an Indian going abroad can avail of a maximum amount of US \$500 only once a year, according to the Foreign Travel Scheme (FTS). Consequently, racketeers have begun to run out of passport holders eligible for FTS and hence are making attractive offers to lure willing smugglers.

Mr K. Sasidharan, a senior customs officer at the Trivandrum airport who is an expert at picking out couriers says, "Often the racketeers get so desperate that the couriers turn out to be aged fisherfolk and even poor slum dwellers who look completely lost in their tourist-like attire. Most of them can't even read or write and haven't even travelled in a car. It's a wonder how they manage to come back in one piece. Often we confiscate the goods or impose heavy fines, yet, most of these smugglers manage to pay the amount, thanks to the loan sharks queueing outside."

A parallel money-lending racket exists near the customs exit-door where money-lenders loan out any amount to passengers in distress for enormous interest rates of 20% to 30% per hour. Often the unwary Middle East passenger, in his anxiety to clear his goods, accepts the services of these loan sharks, only to be confronted with the problem of either repaying the amount with interest within a short span of time, or parting with that portion of his luggage, which is of the loan shark's choice. The smart racketeer thus makes up for the duty paid for his goods from Male by milking the unwary Middle East passenger dry.

Ramesh Balan

INDIAN PUBLISHING

'People are relapsing into illiteracy'

New Delhi: Those political potboilers written by local newsy-nosed Jack Andersons are no longer instant best-sellers, which used to make publishers fat, in that golden time of publishing, just after the Emergency was lifted.

Religion has now overtaken politics. Mr Narendra Kumar, the managing director of Vikas, and the Midas of the publishing industry with all the post-Emergency quickies, says that the *Mahabharata* and other Vikas publications are doing extremely well.

Mr Kumar, is the new president of Publishers Association of India and consequently, the vice-president of the International Publishers Association. In this capacity, he is indeed a very worried man—although a very articulate and voluble one. India is just not producing books, and people are no longer reading, he maintains. "A large majority of the people are relapsing into illiteracy in India...the gap between what is actually published and what can be published is in fact getting larger." What is even more distressing is the number of graduates who turn their backs on books, once they come out of the university.

There are two basic reasons for the impasse in the publishing industry according to Mr Kumar: the lack of a

library movement and the measly number of books printed. "While 34 industrialised countries with 30% of the world's population produce 80% of the world's book titles, 18 countries of the developing world with 28% of the population publish only seven per cent of the book titles," says Mr Kumar.

A book culture could only be created if a library movement were to be made effective at the grassroots level. But, libraries are only given a "pittance" according to Mr Kumar to purchase books. Magazines have, in fact, encroached on some of the territory of the publishers—especially the political one. The potential market for publishers in India is phenomenal: the college enrolment figures are 35 lakhs. Naturally, textbooks are the most lucrative area in publishing, and the most coveted. Perhaps this is why textbook publishing is a subject of discontent amongst most publishers, because it is a nationalised industry.

If Indian publishers can't encroach on the forbidden territory of textbooks in India, they are certainly doing so with increased vigour abroad. Many of our enterprising publishers are moving on to Africa. College textbooks are the money spinners now.

Madhu Jain

Phoolan Devi on the silver screen

Rita Bhadhuri as Phoolan Devi



Indore: The saga of Phoolan Devi the notorious dacoit queen is now going to appear on the silver screen. *Kahani Phoolan Ki*, the tentative title of the film, will have Rita Bhadhuri playing the central role and Suresh Oberoi has been cast in the role of Vikram Mallah, the paramour of Phoolan. Others in the cast are Joy Mukherjee, Abhijit Sen and Prema Narayan. With an estimated budget of Rs 40 to Rs 50 lakhs, the film will be made simultaneously in Hindi and Bengali. The outdoor shooting, which will be done in and around Indore, is scheduled to begin in the third week of September and the film is likely to be released by the beginning of next year.

Mr Ashok Roy is directing the film. Mr Roy had earlier shot into fame with his film *Putlibai*, a notorious lady of her times; his other films include *Chor Machaya Shor*, *Hiralal Pannalal* and *Kasam Khoon Ki*. The man behind the camera is Varun Mukherjee, whose cinematography for *Chakra* has already made him famous.

Premchand and the (bogus) Indian leftists

At a time when the Indian communists ignored China, and refused to recognise the Indian peasantry as a potential revolutionary force, it was the writer Premchand who was drawing India's attention to studies like Mao's Hunan Report.

By AMIT KUMAR GUPTA

Of all the politically oriented people in India in the early Thirties, only Premchand appeared to be aware of the Hunan Report—the popular name for the three analytical investigations conducted by Mao Tse-tung in 1926-27 into the condition of the Chinese peasants in the province of Hunan. It was noticed and discussed the world over. But in India, where it should have received the maximum attention, the report was ignored; only in Premchand's magazine, *Hans*, did it find mention.

The Indian peasantry, proportionately as large as the Chinese, had participated in the nationalist movement in the Twenties and Thirties and merged its cause with the anti-imperialist movement. This was the time when the peasants were growing restless. Yet no one bothered to understand or examine the significance of the tensions prevailing in rural India. In consequence, the self-styled socialists within the Congress, the pseudo Marxist-Leninists outside it, the Communist Party of India and its hardcore theoreticians, all overlooked the Hunan Report and its significance. So much so that Indian leftist political literature of the period between 1927, when the Hunan Report was prepared, and 1938, when Edgar Snow publicised Mao's revolutionary activities, is almost entirely devoid of an interest in Mao's experimentation.

Premchand was the only exception; in the issue of *Hans* dated 28 June 1933, his editorial stressed the need for an enquiry into the condition of Indian peasants. Whether revolutionist or reformist, any one who wanted to help the peasantry could only do so if he was able to undertake the hard task of measuring the problems, Premchand wrote. He added that "in our neighbouring country, China, a political leader has set an example by completing such an enquiry in Hunan province. The work is full of complexities and it needs great labour. Realising this, our politicians prefer to remain silent about it." He did not mention Mao's name; nor did he elabo-



Munshi Premchand (1880-1936)

rate on the lesson that Mao drew from the Hunan Report. Premchand was probably ignorant of all the developments which were taking place in China. But he was not wholly ignorant of the main trend of events in that country. In his play *Satyagraha*, first published in *Saraswati* in June 1931, one of the characters speaks of "the process of change" that the Chinese people were passing through. In *Bitan*, a short story published in *Madhuri* in September 1935, he wrote about the Chinese being "freed from mental slavery." There are also instances of Premchand expressing his satisfaction in the editorial columns of *Hans* over what he termed in a May 1933 issue as "the spread of Bolshevism in China."

Although Premchand's revolutionary fervour was inspired by Marxism-Leninism, it was not shared by the so-called Marxist-Leninists. To the

Communist Party of India, which came into being in the first half of the 1920s, the peasantry appeared insignificant when compared to the working class—theoretically the most revolutionary of all classes. Even when the Indian communists spoke of the peasantry they did so without attaching any importance to the revolutionary potential of rural India. In their eagerness to preserve the sanctity of Marxism-Leninism, the communists were so obsessed with the urban sector, the industrial labour and the middle-class youth, that they remained appallingly ignorant of the condition of Indian peasants; this left the vast agrarian sector in the sole care of the Congress and its well-to-do farmer allies. It is obvious that Premchand failed to impress the Indian communists who shared neither his feelings nor Mao's enthusiasm for innovative thought; they continued to do their 'good work' disregarding the interests of rural India where approximately 75 per cent of the country's population lived. When they finally remembered the peasantry in 1936, the communists decided to join the Kisan Sabha in which the rich, the middle and small peasants as well as the agricultural labourers were huddled together—a kind of Aesopian stream for quenching the thirst of tigers and sheep, all at the same time.

The attitude of the Indian communists in a crisis-ridden and basically agricultural country reeling under colonial rule was similar to that of their Chinese counterparts when their country too was under colonial domination. The Chinese communists had also taken a very doctrinaire stand, giving utmost importance to the tiny urban working class and treating the vast majority of peasants rather disdainfully. The peasantry was regarded by the Chinese communists as a class of petty-bourgeois land owners who believed in property consciousness and ever-compromising postures. So, while the Indian communists left their peasantry in the care of the Congress, the Chinese left their's in the hands of the Kuomintang.

But the Chinese scored better than their Indian comrades in applying Lenin's theory that communists in colonial countries should participate in anti-imperialist movements led by the bourgeoisie. And so it was that communists in China joined hands with the Kuomintang in 1922 and were soon exposed to Dr Sun Yat Sen's pro-peasant functioning; in the ranks of those naively puritan communists was a man called Mao Tse-tung who, coming from a peasant background, learnt quicker than his comrades. Earlier, Mao had scrupulously declassified himself by sharing the Chinese communists' distaste for the peasantry and devoted his energies to the organising of the labour class. But working with the Kuomintang, his interest in the peasantry was roused. The peasant agitation in Kwantung in 1924 and its repercussions in the form of anti-imperialist movements throughout the province of Hunan in May and June 1925, moved him and he discovered a revolutionary temper in rural China. It dawned upon Mao that in order to bring about a revolution in an agrarian country like China, the farmers had to be organised in a big way. And to locate the revolutionary forces among the peasantry he undertook an elaborate investigation; the result was the Hunan Report.

In January 1926, Mao wrote the first part of the report, *An analysis of the various classes of the Chinese peasantry and their attitude towards revolution*. This was followed in November 1926 by *The bitter sufferings of the peasants in Kiangnan and Chekiang and their movement of resistance*. In April 1927 Mao completed, with the help of his associates, the last part, *Report of the investigation into the peasant movement in Hunan*. Hidden in these three essays was the most imaginative application of Marxism-Leninism to the peculiar conditions of a colonial agrarian society. At the age of 33, Mao had begun guiding the destiny of China on the basis of his findings in the Hunan Report. But to keep the orthodox Comintern happy he insisted that he was only working towards a "bourgeois democratic revolution" through an agrarian movement under the "great leadership of the working class." In reality, however, he was organising a massive agrarian revolution spearheaded by the semi-proletariat of poor peasants and supported by the middle peasants, the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie. The Hunan Report became a topic of controversy among the flagbearers of the international communist movement. The controversy became more pronounced as Mao's innovation surfaced with time.

The developments in China may have impressed the 38-year-old socially conscious writer, Dhanpat Rai, who had adopted the pseudonym 'Premchand' to escape the wrath of the British government in India; but initially it was the October Revolution which attracted his attention. In a letter to Munshi Dayanarayan Nigam



Chinese peasants at work: they shaped Premchand's thoughts



Mao: the practical krantikari

(dated 6 July 1918) Premchand expressed his desire to start a magazine to serve the interests of the "workers and peasants." And as the picture of the revolution in Russia became clearer, Premchand's left leanings became more pronounced. In yet another letter to Munshi Dayanarayan Nigam (dated 21 December 1919) he declared his unconditional conversion to Bolshevism. This, of course, did not imply that the writer had become a formal communist (it should be remembered that the Communist Party of India was not yet born); it probably meant that he was impressed with the ideals of Bolshevism and that he desired to commit himself, as a creative writer, to the cause of the underdogs of society. From then onwards Premchand did try to honour his commitment and while doing so he was caught in the vortex of

the non-cooperation movement. In February 1921 he resigned from his government job; his literary and journalistic pursuits became his source of livelihood as well.

It was at this point that he appeared to have been impressed by some of the reformist ideals of Gandhism, especially those which offered remedies to economic inequality, communal and caste hatred, rural poverty and the low status of women. But what perhaps influenced him the most was the Gandhian concern for rural India. Premchand came from a rural background and was familiar with the peasant's life and sufferings; he was looking for a prescription, no matter how idealistic, to improve the lot of the peasantry. Unfortunately, it was this very obsession with rural India that made him part ways with Gandhiji. The more he dug deep into agrarian problems the more he felt alienated from Gandhism and the Congress programme. By the late 1920s Premchand was convinced that foreign rule, colonial expropriation and social inequalities and injustices were all interlinked; they could only be removed by a social upheaval—*kranti* (revolution).

In 1928 he initiated a spate of incisive articles on the problems of the independence movement and of the *kisans* which appeared in a number of Hindi literary magazines. By now it was clear that Premchand had drifted away from the reformist ideals; he was obsessed with *kranti* and provided ample evidence of this by starting work on *Godan* (1929) which was soon to become his most celebrated novel, and by launching two magazines, *Hans* (1930) and *Jagran* (1932) which served as a platform for the peasants. In a letter to Banarasi Das Chaturvedi (dated 8 June 1932) Premchand claimed to be a "chronicler of the peasant society;" and true to his claim, he devoted all his writings between 1928 and the year of his death (1936) to the cause of the agrarian community.

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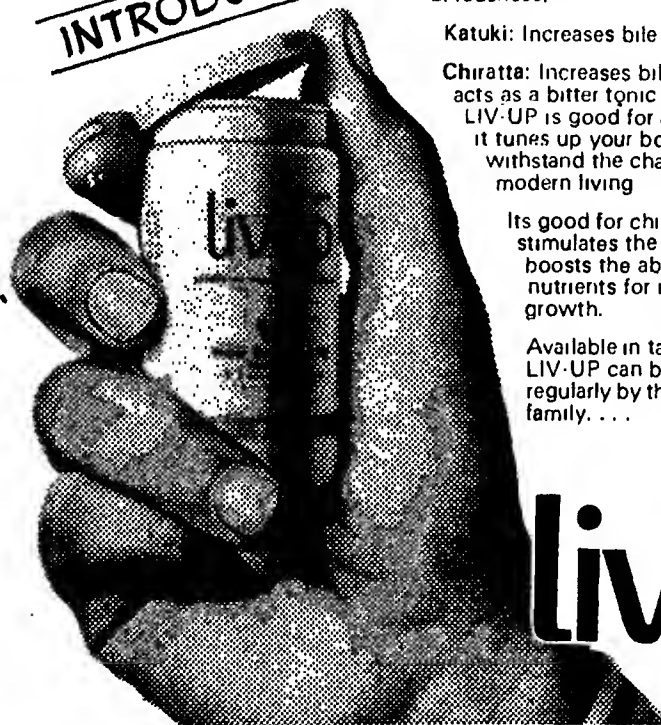
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The Government

BHEL for Faridabad thermal plant?

Mr Harish Khanna, the chairman of the Haryana State Electricity Board, recently tried to contradict a news item when he said that the contract for the maintenance of the Faridabad Thermal Plant was not given to any outside agency. But the Board has appointed BHEL as consultants for units I and II of 60 MW each, which needed thorough "checking" and "replacements," he added. He did not reveal how much the consultants would be paid for the job but the amount is going to be as high as Rs 20 lakhs. High-ups in the Board have disclosed that maintenance by the BHEL engineers is long overdue. Of course, the BHEL engineers were expected to be better equipped with technical knowledge. But the decision of entrusting maintenance has been taken after the local engineers, intrigued at numerous enquiries into purchases made during the last maintenance "refused" to undertake the job. The consultants would naturally charge for the replacements if any. And, the local engineers, of course, would also be associated with the job.

Is the anti-strike ordinance justified?

Strange things are achieved through ordinances. The anti-strike ordinance, for instance, was presumably meant to prevent future strikes in industries, and, therefore, reduce from now on the number of mandays lost. Instead, the ordinance has chalked up the remarkable fact of pushing up the number of mandays lost because of strikes in the past.

Till the other day, it was the official claim that only 12.9 million mandays were lost due to strikes and lock-outs in 1980, a figure which compared very favourably with the 42.9 million mandays lost in 1979.

But these are uncomfortable facts when a draconian ordinance has been issued empowering any police official to arrest anyone who so much as contributes to a strike fund. So what happens? Hey presto! The number of mandays lost in 1980 shoots up from the previously announced 12.9 million to 20.8 million—a 60 per cent increase. And now the government can claim with a straight face that the ordinance was justified, since 1980 was not a peaceful year after all, but one plagued by strikes and lock-outs.

Parliamentary report on Thal Vaishet

The Thal Vaishet contract case has now become the subject of a Parliamentary committee report. The committee on public undertakings, headed by Mr Bansi Lal, has recorded the evidence of the petroleum ministry officials in the case relating to the delay in the Thal Vaishet fertiliser project of the Rashtriya Chemicals and Fertilisers Ltd. The reason for the delay: the government took a long time to finalise the consultancy contract of the project.

The evidence given by the secretary of the department of chemicals and fertilisers, Mr K. V. Ramnathan, makes interesting reading. The committee asked Mr Ramnathan how the offer of the Danish firm, Haldor Topsoe, was found to be "comprehensive and attractive" and whether the committee of ministers (which decided the case) had the advantage of any superior technical advice. To this Mr Ram-

nathan replied, "I can't say 'superior technical advice'. They have gone into what I may say weighty non-technical reasons." He further pointed out that the cabinet decision was made merely on the basis of the recommendations of the committee of ministers, which said, "The offer by Topsoe for transfer of technology is comprehensive and attractive."

The most interesting part of the report is a footnote on page 40 which had recorded this evidence of the secretary. The footnote, referring to the above evidence, reads: "At the time of factual verification, department of chemicals and fertilisers pointed out that the secretary was not associated with all the discussions of the committee of ministers and that the evidence was given by him in the context of the reasons given in the press note (issued at the time of granting the contract to Topsoe) only."



What is hawala?

By ANIL SAARI

"Hawala" is the name for an assortment of business tricks which help businessmen to evade income tax, wealth tax and, in some cases, excise duties. Hawala methods can be used to convert future taxable profits into black money, white money in hand can be converted into black money and black money can be converted into legitimate funds that can be openly invested.

In commercial circles hawala is also referred to as "entry dena" (providing bank entries) and is operated through commission agents themselves by simply providing their names and their bank accounts to regular businessmen. These book transactions manipulate accounts so that profits are shown to be accruing to somebody other than the manufacturer, whereas in actuality they are siphoned back to him in black.

For instance, manufacturer Mr A might be producing goods at his factory at a cost of Rs 10 per unit. The market price of that item may be much higher, say Rs 100, per unit. Therefore, a legitimate sale of that product would bring a profit of Rs 90 per unit to the manufacturer and lead to a fairly high income tax claim on the manufacturer. In order to avoid these high taxes, the manufacturer will sell his goods to a middleman at Rs 20 per unit. This sale is registered in his account books for tax purposes. However, after the middleman sells off the goods at Rs 100 per unit, he only keeps back his commission and passes off the rest of the Rs 80 profit to the manufacturer in cash that is not accounted for in the ledgers of the middleman or the manufacturer. This goes into the manufacturer's black money fund.

The sale to the middleman is entirely fictitious and only registered in the account books. The middleman makes no investment at all. He simply opens his bank account and his ledgers for use by the manufacturer paying him the commission. There are hundreds of middlemen in the country who indulge in hawala. They operate from very small offices—or only from a small tablespace, as is common in Bombay. A personal telephone and a peon are all the equipment and staff the hawala middleman requires though he handles transactions worth crores of rupees. He has no godowns of his own nor a distribution-transportation system. The stocking and the delivery is made by the manufacturer. Many people in the business world believe that the income tax department got wise to

the recently unearthed hawala racket at Bombay (23 August) because they observed that many businessmen were buying and selling goods in crores without owning any godowns of their own.

There are two more methods used by hawala agents. Their work is defined in business parlance as "jama-kharch ka kaam (deposit and expenditure system)." First there is the reversible bank-entry system which provides a commission—the current rate for which these days is half per cent per month, i.e. fifty paise per Rs hundred per month—accruing to six per cent interest per year. Another expense incurred by a businessman seeking a helpful bank-entry is the brokerage he has to pay to entry-brokers, known technically as finan-



Calcutta stock exchange

cial brokers. The financial brokers are very much like the suppliers of junior artistes in the film industry. On demand, the broker supplies people willing to give bank-entries to businessmen. The current brokerage charges vary from 0.1% to 0.15%, that is, ten to fifteen paise for a brokerage of Rs 100.

The reversible bank-entry system is most simple to understand. For instance, Mr A may give Mr B a specified sum, say Rs one lakh by cheque. Mr B, who provides the bank-entry, deposits the cheque in his account, takes out the money and returns Rs one lakh to Mr A, after deducting his commission. This simple hawala operation helps Mr A to convert Rs one lakh of white money into black money. Alternately, Mr A could give one lakh rupees in

"cash (cash is the lingo for black money)" to Mr B. In return, Mr B gives a "loan" of Rs one lakh by cheque to Mr A. This "loan" can be legally invested in any business he chooses.

The term, "reversible bank-entry," implies that both these transactions can also be reversed. When the need arises, for example in the first instance, Mr A will give Mr B Rs one lakh in cash and Mr B will repay his "loan" of Rs one lakh by cheque to Mr A. Alternately, in the second instance, Mr A will return his "loan" to Mr B and Mr B will give this amount in cash to Mr A. Reversible bank-entries are very common among businessmen dealing in the manufacture and wholesale purchase of goods. It is believed that practically all leading Indian manufacturers have a financial-broker on their office staff.

The other kind of bank-entry, the irreversible bank-entry, is particularly popular in the Indian film-industry, where a practise is popularly known as "adjustment." For instance, a film costing Rs 50 lakhs is sold only in two circuits for Rs 10 lakhs each. If the film flops, the producer will try to make "adjustments" in the other four distribution circuits. He will find a distributor in each circuit who is willing to make an "adjustment" with the producer. In each case, the producer will sell his film for Rs two lakhs in cash per circuit but on paper the deal will be shown to have been made at Rs ten lakhs each. This "adjustment" enables the producer to convert Rs 8 lakhs from black into white money that he can show in his bank account. It also enables the distributor to convert Rs 10 lakhs to the producer who has returned his Rs 8 lakhs in cash to the distributor, because the deal was actually for Rs 2 lakhs.

The fourth hawala practice popular in India is at the stock-exchanges. Here the hawala commission agents become the channel of "benami" investments and purchases. For instance, a businessman with a lot of black money but limited resources in his books may buy shares in the name of 20 people whom he gives a commission. These 20 commission agents will buy the shares in their name but they will give their financier blank transfer deeds that have been signed by them. So whenever the financier needs to sell his "benami" shares, he may use these blank deeds. As a safety measure, "benami" shares are always sold by their real owner in a chain of three or four sales to hide the identities of the real owner and the commission agents he has employed.

'Policy constraints inhibit industrial growth'



Arvind Narottam Lalbhai

Arvind Narottam Lalbhai, head of the Lalbhai group of industries and newly elected president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) tells T. N. Ninan

Q : What will be your main goal in your year as president of FICCI?

A : My most important goal will be to see that your industrial growth reaches 10 per cent or more. If Korea can achieve 12 per cent, there is no reason why India can't achieve 10 per cent.

Q : How do you think this can be done?

A : Over the last six months, the government's policy has been pragmatic. I can cite a few examples. It has allowed five per cent automatic growth to industrial units, it has given facilities to 100 per cent export-oriented units, and despite the difficult foreign exchange situation, it has been liberal to industry in its new import policy. I would like to carry on further talks with the government to see if there are any other policy constraints and to see how these can be overcome.

Q : Do you think policy constraints are the main factor inhibiting industrial growth?

A : They are the main factor. These constraints relate to finance, to the investment climate, the degree of resources which companies can retain, and so on.

Q : The government has already announced many policy liberalisations. Do you think industry has responded to these?

A : Matters have already improved. Recent issues of shares have evoked a good response. But you must realise that there is always a time lag between the announcement of a policy change and the fruits of that change becoming available. To my mind, industry has responded positively to what the government has done. Also, any increase in production depends on adequate supply of the infra-structural inputs.

Q : After your recent annual meeting of FICCI, many observers have suggested that the format of your annual meetings serves little purpose, since it results not in a dialogue between the government and industry

but two monologues. Would you agree with this?

A : I beg to differ. You must realise that the annual meeting of FICCI is not just a three-day discussion. The deliberations during these three days are carried forward in the next few weeks. Our resolutions are forwarded to the government, and I, as the president, have been meeting various people in the government about what FICCI wants.

Q : FICCI's demands during this last session were far more sweeping in scope than on earlier occasions. Why?

A : I don't agree with that. Our resolutions were very balanced. During the discussions, members from the floor may have said many things. But that is a different thing.

Q : In his inaugural address, President Sanjiva Reddy made a pointed reference to black money. But FICCI did not respond to his suggestion that industry itself should suggest how the problem can be solved. Why?

A : The finance minister has already given enough explanations in Parliament about black money. So why should we respond?

Q : Why do your annual meetings always give the impression that FICCI is never satisfied with what the government gives to the industry, and that you always have a long charter of demands?

A : FICCI's approach has been to primarily ask the government to remove hardships. This is not a charter of demands. When these are put together, they may give the appearance of being a charter of demands. But that only means that the list of difficulties facing the industry is long.

Q : The finance minister said recently that if the government's efforts at supply management failed, he would revert to demand management. What are your comments?

A : That will be a retrograde step, because then production will drop. Already our per capita consumption is

so low. So I hope it won't be necessary to curb demand further.

Q : What of Mr Venkataraman's threat to resort to further heavy taxation if his bearer bonds scheme failed?

A : The finance minister has also said that he will reduce taxation to a maximum rate of 50 per cent. If he does that, I don't think he will have to think of other measures.

Q : One of FICCI's main talking points is that industry does not have the money to invest. Yet it wants to enter capital-intensive areas like coal and power. Where do you think you will find the money?

A : We want to invest in these sectors because our very survival depends on it. This is not because the investment is attractive but because industry needs power and coal. That is why so many industries are investing in captive generation sets. Also, if the project is viable, we can get funds from the World Bank and other external sources.

Q : If what you say about lack of investment funds and heavy taxation is true, then why are some companies like Reliance Textiles and Telco able to invest heavily in expansion and yet have zero or very low liability?

A : Well, if you invest you get rebates. But some of these companies have also been getting money from outside, from international banks, and so on.

Q : You have said the response to capital issues is now good. Then why do you need more incentives?

A : You must realise that we raise only about Rs 100 crores through public issues every year. This is very low. With the right policies, we can raise Rs 1,000 crores from the capital market every year.

Q : You have said the public sector should be given more freedom to operate. How and why?

A : With proper management, the public sector can generate Rs 2,000 crores every year. And the government must realise that in any industry, decisions have to be taken every day. Right or wrong, these have to be taken, and they can't be taken if government controls everything... I believe that we have some top level managers in the public sector. They should be allowed freedom to operate.

KHAAS BAAT

Strange though it may sound, Javed has become more popular after the split with Salim than he was in those days when the two worked as a team. At that time Javed was known for his rude outspokenness and misbehaviour with stars. Salim, of course, used all his charm and tact to settle the little duststorms for which Javed was held responsible. But now, Salim is being blacklisted and Javed treated like a prodigal son. Strange how tables turn!

There is something strange about Hema's reported pregnancy. All the stories come from her side: how she looks, how she plans to have her baby abroad and so on. There is not a word about how Dharmendra feels about the whole thing. Of course, Dharam has been rather quiet since the day they had the marriage ceremony, and it seems hardly likely that he will open his mouth now and talk about the rumour of the expected arrival.

Dard is an experience! Hema Malini and Rajesh Khanna ham through an incredible rigmarole of incidents that test one's patience, tolerance and intelligence. And yet, the film is doing good business: it is running to packed houses



Amitabh: his voice sends people running

even in third week and throughout the working week. This just proves how big names alone can still draw a large audience.

Hardly has *Silsila* been released and criticism has started flowing in. According to a movie-goer, who is also an insider, the song *Neela asman so raha hai*, doled out by Amitabh is drawing hoots and cat-calls from the audience and people are even walking out during the song sequence. Apparently, Jaya looks like a scared rabbit all the time Amitabh is around and even looks for his approval when she has to smile at someone! However, in spite of the anti-verdict which normally follows the release of a big film, one is sure that the film will settle for a good run once the cinema-goers catch up on it.

With Nargis no more, the foundations of the Dutt household have started shaking. The tension arising out of the father-son disharmony is making itself felt. *Sunjay* is seen spending most of his time outside his father's house: in *Tina Munim's* place. He was also seen staying with his cousin for a short while. We only hope this is a passing phase and soon peace will reign in the Dutt household.

Dharmendra: a very quiet husband



Rajesh: striving to make a come back



Hema Malini: still at the old game



KHAAS BAAT

"I'd rather have you go into business," was the sincere advice of Prem Nazir, the hero of 540 films, to his collegiate son who intends to join the film industry as a hero. "There is too much of competition these days and far too much bad blood here." But son Shah Nawaz is adamant. Would his father find him a producer in Kerala? "No," said Prem Nawaz, who still thrives on chasing teenage girls around Kerala's backwaters—on screen, of course! "You'll have to try your luck in Tamil films." But while producers in Madras were friendly, distributors were not, so Prem is finally campaigning for his son among producers in Kerala. As for Shah Nawaz: "I'm prepared to wait," says Shah, "because I've at least one solid advantage—age!"

"Modelling gave me a chance to flout my precious possessions," said Swapna with a smile. The actress has absolutely no regrets about the wild fun she had during her modelling days. "And considering the trends of local advertising, I think I got a terrific deal all through, especially when I did the hotel ad!" Swapna is still wondering why she was not made to pose in a pair of hot pants, grin smugly and nurse a half-bitten hamburger for the occasion.

Music director Illaiya Raja and Balu Mahendra are having a great time these days together, recording duets for Balu's next venture starring Kamal and Sridevi and slated for release early next year. Moon-dram Parai signals Balu's return to directing after a long lapse. So long, Balu had been content with rolling the camera for others in films like Panchami. And Raja has certainly risen to the occasion in the same vein. He has made a come back for Bharatiraja's film Alaigal Oyvathillai, which has proved to be a runaway hit here, easily overtaking K. Balachander's 47 Natakai.



(Above) Jaya Malini: 'who is responsible for car accidents?'
(Below) Madhavi: 'Oh to be a housewife!'

Krishna Shah is on the war-path again, against censors and pseudo intellectual critics. "We are well past a sex revolution here. For one, I'd like to see well-filmed breasts, copulation, complicated sex techniques and so on, on the screen," he told me. "And I'm sure others do too! The censors are only making us eunuchs of unreality with their kill-joy snipping," he continued. The star had come for the premier for his first feature film Rivals which he hopes will at least run on the 'suggestive scenes' if not on any thing else.

"How can I ever move out of Puttana's life?" exclaimed actress Aarti, better known locally as Puttana Kangal's second wife. This was in reply to rumours that after their latest rather ambitious venture Ranga Nayaki flopped so miserably, Aarti had ditched her lover in search of greener, filmy pastures.

Of late, Rajnikant has been teasing our bulging Madhavi about the new lover she is supposed to have—Hindi speaking, tall, handsome, goatee beard. "I certainly haven't found my dream boy as yet!" said the actress who is still safely perched as the number one star. "But when I do, I'll probably throw up the movies sky high and settle down properly as a housewife. At least then I'll get a chance to relax, swim, eat lots and lots of tutty-fruity ice creams and noodles!"

Dancer Jaya Malini is never fussy about the enormous turn-out of ogling technicians (most of them popping in from the neighbouring studios) during her cabaret shots. "If they get such a kick out of seeing my navel and the tops of my breasts, good for them!" Police are now frantically moving to tear down larger-than-life cinema hoardings of the scantily clad dancer ever since they have branded these as a "major cause" of the rising traffic accident rate.

BRIANJI

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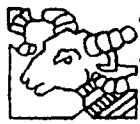


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Beginning 13 September

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May)

This is a fairly successful week for you. Prospects are bright for businessmen, so forge ahead with new contracts and business deals. Professionals do not sit back and relax, but keep up the good work that you have been putting in so long. The domestic front will remain peaceful and be a source of happiness. Keep an eye on your health. This is not a good week for romance. **Good dates:** 13, 15 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 6. **Favourable direction:** East.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June)

A good week for romance. A beautiful new friendship will develop and may soon blossom into a love-affair. For those already in love, this is a good week for making plans for the future. Your efforts will be crowned with success in the near future. One word of advice: do not get carried away by your good fortune, but curb extravagant tendencies. **Good dates:** 14, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July)

This will turn out to be a favourable week provided you rely on your intuition. Excellent opportunities await businessmen. The financial front looks bright; you will be able to acquire a number of expensive items. Your health might cause you a minor problem this week, but do not worry unduly about it. **Good dates:** 13, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 8 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



CANCER (15 July—14 August)

This, unfortunately, is not a good week for you. Those in love are advised to take care of your behaviour with your partner: a small error on your part may lead to a disaster in your love-life. Those in service will face innumerable problems that will cause you a great deal of tension. A word of caution: do not lose your temper, but exercise tact in dealing with your superiors. **Good dates:** 15, 17 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



LEO (15 August—14 September)

A week of progress lies ahead of you. Your efforts at work will meet with moderate success. However, guard against disputes and controversies with those in authority. The financial front is bright and there are chances of windfall gains. A word of caution: take care of what you say to others, for there are chances that your words will be used against you. **Good dates:** 13, 14 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 5, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northeast.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October)

Your health will cause you some anxiety this week, so take no chances with the weather. Keep an eye on the health of your family members too. The domestic front may not remain peaceful this week. Do not worry for with a little tact and diplomacy you will be able to overcome the problems at home. **Good dates:** 13, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** Southeast.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November)

A week of excellent opportunities awaits you. This is a very good week for pushing forth new ideas and embarking on new ventures. Job opportunities await those on the lookout. A new friendship will turn out to be particularly helpful. The domestic front may worry you. But patience is all you need to face the troubles. **Good dates:** 14, 16 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.



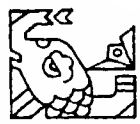
SCORPIO (15 November—14 December)

This will be a very disappointing week for you. Be on your guard; a friend is out to deceive you. You are likely to lose your temper and create a great deal of ill-will both at home and at work. The health of your family and your own health too will cause you a great deal of anxiety. But do not worry unduly, for no bereavements are forecast by your stars. This is not a good week for romance either. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January)

This is a week of mixed fortunes. Creative artists and writers will gain recognition and praise for their efforts. Do not undertake matrimonial correspondence now, but wait for better times that are just round the corner. Do not be disheartened, but keep up the good work and you will be more than adequately rewarded. **Good dates:** 14, 15 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 4, 8 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Southeast.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February)

A fair measure of success is in store for you this week. Do not take anything for granted, but keep up the work you have been putting in and you will eventually meet with success. Tact in dealings with your elders and relatives will ensure peace at home. Keep an eye on your health. This is not a good week for romance. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 8. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March)

You will be troubled by problems on the professional front this week. Avoid disputes and controversies with your superiors and those in authority. This is a good week for romance, courtship and marriage, so make plans for the future. You are likely to find your life's partner before the turn of the week. **Good dates:** 13, 14 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 4 and 6. **Favourable direction:** East.



PISCES (15 March—14 April)

The domestic front will be a source of happiness for you this week. Friends and relatives will ally around and add to your joy. A letter will bring you good news. This is not a good week for romance. An affair of the heart may come to a sudden end causing you some amount of unhappiness. This, nevertheless, will be a good week provided of course, you can check your extravagant tendencies. **Good dates:** 15, 18 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.

For those born between 15 September and 14 October: You are diligent, thoughtful, energetic and a very capable organiser. You have the ability to judge people critically. However, despite your strong personality and tender heart, you tend to be somewhat self-centred and materialistic. You have a high degree of sophistication in your thought and words, making it very difficult for others to judge you at the first meeting. Your diplomacy helps

you sort out adverse situations and obstacles in your path. Those born during this period tend to be creative and you achieve success by dint of your hard work, intelligence, originality and strong sense of discipline. You are not the type to indulge in idle criticism of others, nor do you take criticism about yourself lying down. Your stars are favourable in so far as going abroad is concerned.

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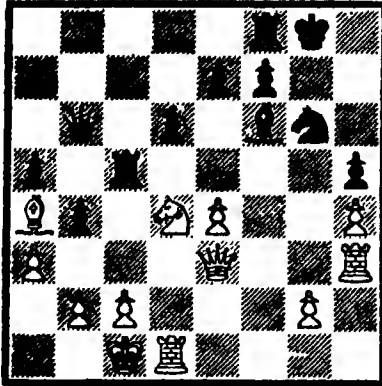
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chess



Miles (Black) to move



Ivanovic (White)
Position after White's 23rd move

The last year has been an extremely successful one for Tony Miles, who has won major tournaments in London, Las Palmas, and Vrbas (Yugos-

lavia) plus a large number of other events. Playing competitive chess almost continuously requires great stamina and even Tony ran out of steam a little towards the end of last year. Nevertheless he has established himself as one of the foremost tournament players in the world, in the same league as Karpov, Larsen, Timman and co.

One of the secrets of his success is the subtle way he manages to blend conventional and unconventional opening repertoires, so that his opponents have to be wary not only of being caught out by the latest analysis, but also of being trapped on totally unfamiliar ground.

The following game typifies Tony's powerful opening play. His opponent also knows quite a lot of theory, but as it turns out only enough to get himself into a mess and not quite enough to get himself out again.

White Miles Black Ivanovic
Vrbas 1980

Sicilian Defence, Dragon Variation

1. P-K4, P-QB4; 2. N-KB3, P-Q3; 3. P-Q4, P×P; 4. N×P, N-KB3; 5. N-QB3, P-KN3; 6. B-K3, B-N2; 7. P-B3, N-B3; 8. O-Q2, O-O; 9. B-QB4, B-Q2; 10. P-KR4, R-B1; 11. B-N3, P-KR4;

This is Miles's speciality, trying to strangle White's kingside attack at birth.

12. O-O-O, N-K4; 13. B-N5 The popular antidote White prepares to try to bludgeon his way through the centre.
13... R-B4; 14. P-B4, N-B5; 15. Q-Q3, P-QN4; 16. P-B5 A new idea. More usual here is 16 P-K5 as 16 P×P is dubious on account of the reply 17 B(N5)×N, B×B, 18 N(Q4)×NPI. In a later game in the Malta Olympiad, Ljubojevic of Yugoslavia played 16 P-K5 against Miles. The game continued 16 N-N5, 17 N-K4,

R-B1, 18 P×P, P-B3, 19 KR-K1, P×P, 20 N×Q, K-R2! at which point Ljubojevic stopped and thought for an hour. Apparently they had been following some Russian analysis claiming a forced win for White when Miles inadvertently diverged with 20... K-R2. Needless to say he won the game. So much for Russian Analysis. 16... N-K4; 17. Q-K3, P-QR4; 18. P×P, N×NP. Hereabouts White starts to run out of ideas. The cluster of pieces around the black king provide excellent protection, meanwhile Black threatens 19... P-R5.

19. P-QR3, P-N5; 20. B×N, B×B; 21. N-R4 A horrible move to have to play, but 21. N-Q5, B-K4 leaves Black threatening 22. R×N and 23... B-B5 as well as simply 22... P-K3 when the knight has no retreat.

21... OB×N; 22. B×B, Q-N3; 23. R-R3 Another ugly move, but Black was threatening... R-B5 winning the knight. Now however Black wins a pawn.

DIAGRAM

23... P×P; 24. Q×P, B×N; 25. R×B, R×P+ 26. B×R, Q×R. The rest is a rather pathetic sight, with White trying to piece together the remains of his ruined position.
27. K-N1, R-B1; 28. R-R1, Q-Q7; 29. Q-N3, N-K4; 30. R-OB1, K-B1; 31. P-N3, N-B5; 32. Q-OB3. The final whimper. White has the rather limp satisfaction of threatening mate in one.
P-B3; 33. P-K5, QP×P; 34. B-B5, N-R6+! and White resigned.

MICHAEL STEAN

stamps



One of the lesser German composers, Georg Philipp Telemann, makes his philatelic debut on a 60-pennig stamp issued in West Germany to mark the 300th anniversary of his birth. A contemporary and friend of Bach and Handel, he held various musical posts before becoming choirmaster and conductor in Hamburg, where he died in 1767. The new stamp portrays Telemann against a background formed by the title page of his cantata 'Singet dem Herrn'. Collectors interested in stamps with a musical association have their own society, the Philatelic Music Circle, which has a membership of over 500. Details may be obtained from the honorary secretary, Mrs. Shirley Rouse, 30 Woodcote Grove Road, Coulsdon, Surrey. Please enclose an s.a.e with inquiries.

C. W. HILL

bridge

The following deal from the match between France and Poland in the Olympiad was quoted as an example of resourceful play by Paul Chemla. In the French magazine *Pierre Schemel* notes an excellent defensive point as well.

Dealer, North		Love all	
♠ Q 8		♠ A 10 6 2	
♥ A J 7 5 4 3		♥ 9 8 6	
♦ 7 5		♦ Q 10 8 6	
♣ J 9 6		♣ 4 2	
♠ K 7 5 3	N	♠ A 10 6 2	
♥ 2	E	♥ 9 8 6	
♦ K 2	S	♦ Q 10 8 6	
♣ A 10 8 7 5 3	W	♣ 4 2	
		♠ J 9 4	
		♥ K Q 10	
		♦ A J 9 4 3	
		♣ K Q	

The Polish North opened with a weak Two Hearts and became declarer in Four Hearts. East led a club to the Ace and West returned a spade to the 8, Ace and 4. Label made the right switch to a diamond, and the contract was defeated. At the earlier table the bidding was:

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Chemla	Kudla	Mari	Milda
—	—	No	No
1 NT	No	2 ♠	No
2 ♥	No	4 ♥	No
No	No		

North's Two Diamonds was a transfer bid and his Four Hearts seems bold, but the French play a strong notrump.

West led the Ace of clubs and followed with a club to the King. At trick 3 Chemla led a low spade. As this might have been an underlead from the Ace, West went up with the King and laid down the King of diamonds. Chemla ducked and a diamond continuation gave him the contract.

This was clever play by the declarer, but can one blame the defence? Not, I think, for taking the King of spades, but West's next play should have been the 2 of diamonds, not the King. If his partner has the Ace of diamonds the contract will be down at once, as East will return a diamond, and if the Queen of diamonds forces the Ace, the defenders will take the setting trick in spades or possibly from West's angle, in trumps.

TERENCE REESE

quiz

QUESTIONS

- Who are the Yippies?
 - What is the current time zone?
 - When are two heavy metals combined in a compound?
- _____ will rise _____ at nearly the same _____ time.

- Members of the Youth International Party (a fringe organisation of radical educated youth in the USA) Tipper Gore and the publisher _____
- Their motto is 'F--- the man, kill the capitalist, kill the fascist, kill the imperialist, kill the racist, kill the priest, kill the whore, kill the capitalist, kill the fascist, kill the imperialist, kill the racist, kill the priest, kill the whore.'
- When the two boxes are due north and south of each other, the two bodies are seen near each other, they are seen near each other.

ANSWERS



NEW DELHI: The Boat Club, which has been witnessing a number of demonstrations, was today the scene of a novel protest. Mr C. O. Sankar, a small scale radio industrialist from Kerala, hung on a 6 x 10 ft. wooden cross for over six hours to attract the attention of the Central government for the abolition of sales tax. According to Mr Sankar, the existing system of sales tax was not helping the small traders and development of trade and industry—*Times of India* (Mrs P. Santa, New Delhi).

DHULE: A 23-year-old youth today chopped off his hands in frustration at not finding a job. Ramesh Dhobi placed both hands on a railway track as a train passed through Mohadi station, three km from here. The passengers rushed him to the civil hospital, but he rejected medical treatment. "My able hands are useless if I can find no work and living is shameful without work", he said.—*Indian Express* (S. Balakrishnan, Tamil Nadu).

BANGALORE: The Karnataka chief minister, Mr R. Gundu Rao, has said that he is not a Gandhian and he can never be one at his age. Mr Gundu Rao, who was speaking at the first fraternity gathering of the All-India Vijaya Bank Employees Union here on Monday said that he could not be a hypocrite by calling himself a Gandhian. Mr Gundu Rao, who had come to the function in a suit, said that as a young man, he would like to dress in different styles. Pointing at Mr Sanjiva Shetty, an elderly Congress (I) MLA on the dais, he said that he could not be a Gandhian like Mr Shetty. He could think of becoming one at the age of 70. These remarks followed the observation made by Mr D. Venkatesh, General Secretary, INTUC, Karnataka, that Mr Rao was dressed suitably for the occasion.—*Hindu* (T Praveen, Hyderabad).

MADRAS: Two persons have staked their claims for the Rs 51-lakh bumper prize of the Rajasthan raffle, the draw for which was held on August 3. A Congress (U) leader, Mr S. P. Shenbagamurthy of Vilampatti, near Sivakasi, in Ramanathapuram had claimed that he had won the prize and deposited the raffle ticket with a

nationalised bank. He said he had bought the ticket at Chittoor in Andhra Pradesh. Meanwhile Mr A. S. Parthasarathy, an assistant in a private company in the city made a counter-claim that he had purchased a ticket bearing the winning number. He has also deposited it with a bank. Police are investigating.—*Deccan Herald* (Rajashekar K., Mangalore).

LUCKNOW: A woman police officer had to undergo a virginity test after allegations by policemen that she was of loose character and was "cohabiting" with another officer. The test carried out in Lucknow established her virginity. The complainants, two deputy superintendents who underwent training along with the woman probationary officer at Moradabad police training college, have been dismissed.—*Indian Express* (S. Rajasekaran, Madras).

PALAMPUR: An extraordinary example of honesty was set by Surinder Kumar Sharma, a sub-divisional clerk of public health sub-division, Nagrota Bagwan, by returning Rs 2,43,000 to the cashier of State Bank of India, Dharamsala, who had by mistake paid this amount in excess to Mr Sharma. It is reported that Mr Sharma went to the Dharamsala branch of the bank to collect Rs 37,000 for paying workers. But the cashier, instead of handing over 27 bundles of 10-rupee notes, gave him 27 bundles of 100-rupee notes—an amount of Rs 2,70,000. Mr Sharma counted the amount thrice after leaving the window, found this discrepancy and immediately rushed to the window to hand over the excess amount to the cashier. No sooner Mr Sharma reached Nagrota Bagwan, he was shocked to find that his transfer orders were lying in the office tray. Perhaps this was the reward for being honest.—*Indian Express* (Daljit Singh, Chandigarh).

BHAGALPUR: The recent modifications in the M.A. Home Science results by a notification of the controller of examinations of the Bhagalpur University is said to have caused much anguish among the teachers and students alike. The results were cancelled and the students were required to return the marksheets, testimonials and certificates. In the modified results, not only the relative positions but the divisions of many a candidate were also changed. Mystery still shrouds the modification episode and none could explain the reasons behind it while students and even some senior teachers term it as a great bungling of the year. Surprisingly, the university has not taken any action against those responsible for such manipulations.—*Indian Nation* (Sanjaya Singh, Jamshedpur).

As Mr Rajiv Gandhi has already become the centre of extra-constitutional authority, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi might as well make him the deputy prime minister—Jagjivan Ram

When you have a Muslim heading your defence apparatus, surely there can be no doubt about competence or integrity—Rajiv Gandhi

Ever since the installation of the government that works, we have been subjected to so many surprises that they have ceased to surprise us—S. Nihal Singh

You see I am not doing that (consulting Rajiv Gandhi) because he is Mrs Gandhi's son. I deal with him because Mr Rajiv Gandhi has his own personality, he is a wise man, a noble man—Maharashtra chief minister A. R. Antulay in *India Today*

We, however, wish he (Bhupesh Gupta) had not gone to Russia for his cancer operation—Editorial in *Organiser*

As for Yashwant Rao Chavan, the pretender of a proud heritage, his belly crawling will certainly have an impact on his weight—Piloo Mody in *Onlooker*

I am not a prophet. I go by the canons of economics—R. Venkataraman, union finance minister

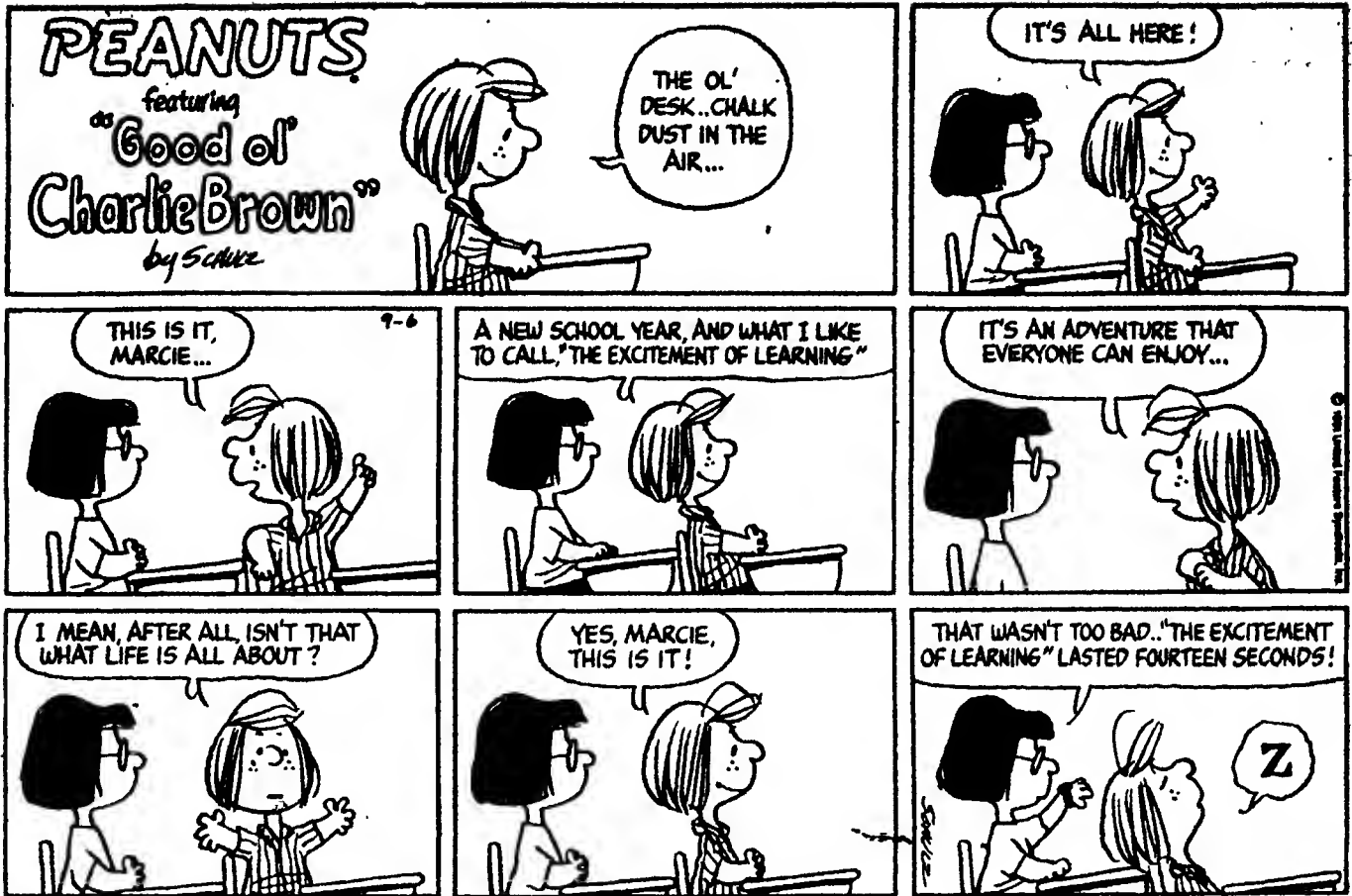
I would request the finance minister not to pass the buck—Speaker Balram Jakhar on the union finance minister R. Venkataraman's suggestion that MP's allowances was a matter that concerned not him but the parliamentary affairs minister

Please do not separate us from India—Farooq Abdullah, president of the National Conference to the press

Journalism, like man in Christian ideology was born in sin, but journalists are always trying to conceal the original sin by professing to be made regenerate by means of their sort of baptism—Nirad C. Chaudhuri

The fact is I have no interest in ruling the country. We are soldiers, we are not administrators. But there is no alternative—Gen Zia-ul-Huq

Let us stop reading newspapers, let us smash TV screens and let us avoid homes—for only then can we avoid the company of the fair sex—A letter in *Pakistan Times*



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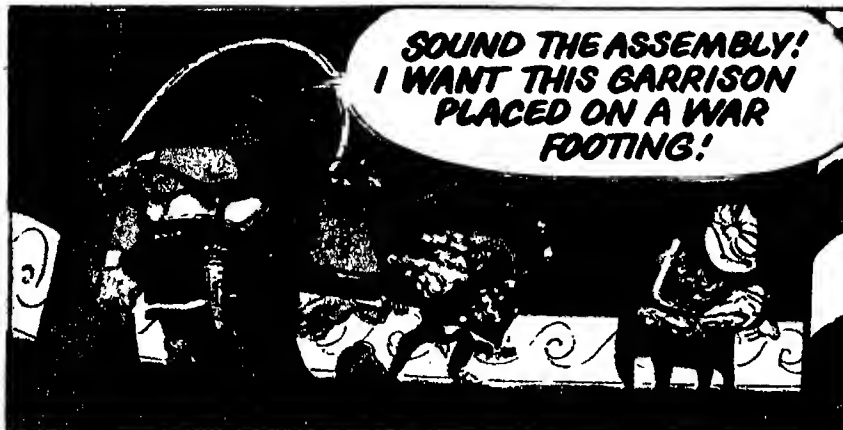
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WE CAN TALK ABOUT THAT LATER, ONCE YOU'VE DONE FOR THE VILLAGE AND ALL ITS INHABITANTS.



BUT WATCH OUT! THERE'S A DRUID WITH THEM, AND HE HAS A POTION WHICH MAKES ANYONE WHO DRINKS IT INVINCIBLE!



CENTURION, A COUSIN OF MINE STATIONED IN ARMORICA TOLD ME ABOUT A DRUID THERE WHO HAS STRANGE POWERS, AND I'M JUST WONDERING WHETHER...

YOU'VE GOT A POINT, INFECTIUS VIRUS! WE MUST BE CAREFUL!



MEANWHILE IN THE GAULISH VILLAGE...

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IRREPRESSIBLE BAHUGUNA

THE *upanayan* (holy-thread) ceremony of Mr K. C. Pant's sons on 19 August turned out to be a major event in Delhi's political circles. A day before the ceremony, Mr Pant had resigned from the Congress(U) and decided to sit in the Rajya Sabha as an independent member. Politicians of all shades seem to have accepted his newly acquired "neutral" status in good humour since they all attended the function. What's more, Mrs Gandhi graced the ceremony. She was seen going around with Mrs Ela Pant and virtually assumed the role of a hostess. After all, it was the *upanayan* ceremony of the grandsons of the late Govind Ballabh Pant. Even if the star attraction was Mrs Gandhi, the limelight, however, was stolen by the irrepresible Mr H. N. Bahuguna. He waded through the crowds and greeted Mrs Gandhi with a loud *namaskar*. Then he turned towards the parliamentary



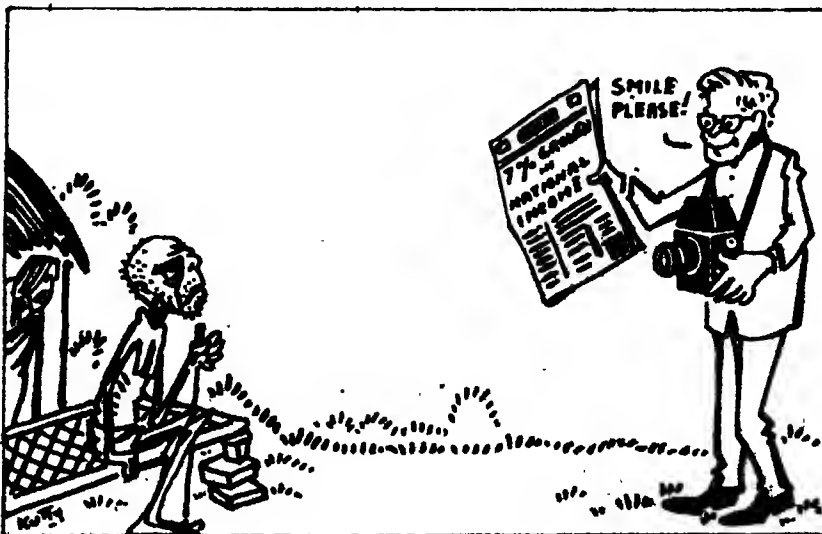
H. N. Bahuguna: never forgets his *namaskar*

affairs minister, Mr Bhisma Narayan Singh and said, "Aare *bhai namaskar to rakho, aise thore hi naukri jaati hai* (At least exchange greetings, your job will not be at stake)." Mr Singh was visibly embarrassed. Mrs Gandhi, who was within hearing range, decided to look the other way.

THE TWO ARUNS

THE Motilal Nehru legacy is being overstressed by the young Nehrus these days. To begin with, Mr Arun Nehru, the young Congress(I) MP from Rae Bareilly and a close confidante of Mr Rajiv Gandhi moved into a bungalow on the Motilal Nehru Marg. Now another bungalow on the same road has been allotted in the name of Mr Rajiv Gandhi. But Mr Gandhi will not live in that house: it will be used as an office for his political work, thus relieving the pressure on 1, Akbar Road, the official wing of the PM's residence. Mr Rajiv Gandhi has at last restored the status and reserve of the PM's house. During the San-

jay Gandhi days all his friends and sycophants used to walk in and out of 1, Safdarjang Road. The first thing Mr Rajiv Gandhi did was to restrict the visitors to the Safdarjang Road house by meeting them at the adjoining 1, Akbar Road. Now the Akbar Road house too will be accessible only to a limited number of people. Mr Arun Nehru, however, is not the only "early morning sun (Arun)" in the Rajiv entourage. Mr Arun Singh, a former executive of Reckitt and Coleman Co, a Calcutta based firm, is the latest addition. That makes two Aruns in the corridors of power, both are former executives.



SHOT IN THE ARM FOR KARNATAKA CONGRESS(I)

THE personal ambitions of Mr Devaraj Urs in Karnataka politics have helped a group of Congress(U) leaders in that state: Mr D. B. Chandre Gowda and Mrs Margaret Alva have made this their excuse to seek membership to the Congress(I). The Chandre Gowda-Alva group had worked out a formula for the merger of the state Congress(U) with the Janata party, according to which Janata's Mr S. R. Bommai was to be the leader of the opposition in the Vidhan Sabha and Congress(U)'s Mr Chandre Gowda was to lead the opposition in the Upper House. But Mr Urs wanted to be the leader of the opposition in the Assembly and in the Upper House he wanted Mr Subbaiah, a BJP member, to lead the opposition. Both the Janata leaders and the Gowda-Alva group objected to this formula. So, now there is neither unity in the opposition ranks nor has Mr Urs become the leader of the combined opposition. In the bargain, the Congress(I) in Karnataka, reeling under the leadership of Gundu Rao and F. M. Khan, has got a much needed shot in the arm.

TWO NEW MINISTRIES SOON

A major reorganisation of central ministries is being predicted. The present ministry of shipping and transport may be amalgamated with the department of civil aviation to form a new ministry of transportation. But the present minister for shipping and transport, Mr Veerendra Patil, or the present tourism and civil aviation minister, Mr A. P. Sharma, may not be the new minister. The name of one of the ministers who is at present holding concurrent charge of two economic ministries is being heard through the capital's grapevine as the probable new transportation minister. The departments of tourism and culture maybe brought together under one ministry, with Mrs Sheila Kaul as the possible minister in charge. This will mean the creation of two new ministries. The timing of the changes, however, has not been finalised. Mrs Sheila Kaul is at present holding charge of the education, culture and social welfare ministry as minister of state.

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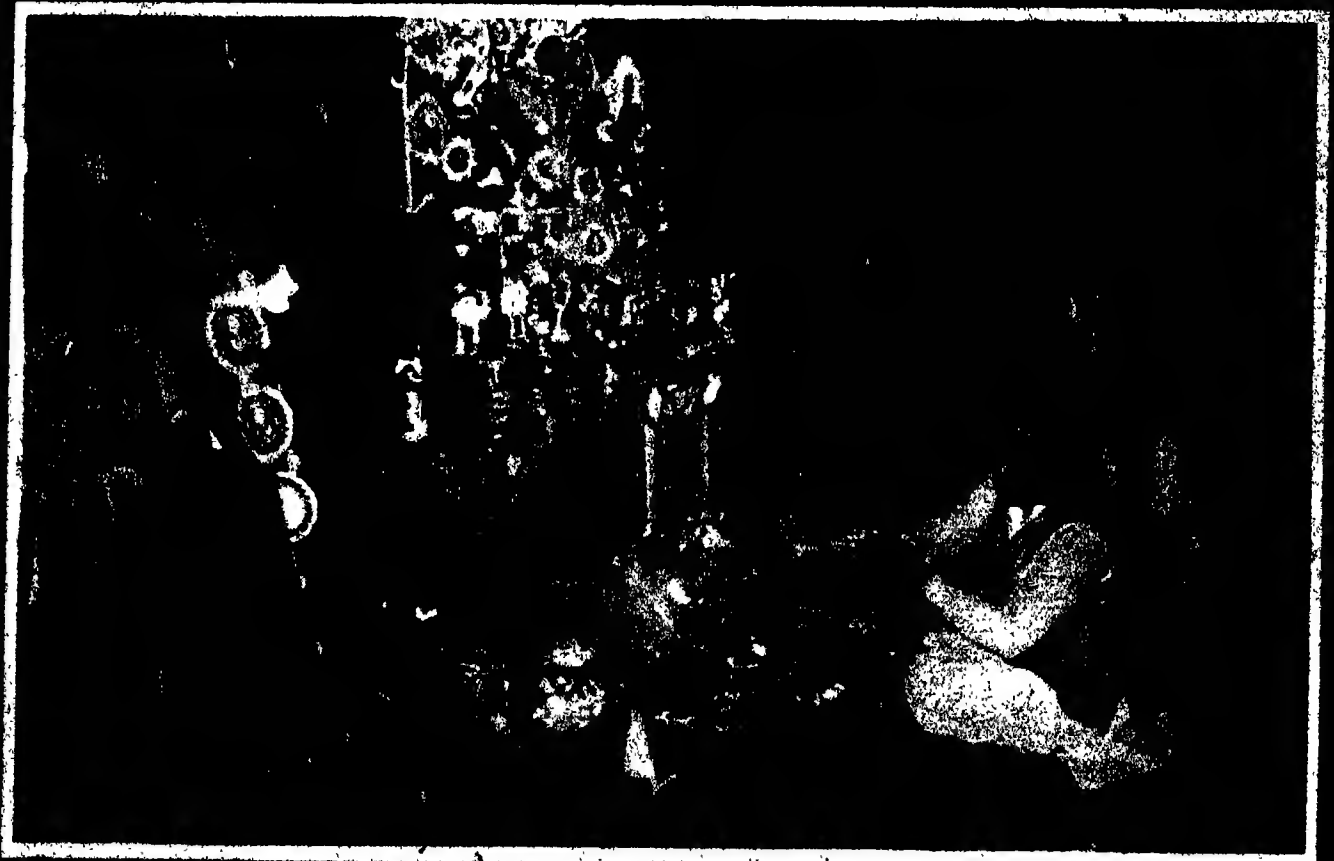
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BY KULDIP NAYAR



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Bihar chief minister Dr Jagannath Mishra's 14-year-old son informs anxious, waiting ministers about the cabinet reshuffle. Dr Mishra ignores a judge's strictures and withdraws a case against himself. Under the CM's "tolerant" gaze a Congress(I) MLA attacks a church and loots its belongings. And nobody in Patna dare question either the CM's or his family's authority. SUNDAY publishes another story of misrule. **Page 12**

Lenient laws, corrupt police and officials and easy availability of drugs have made India a haven of both drug addicts and traffickers. Drugs pour in from the Golden Crescent and find their way West through India. Madhu Jain reports. **Page 44**

Since Mrs Gandhi came to power in 1980, the CPI(M)-led Left Front government in West Bengal has been haunted by the constant fear of being toppled. Will Mrs Gandhi allow the CPI(M) to continue in office till the end of its term? Probably not. **Page 28**



Is Mrs Gandhi going to appoint son Rajiv the next union minister for education? If she does, Mr "Clean" Rajiv Gandhi will stake his political reputation on salvaging the controversial Asian Games. **Page 20**

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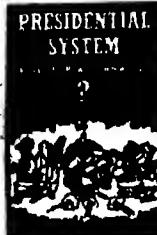
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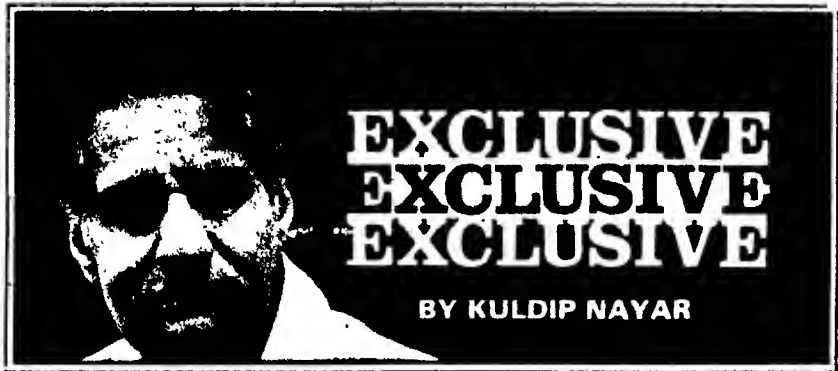
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Eleven steps to IMF temple

India, a founder-member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), can draw, from the Fund, upto eight billion dollars as loan on the basis of its contribution. However, New Delhi has preferred to apply for five billion dollars (Rs 4,500 crores)—but this is the largest loan ever considered by the IMF board.

The loan application will be formally discussed at the board meeting in October. By then, the terms and conditions would have been finalised. A team from the finance ministry, under the leadership of Mr R. N. Malhotra, economic affairs secretary, is leaving Delhi for Washington on 19 September for the purpose. Mr Narasimhan, who should have joined as finance secretary by now, has stayed back in Washington to participate in these discussions. Mr Venkataraman, finance minister, who is going to the Bahamas to attend the Commonwealth finance ministers' conference, will visit Washington either on his outward journey or on his return to talk to the IMF officials who are preparing a brief for the board meeting.

The central cabinet has already given its general approval to the conditions, which are still a closely-guarded secret, tagged to the availability of loan. But it will depend on the team how much ground, if any, it can retrieve during the discussions at Washington. The conditions grouped under eleven points are: 1. Ceiling on deficit financing; 2. Tighter control on money supply; 3. Removal or liberalisation of price controls so that domestic prices are determined by market forces (this would

serve as an incentive for higher investment and larger production in the private sector); 4. Removal of administered prices in the public sector so that the need for budgetary support to loss-making undertakings goes down; 5. Revision of power tariffs so that the investments in the power sector get a reasonable return; 6. Measures towards conserving energy; 7. Removal of subsidiaries to the extent possible; 8. More incentives for higher investment in the public sector—a review of the country's internal investment programme; 9. Tax reforms and better tax administration so that tax revenues go up; 10. Improvement in the performance of infrastructural facilities so that production in the core sectors of the economy, including agricul-

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begging bowl ev-
ery year**

ture, goes up (this is meant to reduce the foreign exchange imbalance); and 11. Measures to step up imports (the formation of the Export-Import Bank should help).

The IMF has not asked for the devaluation of the rupee because of its political implications and also because of the tie-up of the rupee to a basket of currencies which virtually gives it a floating exchange rate.

The conditions dictated to New Delhi are in addition to a IMF questionnaire running into some 45 pages seeking information on all vital sectors of India's economy, including the budgetary data for the centre, the states and union territories.

Some of the information furnished to the IMF is not available even to MPs because it is classified. One such question is on oil: "Please provide data on import, output, consumption and year-end stocks (both for fiscal and calendar year) for crude oil and different petroleum products (including kerosene, fuel oil, furnace oil, gasoline, diesel and naphtha) for five year period... Please provide projections for 1982 and 1983... Please provide data on production from Bombay High oilfields as well as onshore oilfields in 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981 (estimates)... Please provide a summary of the measures that are currently in effect to conserve petroleum and to encourage the substitution of other energy sources such as coal."

The question on industry is indeed comprehensive. "Please provide a note on the current situation in the major industries in terms of output, stocks of finished, changes in capacity and the rate of capacity utilisation... Please provide data on the output of public sector enter-

prises (for five years)... Please describe the principal production control regulations governing major industries and the changes in these regulations during five years and their rationale."

There are hordes of questions on agriculture. "Please list the changes made during 1978, 1979 and 1980 in the domestic procurement system for foodgrains including procurement prices and the public distribution system. Please provide details of the Food For Work programme and the progress of the programme since its inception in 1979. In particular, please indicate amounts and types of foodgrains distributed, nature of public works undertaken... Please give data on unit costs of the foodgrain procurement, storage, and issue operations, showing how these have changed owing to, a) the increased size of the buffer stock, b) wastage because of inadequate storage facilities, and c) changes in pricing and distribution policy."

For reasons best known to it, the IMF has also asked: "Please furnish the following information with respect to the Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) Act and the Compulsory Deposit Scheme (Income Tax Payers) Act by revising and updating the answer to question given earlier: A) Disaggregated data on cumulated deposits under the separate facilities of these acts in 1978-1979; 1980-81 and 1981-82; B) A schedule of repayment of principal and interests for 1978-79 and 1979-80 and 1980-81 and 1981-82; C) A quantitative assessment of the additional amount of compulsory deposits that would have been collected in the past two years, and an estimate for 1980-81 and 1981-82 if the CDS on one half of additional DA had not been abolished; D) A quantitative assessment of the effect in 1978-79, 1979-80, 1980-81 and 1981-82 of the changes introduced in the budget for 1978-79 in the required deposit for tax payers in various income categories; and E) A note on any other major changes in the scheme since 1978-79, such as changes in the interest rate paid on deposits, changes in the method of repayment etc."

India's foreign exchange revenues now stand around Rs 3,600 crores. With an expenditure of Rs 150 crores a month on imports, it has no escape from borrowing from the Fund which, to quote a finance ministry official, "is behaving worse than a bank." Self-reliance and *swadeshi* could take the country out of the helpless position it is in, but the elitist and ad hoc approach of Mrs Gandhi's government will necessitate a bigger and bigger begging bowl every year.

Some of the information given to the IMF is not available even to MPs because it is classified. One such question is oil... According to a finance ministry official, the IMF is behaving worse than a bank

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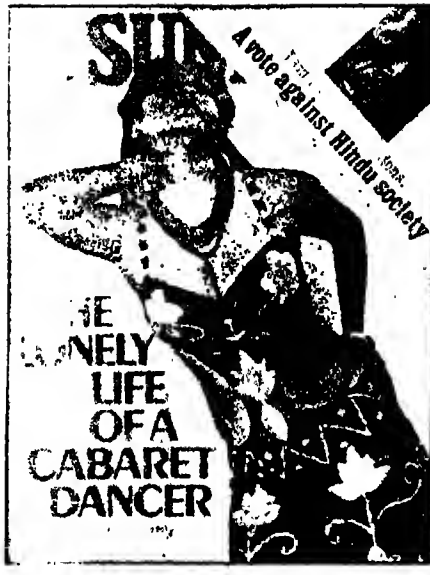
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Revealing

In his otherwise beautifully clueless cover story, *The lonely life of a cabaret dancer* (16 August), Mr Pritish Nandy has mentioned an aunt of mine who frequents seedy north Calcutta theatres in order to glimpse snatches (sic) of female nudity in the hope that she will one day be exposed to the real thing. This is correct. However, there is something he does not mention. About a month back, my poor aunt suffered a serious trauma. Sitting there, surrounded by devilled eggs and vegetable chops, she saw something stark naked prancing around on the stage. Imagine her horror when she recognised the person who was billed as that night's 'sexpot-of-sin' as none other than old Mr Nandy's emaciated uncle! At the time of writing, my aunt has eloped with this ersatz and lives a life of sin of her own with him.
Mukul Sharma, Calcutta

The cover story was informative; thanks to Mr Nandy.
T. K. Pattnaik, Calcutta

Mr Nandy's article was sheer poetry.
Prasanna Kumar Mohanty, Bhubaneswar

Titillating and informative; thank you, Mr Nandy.
Syed Humayun Siraj, Bangalore

Fortunately, Mr Nandy is not one of those sex-starved people who satisfy their lust by patronising cabaret shows; he has probed into the life of cabaret dancers and given us a heart-rending story.
Surinder Pal, New Delhi

The way Mr Nandy's cover story was presented, it may not have attracted the serious readers' attention; but the article by itself was quite revealing.
Shefalee Sengupta, Katihar (Bihar)

Pritish Nandy has succeeded in arousing sympathy for the hapless cabaret girls.
Shirsanka Ghosh, Calcutta

It is a pity that cabaret girls are looked down upon by the very people who ogle at them on the dance floors.
R. B. Thapa, Sonamura (Tripura)

It was very disheartening to learn that most cabaret dancers took to their profession merely to earn a livelihood.
Biswajit Roy, Dehra Dun

It seems that only Miss J is unhappy with her profession; she is best advised to come to terms with life and her surroundings.
Sanjay Kumar Mandal, Burdwan

No one can deny the popularity of cabaret in our country and it is time that it is recognised and respected as a profession.
P. Nagender Reddy, Aurangabad

It was a pleasure to read the cover story; I wonder why we have only female cabaret dancers; why can't men perform in the nude or semi-nude for the benefit of female audiences?
Shailesh Kumar Koachgaway, Pathardih (Bihar)

My Nandy's article was disjointed, unimaginative and full of digressions.
Kiran Raivadera, Calcutta

While appreciating the cover story I cannot help observing that the photographs with it were both unnecessary

and disgusting.
Samarendranath Mohapatra, Puri

The loneliness of a cabaret dancer's life could have been conveyed without the help of revealing photographs.
Mona Bose, Kharagpur

The cover story was merely an excuse to publish yet another series of semi-nude photographs.
Amit Kumar Sen, Calcutta

One has to think twice before buying SUNDAY these days.
Waheed Siddiqui, Rani Unchegaon (Maharashtra)

In my opinion, SUNDAY is the best national weekly; it is a pity that it has gone wayward.
Omprakash G. Methi, Gondia (Maharashtra)

Cabaret is nothing short of vulgarity and SUNDAY should have nothing to do with it or its exponents.
Syed Hamidul Haque, Chaibasa

I was disappointed with the cover story; it was dull, to say the least.
Biswajit Sen Gupta, Jalpaiguri

Mr Nandy had nothing new to tell us about cabaret dancers and the photographs with his article were stale. What a bore.
M. K. Harish, Cannanore (Kerala)

The hawkker folded the 16 August issue of SUNDAY before handing it to me.
Sunil Bikas Banerjee, Sodepur (West Bengal)

SUNDAY is trying to compete with *Playboy* and *Penthouse*; as for Mr Nandy's cover story, the less said the better.
Subhas Chandra Mishra, Vanivihar (Orissa)

Mr Nandy was at it again; but this time he could not draw his readers' sympathy either for himself or for cabaret dancers.
Sandip Sanyal, Cuttack

Mugshots of cabaret dancers would have been enough to illustrate the point which Mr Nandy has tried to make.
Radhakrishna Khatavkar, Bangalore

Hyderabad riots: a biased view

Before reading Syed Majeedul Hasan's *Communal killers take over Hyderabad* (9 August) I was under the impression that SUNDAY believes in the truth; but now I am convinced that the magazine follows an anti-Hindu policy.
K. Rajagopalan, Hyderabad

I wonder why Mr Hasan failed to mention even a single Majlis leader in his report. He also chose to overlook the fact that nowadays in Hyderabad the Muslims assemble in mosques to plan riots.
G. P. Reddy, Hyderabad

Mr Hasan has failed to give a balanced account of the communal riots in Hyderabad. While referring to the RSS and the

Arya Samaj he has made no mention of the Majlis leaders who delivered highly communal and provocative speeches after the *jumma* prayers in the month of *ramzaan*.
Dinesh Chandra Sharma, Hyderabad

Mr Hasan should know that the playing of drums and trumpets is part of the Bonalu festival; it isn't meant to hurt the feelings of any particular community. He should also realise that by tracing the history and popularity of the Majlis-e-Ittehaad-ul-Muslimeen (MIM) he cannot wash away the sins of this organisation.
Prakash Joshi, Sibsagar

I was shocked by the report. Many Hin-

dus lost their lives as well; Mr Hasan should have mentioned at least some of them.
Syed Iqbal, Secunderabad

It is wrong to say that Mr Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao as chairman of the AP Official Languages Commission had threatened to "throw out the Muslim employees from government offices if they did not pass the Telugu language tests soon." Mr Rao made a sincere effort to replace English with Telugu in the state and was of the opinion that disciplinary action should be taken against those government employees who did not use Telugu in official correspondence.
B. V. Rao, Peddapally (Andhra Pradesh)

A Swamy for harijans

If Tamil Nadu conversions: a vote against Hindu society (16 August) is any indication then Dr Subramaniam Swamy has certainly changed his political views. Gone are the days when he behaved like a Hindu chauvinist; he is now a seasoned politician with a secular and pragmatic outlook. Self-criticism is no mean achievement and Dr Swamy should be praised for his article directed against a society to which he belongs.

In my opinion, the harijans of Tamil Nadu had no choice but to convert to Islam; the talk about Arab petro-dollars and coercion playing a dominant role in the conversions can hardly be believed. The rot has set into Hindu society and we need people like Dr Swamy (not Vajpayee and Madhok) to stem it.
Bimalendu S. Dutta Roy, Cuttack

Dr Swamy's was a brilliant and perceptive report; thank God we have at least one politician who can call a spade a spade.
Rizwana Akhtar, Cuttack

Thanks to Dr Swamy for his brilliant article.
Maswood Akhtar Rahi, Rourkela

Congratulations to Dr Swamy for exploding the myth that the conversions in Tamil Nadu were procured and that social discrimination against harijans played no part whatsoever.
Md Abdur Ali Gazi, South Akhratala (West Bengal)

Dr Swamy deserves to be thanked for his unbiased attempt to find the cause behind the conversions. The caste Hindus have given nothing to the harijans. Why

Good news

SUNDAY would have done great service to the country by reporting on journalist Olga Tellis' petition filed in the Supreme Court to restrain the Bombay civic authorities from evicting pavement dwellers in that city. The national dailies have hardly done justice to this news: only a few inches of 'valuable' space have been spared for Ms Tellis.
A. W. M. Shafrquat Aligarh

It is heartening to learn that a journalist from the house which publishes SUNDAY has challenged the government of Maharashtra: obviously, Olga Tellis is not satisfied with mere reporting on injustices.
A. S. Raman, Lucknow

Misplaced fires

The information about the Central Bank of India building under *Must our cities burn?* (16 August) was incorrect. To begin with, the building caught fire in the early hours of 3 January 1974 and not as reported. Further, the building is situated on Calcutta's Netaji Subhas Road, not on BBD Bagh.
T. C. Katrack, Calcutta

The Shantinath Silk Mill in Surat was not gutted; the photograph on page 19 showed the damage done to the mill when an illegally-constructed, three-storeyed building collapsed on it.
Y. J. Vasavada, Navasari

shouldn't the harijans embrace another faith which promises them peace if nothing else?

Gautam Talukdar, Pecharthal (Tripura)

I cannot understand why the conversions have become such a sensitive issue; surely the harijans of Tamil Nadu have not renounced their citizenship.
Manjur Ahmad, Udarbond (Assam)

The politicians who never bothered about the atrocities against harijans in the past are now making a beeline for Meenakshipuram.
Syed Muthahar Saquaf, Trichy

It is obvious that Islam promises a better life to the harijans. What a shame for us Hindus.

Prafulla Kumar Patsani, Puri

The Special report by Dr Swamy was excellent.

John L. Lobo, Bombay

It is heartening to know that an ex-RSS man has ruled out the theory of foreign money and force playing an important part in the conversions. If nothing else, the caste Hindus should now atone for their sins against harijans.

M. Hafizullah Khan, Bhopal

Dr Swamy's article exposed the disease which has been eating into the very core of our society.

Bapi Chakraborty, Calcutta

It would be appreciated if more articles like the one by Dr Swamy are published in future; only then will the caste Hindus

Misleading report

Anil Saari has unnecessarily dragged my name into his report, *There were no conversions in Kanpur on 15 August* (30 August). Indeed, there were no conversions in Kanpur on 15 August; so the question of my presence does not arise. I strongly believe that religion is purely a personal matter and should never be mixed up with politics.
Arif Mohammad Khan, MP, New Delhi

It is surprising that a magazine like SUNDAY has published a thoroughly misleading report by Anil Saari. To put the record straight, we, the undersigned, spent 15 August with Mr Arif Mohammad Khan, MP; together we attended many functions in different parts of Kanpur. And nowhere did anything happen which could be described as conversions. What was conspicuous was the fact that the harijans had joined the others to celebrate independence day. As for the congregation at Nanarao Park, we would like to point out that barely fifty people had assembled there, not 5,000 as reported.

Bhudhar Narain Mishra, MLA, and Rajendra Prasad Mishra, city Youth Congress (I) president, Kanpur

We apologise for the error—Editor

change their attitude towards harijans. As for the conversions, I am convinced that the harijans have embraced Islam to take revenge on the caste Hindus who they now regard as kafirs.
Krishna Samaddar, Delhi

Life has become more meaningful for the harijans of Meenakshipuram; why is this being considered intolerable?
Md Parvez Siddique, Calcutta

When harijans were murdered, their huts burned and womenfolk humiliated in Belchi and Pipra, where were the Swamys and the Vajpayees? When a harijan MLA from Andhra Pradesh was thrown out of Mantralaya temple by a brahmin priest why did the Shankaracharyas not shed tears? Why this sudden concern for harijans from all and sundry?

Rajan Cherian, Hyderabad

Dr Swamy has failed to provide concrete reasons for the conversions. His article was replete with self-praise; he has made an attempt to portray himself as the saviour of the downtrodden. Far from doing anything in the past to better the lot of the scheduled castes, Dr Swamy now wonders whether "the whole country is up for purchase." He conveniently forgets that it is he who has been purchased by foreign education; the poor man did not know that there were so many people living in misery in India.
Ashok S. Savanur, Solapur

Both the Hindus and the Muslims have exploited the harijans in the past; I see no sense in the recent conversions.

Baidya Nath Mandi, Kharagpur

Utkal: above board

Tooshar Pandit's reply to the letter from Mr R. K. Rout, vice-chancellor of Utkal University, was childish. He seems to have no concrete evidence to prove his allegations against Utkal University.

Deboo Patnaik, Bhubaneswar

I am sure that Mr Pandit has made a mistake in listing Utkal University among the ten other universities which, he claims, are involved in the degree racket.

S. K. Mohanty, Sindri (Bihar)

Effective and shameful

People like Hitler and Idi Amin did figure on the covers of widely-circulated international magazines, but no one ever tried to glorify them or their deeds. Anil Saari is an exception; his cover story, *Did Ranga Kill?* (19 July), was shameful. Worse of course was some of the readers' response to the report (*Opinion*, 16 August). It is clear that Mr Saari has succeeded in mobilising some support for a criminal. What a shame.
R. C. Pande, New Delhi

Last letter

I pass my mornings with Khushwant Singh's porno daily in one hand and M. J. Akbar's porno weekly in the other.

Subrata Banerjee, New Delhi

The Exotic Ruling Family of Bihar

Power has not gone to Dr Jagannath Mishra's head, it has only gone to his family, report TOOSHAR PANDIT and TIRTHANKAR GHOSH.

One of the most pervasive sounds in the house of Dr Jagannath Mishra is the sound of bells tinkling. This is the sound of devotion to the gods, the sound of bells during a puja. Dr Jagannath Mishra, the chief minister of Bihar is a very religious man. He prays to the gods constantly to bring him and his family health, wealth and happiness; he wears half a dozen rings on the fingers to ward off all evils. And the gods have been kind. They have made him the boss of Bihar—a state of being which may not be necessarily very good for the health, but certainly fetches enough wealth and happiness.

Bihar: second only to the vast Uttar Pradesh in the number of MPs sent to the Lok Sabha; the richest state in the country in terms of raw materials, resources, and the poorest state in terms of the living standards of the people.

Therefore a state classically ready for corruption, exploitation. A state where gun-toting dacoits run the coalfields, and other kinds of dacoits loot in other ways; a state where corruption no longer arouses any comment. A state in which there is a city called Bhagalpur, where as everyone now knows, the police gouged out the eyes of suspects with needle and acid in order to curb crime. Under the chief ministership of Dr Mishra. Who calmly weathered the national storm that arose, and now has withdrawn the suspension of all the police officers involved. In other words, not one of the policemen has been punished for the Bhagalpur blindings.

Under the chief ministership of Dr Jagannath Mishra, law is an unimportant encumbrance, and order is only what Dr Mishra and his cronies define it to be. How can there be respect for law under a CM who makes one of his

closest advisers and ministers a man called Sadanand Singh who openly protects a murderous dacoit called Sudama Mandal, a dacoit whom the police had been searching for (SUNDAY, 21 December 1980)? How can there be respect for law in a state where the CM withdraws a case against himself despite the judge having clearly implied that to do so would be a travesty of justice (see box on the Patna Urban Cooperative Bank case, page 18)? And on top of it, Dr Mishra has brought in nepotism and casteism to a degree that even weary Bihar cannot find a parallel to. Key positions have gone to his relatives (see box, page 14), choice contracts have gone to his brothers (see box, page 14) and any glimpse into a Who's Who of those who really run the state would reveal a surprising proportion of people belonging to the caste that Dr Mishra comes from—the Maithili Brahmins.

Son Manish: display of power



Dr Jagannath Mishra comes from a rich and influential family in Saharsa. His father, Rabinandan Mishra alone owned over 2,000 acres of land in Baluabazar. Of his five sons, two joined politics: L.N. Mishra of course gained national prominence before dying in a controversial bomb blast, and then younger brother Jagannath Mishra, till then a teacher in a university stepped in to fill the vacuum. The Mishras are still monarchs at Baluabazar, though the land ceiling act may have reduced the amount of land they control. Incidentally, whatever love Dr Mishra may profess for the poor landless agricultural workers of Bihar when making speeches, that love is not visible when the Mishras pay the daily labour who work on their land. Despite Rs five a day being declared the minimum wage, there are many working in the Mishra farms who are rarely paid more than Rs two a day. And there are many who have to toil in these farms as bonded labour for the rest of their lives because of a loan.

Three brothers, Shyam, Mrityunjoy and Kamal, look after the family property, and, also, execute lucrative government contracts. Baluabazar is next to the famous Kosi river, and the multi-million rupee Kosi river project has been a boon not only to the people at large but to the Mishras in particular. An Estimates Committee of the Bihar Assembly found in early 1973 that a large number of the contracts for this project had gone either to the Mishras or their nominees: among the major beneficiaries were two Mishra brothers, Shyam Narayan and Kamal Narayan. First it was obviously L.N. Mishra's influence that was bringing in the lolly, and then in the early Seventies, Dr Jagannath Mishra too became a powerful man in Bihar. In all the governments that Dr Mishra has been in since 1972, either as cabinet minister or chief minister, he has never let go of the irrigation and power portfolio. It is an interesting affection for that particular job: after all, the contracts for projects like the one at Kosi go out from there.

After Dr Mishra became chief minister this time around, one of his brothers Mrityunjoy, was made a director of the Bihar State Co-operative Marketing Union (BISCO-MAUN). When the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad was reconstituted this year, one of the country's foremost protagonists of Hindi, Mr Gangasaran Singh, was dropped and among the new blood inducted was Jainath Jha, who just happens to be Dr Mishra's father-in-law. Dr Mishra has placed a blood relative even in a key post of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee—the secretary, Sudhir Mishra.

Even 14-year-old Manish, the young son of Dr Mishra, is enjoying the *samindari* of Bihar that has descended on the family. He can often be seen being chauffeur-driven around Patna—with the official flag flying on the car; only chief ministers are entitled to that privilege, not their sons. Indeed, when Dr Mishra reshuffled the portfolios of his ministers on 26 August, it

was Manish who came into the drawing room crowded with anxious ministers wanting to know what their new jobs would be, and handed them the information about what his daddy had done.

Such is the common belief that everything that happens to the Mishra family is tainted with nepotism, that there was a serious controversy even when Dr Mishra's daughter came second in her BA economics honours examinations this year. Sangeeta Mishra sat for her examinations this year at Patna University, but long before the examinations the president, Mr Anil Kumar Sharma, and Mr Premchandra Sinha, the secretary of the university's students' union had predicted that she was going to do very well indeed in her examinations. On what basis were they making this allegation? They said that the examiners and the papersetters for that year were all indebted to Dr Mishra. For instance, the moderator, Prof. Chakradhar Singh, not only came from Dr Mishra's area but had also sat on numerous boards and committees thanks to Dr Mishra. Today he is not only director of the state-funded L.N. Mishra Academy for Economic Development but also a member of the state planning commission. Another examiner, Bansidhar Sinha, had been appointed member of the state electricity board by Dr Mishra when he first became the CM in 1975.

Even more serious was the charge that the university was bending its rules in order to please the chief minister. The practice in Patna University has been to get at least three of the six honours papers set by people from universities outside Bihar, and they also examine the answer sheets. This year this laudable practice was not followed. Why?

In July, Sharma was arrested on some unspecified charges. It was August before he got out on bail. By then the results had been announced. The chief minister's daughter had indeed done very well in her examinations: she had come second (immediately the whisper went round that Dr Mishra had deliberately asked the examiners not to make her first as then the rigging would become too obvious). Equally interesting was the fact that all the relatives and well-wishers of the key people in charge of the examinations had done well too. Tongues started wagging; pressure began to build. Finally the vice-chancellor gave in by announcing the appointment of a committee to probe into this year's examination. This story does not make Dr Mishra guilty, nor does it prove that his daughter did not do well on her own merits: what it does convey is the mood of Bihar, where people are quite willing to believe that their chief minister would stoop so low without a qualm. Indeed, there are people who even believe that Dr Mishra got his own doctorate a bit unfairly, but that's another story. Certainly Dr Mishra has done a great deal for his old teacher who guided him in his thesis, Dr Hargovind Singh. He was first made member of the



Dr Mishra: of rings and relatives

Bihar Public Service Commission, then vice-chancellor of Magadh University. Dr Mishra actually issued an ordinance when he wanted to make Dr Singh director of the A. N. Singh institute in Patna, because Dr Singh did not qualify for that post. The ordinance kicked up a great deal of controversy, so Dr Mishra made Singh a member of the Legislative Council instead.

Today, Dr Mishra runs Bihar singlehandedly, virtually as a fiefdom, not tolerating much discussion or debate. The reshuffle was an indication that he had begun to hear the growing cries of dissident charges; but he also was sending out the message that he wasn't finished yet.

Not merely the corruption (the stories give enough evidence of that) and nepotism, but administrative incompetence is taking its toll. The worst example was the government's handling of the Biharsharif riots (SUNDAY 24 May 1981): an obviously angry Mrs Gandhi had to personally fly down from Delhi and use her authority and popularity to restore calm. The chief minister of Bihar was fiddling while Biharsharif burnt.

It is believed that Dr Mishra survives only because of Mrs Gandhi's reluctance to change her chief ministers until they have been given enough time to either prove themselves or commit suicide. Dr Mishra is one of those travelling towards the second option.

Here are some of Dr Mishra's relatives in key positions:

■ Chandradhar Jha: The CM's brother-in-law. Appointed chief executive officer of the Bihar Khadi Board. Despite objections from the finance department, the chief minister downgraded the post to appoint Mr Jha. During the 1977 elections, Mr Jha was charged for keeping ballot papers in his house.

■ Bhavnath Mishra: Uncle-in-law. Appointed managing director of the Bihar Land Development Bank. The post is normally meant for a senior IAS officer which Mr Mishra is not.

■ Jainath Mishra: Father-in-law. Made chairman of the Bihar Rashtra Bhasa Parishad after the noted Hindi litterateur and former Rajya Sabha MP, Mr Ganga Saran Singh, was removed.

■ Shiv Shankar Mishra: Cousin. Appointed executive engineer, PWD, Patna. In 1972-73, he was the sub-divisional engineer, of the river valley project in Nirmali (see box).

■ S. K. Jha: Relative. Brought to Patna as civil surgeon. Dr Raj Kumar Prasad, a harijan, was removed from his post before the expiry of his term to facilitate the

All in the family



Shyam Mishra: the contract bagger

coming in of Dr Jha.

■ M. K. Jha: Relative. Appointed IG (Intelligence). Not only has Mr Jha been appointed to a top post but his wife has been appointed as deputy chairman of the social welfare board.

■ Mrityunjay Mishra: Brother. Elected member of Biscomaun (a cooperative marketing board) and the Bihar State Financial Corporation.

■ S. N. Dubey: Son-in-law of B. K. Dubey, former secretary to Dr Mishra in 1975. Nominated as IAS this year although he was in a private organisation. He has been given rank of joint secretary and brought in on a prize post in the Public Enterprises Bureau.

■ Jagtanand Jha: Relative. Now director of public relations. In 1978, Mr Jha was the director of public relations. Prima facie cases of corruption were established against him by the vigilance department and he was granted anticipatory bail. After Dr Mishra became the chief minister, Mr Jha as reappointed to his old post.

■ Chunchun Jha: Dr Mishra's brother-in-law's son. Appointed district magistrate, Gaya.

How the Mishra family cornered Kosi contracts

□ This committee has found that most of the contracts from this project (the Kosi project) have been awarded to members of the Mishra family or their nominees from Balua Bazar, Baharsa.

□ The contract for a guide bundh (embankment) was given to Mr Kripanath Mishra (Dr Mishra's cousin—uncle's son) of Balua Bazar, Baharsa.

□ M/S Associated Engineering was awarded some contracts for the project. Among the firm's owners is Kamal Narain Mishra, brother of the Dr Jagannath Mishra (Dr Mis-

hra was then the irrigation minister).

□ A member of the same family, Sudhir Kumar Mishra was given a contract in the irrigation project. His brother, Mr Nushil Chandra Mishra, is the superintending engineer of the project and another member of the same family, Mr Shiv Shankar Mishra, is the sub-divisional engineer, Nirmali.

□ Mr Shiv Shankar Mishra (a member of the Mishra family) was transferred to Nirmali (a sub-division in the project area) as SDO from Barsi where he had served only for six

months. Even now Shiv Shankar Mishra is in the Nirmali sub-division where every year crores of rupees are spent on flood prevention.

□ Mr B. N. Mishra (a distant relative of Dr Mishra) took over charge as the personal assistant to Mr Dinesh Prasad Verma, the then superintending engineer of Baharsa. It is significant that on 11 May 1973, when handing over charge of the Raghapur sub-division (which has four parts) Mr Mishra only handed over charge of three. He did not hand over charge of Karjain division where a link channel is being constructed, the contract for which has been awarded to Mr Kamal Narain Mishra.

□ M/S Associated Engineering was paid a higher amount of money than another contractor, Mr Ravindra Kumar, for an identical job. Both the contractors working at adjacent sites. The payment of money shows that M/S Associated Engineering where Mr Kamal Narayan Mishra has considerable interests was favoured.

Jagannath Mishra in his village: low wages and bonded labour



—Excerpts from the 53rd report (1972-73) of Estimates Committee of Bihar Assembly on River Valley Project (Kosi barrage)

Why did Dr Mishra want to go to Nepal?

There are many reasons why a person sweltering in the hot winds of Patna might want to go to Nepal in the month of May. The weather in Nepal is super, the sight-seeing excellent, and for those so inclined Kathmandu offers the only casino in the world where you can gamble in Indian rupees. These are good enough reasons for you and me; but why should a chief minister of Bihar suddenly want to go to Nepal, and without telling the government of India about it? Not only that, why should he want to use his state plane to go there—and specifically demand that the plane not be stopped at Kathmandu but go directly to his final destination, Janakpur?

We have obtained a copy of the message sent by Mr S.K. Chakraverty, deputy resident commissioner at Delhi's Bihar Bhavan (a kind of ambassador for Bihar in Delhi), to Mr K.M. Thakur, secretary to the Bihar chief minister in Patna, on 11 May 1981. The message is numbered 1171/RC. This is what it says: "This refers to Shri Indukant Mishra additional private secretary to chief minister's talk on telephone with me regarding chief minister's visit to Janakpur (in Nepal). Shri Mishra informed me that chief minister would like to fly to Janakpur on state plane on 12th May by 7.45 am from Darbhanga. Shri Mishra wanted me to get the clearance from DGCA for the flight and also to make arrangement for three cars and breakfast and lunch for 15 people courtesy Nepalese embassy. The matter was taken up with Shri V.N. Kapoor, DDG DGCA. He was not agreeable to direct flight to Janakpur and suggested flight route Patna-Kathmandu-Janakpur-Patna. DGCA however agreed to direct landing at Janakpur but when they contacted DGCA Kathmandu the latter did not agree and so it is finally decided that flight plan will be Patna-Kathmandu-Janakpur-Kathmandu-Patna."

"Embassy of Nepal in New Delhi has passed on the message to Kathmandu for making arrangements for three cars and breakfast and lunch etc for 15 persons at Janakpur. Embassy of Nepal confirmed the arrangement at Janakpur. However due to the flight plan approved which involves flight to Kathmandu, Embassy of Nepal is anxious to know whether state government planes would land at Kathmandu and then Janakpur or at Sitamarhi. District magistrate Darbhanga to please inform chief minister. Message ends."

In other words: Dr Jagannath Mishra wanted to take his plane



straight on to Janakpur, where he has some relatives, and completely avoid Kathmandu, which is where any passenger flying into Nepal has to land normally, since Kathmandu is the only international airport in Nepal with customs facilities etc. Why was Dr Mishra so insistent upon avoiding Kathmandu? It should hardly have mattered, in the normal course. Even after getting the message quoted above, Dr Mishra's secretary got in touch with the Nepal embassy in Delhi again to see whether it was possible to fly directly to Janakpur. But the Nepalese government, which happily agreed to provide breakfast, lunch and three cars, insisted that the chief minister's plane touch down at Kathmandu. And rather than conforming to this formality, Dr Mishra, who was so keen to go to Nepal on private work in his state plane, preferred to cancel the trip. Was he afraid that officials just might search his plane in Kathmandu and find something embarrassing? In the meanwhile, our ministry of external affairs had also got to know about the incident, and sought an explanation from Dr Mishra for this unusual behaviour. The reply they got was lame. Dr Mishra said that all this had been done by his secretary, who had been indiscreet, without his knowledge.

Church had started the legacy...
in 1978 and the school in 1979.



...clearance of the inhabi...
...did not even Mrs...
...the premis...
...large sign...
...the place...
...Dr Jagannath...
...generally.

...has not been...
...missionaries who were...
...threw out. Local...
...Christians have written several...
...letters to the C.M., but there has been...
...no response: one of the letters, sent...
...on 15 October 1980 was from Mr...
...Abashlom Maith, president of the...
...Christian churches of north Bihar...
...West Champaran. Politicians have...
...pointed out to the C.M. that this was...
...was...
...has not...

"Where is there no corruption?"

JAGANNATH MISHRA tells SUNDAY

The interview was fixed for 8.15 pm on 26 August at the chief minister's residence. "But he is flexible when it comes to timings," we were told by his press adviser, D. D. Sinha, who has worked as a journalist in The Indian Nation and as a PRO in TISCO. Flexible the chief minister was. The interview began after 9 p.m.

Dr Jagannath Mishra's office is in a large room in his residence at 2, Circular Road. Near the door is a framed quotation from his party chief, Mrs Indira Gandhi: "Needs of the many must prevail over those of the few."

Behind his desk is a huge fireplace, now unused. Over the fireplace is a portrait of Dr Mishra's eldest brother and former union railway minister, the late Lalit Narayan Mishra. In front of the fireplace is a low table with three telephones—two green and one black. Beside the table is a TV set. On all four walls of the airconditioned room are photographs of gods and goddesses—Lakshmi, Saraswati, Durga and Shiva. The room is lit by two powerful table-lamps. Prominently displayed on the table are two framed photographs—one of Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi sharing food, and the other of Mrs Gandhi garlanding the portrait of Lalit Narayan Mishra. There are very few papers or files on the table, but there are three paperweights with Ashoka emblems. Dr Mishra walks in with a couple of ministers in tow, all discussing the reshuffle.

He is wearing a milk-white kurta and dhoti and a check Jawahar coat. After he dismisses the ministers and the officers crowding the room, the interview begins:

Q. How did you come into politics?

A: I was first in university politics and became a member of the university senate and syndicate in 1966, when I was a teacher in Bihar University. I contested the election to the Bihar Legislative Council in 1968. I have been very involved in politics. In 1972, I contested the Assembly elections.

Q: Were you a Congress candidate in 1968?

A: No. I was an independent candidate but the Congress supported me. The Congress did not put up any candidate. My opponent was a CPI-sponsored candidate, P. N. Mehta.

Q: Did your family own a lot of land?

A: Yes. We were landed people and zamindars.

Q: Can we say that you come from a fairly affluent family?

A: Yes, of course.

Q: How much land do you have now?

A: My father had 2,000 acres. Now

we have land up to the ceiling limit. My elder brother (L. N. Mishra) sold most of our land to finance his politics.

Q: What do your other brothers do? Do they look after the land?

A: Yes.

Q: Do your brothers stay in Balua Bazar?

A: One brother, Mrityunjay Narayan Mishra, just older than me, is in Saharsa. He too is in the Congress (I).

Q: Is he, incidentally, the director of three government-sponsored organisations?

A: He is the member of only two organisations—Biscomaun (Bihar state marketing cooperative union) and the Bihar Financial Corporation.

Q: In May 1974, you had made a statement that you wanted to leave politics. Why did you say so?

A: Due to circumstances. I am an university man. I am a teacher. I joined active politics not by choice but was forced to do so by circumstances. I still have an interest in academics and maintain links with the university. I am still guiding my students for their Ph.D. degrees: nine students have got Ph.Ds under my guidance. Even today I am guiding some students in Muzaffarpur and Patna.

Q: How do you find time to teach?

A: Somehow, I make time.

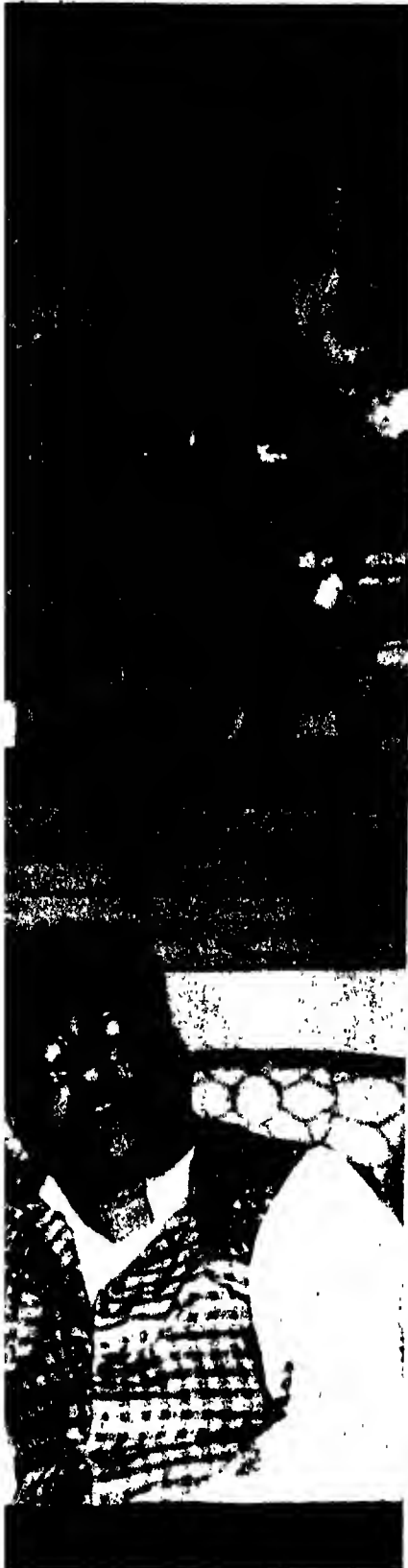
Q: Talking about Ph.Ds, we have been told that your Ph.D. thesis was written by someone else. Dr Hargovind Singh's name often comes

The

On 16 March, 32 dissident Congress (I) MLAs presented a memorandum to Mrs Gandhi. The reason: they wanted a change of leadership in the state. Dr Mishra, they said, had become synonymous with corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and was ruining the name of the Congress (I). Though Mrs Gandhi gave them a patient hearing, she was firm on one point: they should not air their views in public. SUNDAY has, however, managed to get a copy of the memorandum excerpts from which we reproduce below.

□The entire ministry was chosen by him. The executive of the legislature party and the office-bearers are all on his side. The speaker and the chairman of the Assembly were chosen without consulting the members of the legislature party. This is the party members' constitutional right. Further, the legislature party does not discuss questions of principle or matters of the state.

□The same is the case with the cabinet. The chief minister holds the major portfolios. The cabinet lacks foresight. The common people have a low regard for most of the ministers. There are, however, a few active ministers but the chief minister does not trust them. The chief minister takes a personal in-



Corruption is a part of national life

up in this regard. Could you please clarify?

A: I got my Ph.D in 1964 when I had nothing to do with politics. The allegation (that Dr Singh wrote my thesis) is unwarranted. I have been with the university for 15 years. As others have done their research, I did mine. It is an accident that I am in politics. My academic career cannot be lowered by this mean politics.

Q: But was Dr Hargovind Singh, at any time, your teacher?

A: He was my teacher in MA and my research guide.

Q: There are quite a few other stories doing the rounds. One is that Singh helped you, and you rewarded him by getting him elected as a MLC. We have been told that you promulgated an ordinance to make him the director of an institute.

A: These are all absurd stories.

Q: Do you find it difficult to be both a CM and a family man?

A: I manage somehow or the other.

Q: How many children do you have?

A: Six.

Charges

terest in transfers, postings, promotions, etc., and changes his orders frequently.

□ Incapable people have been chosen to head boards, corporations and committees. Persons who have in the past Lok Sabha and Assembly elections worked against the Congress have been made directors of boards. The chief minister has made his own candidates presidents, vice-presidents and members of the Zilla Parishads. Some who had been suspended by the AICC(I) have been given posts of presidents and vice-presidents of the Zilla Parishads.

□ Corruption is rampant in the government. Transfers, postings, etc. are openly bought and sold. High-ups in the government and the services are involved. The law and order situation in the state is bad. Loots, dacoities, murders are everyday happenings in buses and trains. The CM has made money the basis of politics in the state. Money is collected for various purposes (presumably for the party) but no accounts are maintained. The party elected Dr Jagannath Mishra as the chief minister so that he would work for the good of the state and party. Unfortunately, he has misused his powers to strengthen his caucus and enhance his image.

Q: Do you manage to pay much attention to them?

A: My wife looks after them.

Q: Your eldest son is...

A: Sanjib. He is doing his first year BSc in Delhi, after doing an year's engineering course in Bangalore. My second and third sons are Manish and Animesh. They are both in school in Patna.

Q: And your daughters?

A: One of them is married. One has just passed her BA (Honours) and the other has passed her Matric.

Q: Coming to your daughter, there seems to be a lot of controversy about a statement made by the Patna University Students Union president...

A: Shouldn't a politician's children study? These comments are very mean and bad.

Q: The VC has said there will be an enquiry into this year's examinations. Is this related to the controversy over your daughter's coming second in the BA (Honours) examinations?

A: No.

Q: It is even being said that actually your daughter came first in the university and you ordered that she be placed second, to avoid the impression that her marks had been rigged. Is this true?

A: (Laughing). Why should I do that? I don't know where she studies or what she does.

Q: She must have received some help and guidance from you in her studies?

A: No, not from me. My wife is also an economics honours graduate. She passed her BA (Honours) in 1964. In fact, my whole family is into economics. My elder brother, Mr L. N. Mishra, was also an economist.

Q: Do you find Bihar a difficult state to administer?

A: The state is politically difficult to run. It is a most challenging job. Poverty and backwardness are the main challenges.

Q: What are Bihar's special problems?

A: Bihar has remained poor although it has tremendous natural resources.

Q: How do you explain the fact that although Bihar has over 40 per cent of the country's resources, it is among the poorest states in the country?

A: Because there is a lack of determination and strong political action.

Q: Do you think that the situation has improved since you took over?

A: It is improving. And I have every hope that this will continue.

Q: Everyone hears a lot about corruption in Bihar. We have heard about corruption from some of your ministers.

A: Where is there no corruption? Corruption is a part of national life, and it is all over the country. If somebody says this only about Bihar, it is wrong and unfair. What about the other states? In Bihar, there have been no scandals in the past one year. In the last year, there has not been a single instance of a scandal that the

combined opposition has been able to put up in the House. I don't see where the corruption is. You cannot go on hearsay.

Q: A case that is often cited as an example of corruption, in which your name figures prominently, is the Patna Urban Bank case.

A: That was an absurd and politically motivated case. It was I who had ordered the prosecution in 1976-77. If I was involved why should I do so?

Q: Will your government take a stern view if corruption charges against anyone are substantiated?

A: That we have already taken—43 engineers have been suspended on corruption charges. Bihar is the first state where ministers have to submit details about their assets and liabilities. Bihar is the only state where Lokayuktas have been established which have the jurisdiction to go into details of any allegations against any ministers. Now it is upto the people. I have challenged the opposition parties in the Assembly to come forward with any charges of corruption against any minister...

Q: Some of your partymen have submitted a memorandum to Mrs Gandhi against you.

A: I don't know.

Q: There are dissidents, aren't there?

A: There are no dissidents. It is only in newspapers that you read about dissidents. I don't know what a dissident is. (For me) there is only one party and one leader: Mrs Indira Gandhi. The people have not voted us (to power); they all voted for Mrs Indira Gandhi. It is not physically possible for her to run all the states personally and so somebody else is running the states. Who, indeed, Jagannath Mishra? He is just her loyal soldier.

Q: Do you still enjoy the confidence of Mrs Gandhi?

A: Without that I can't continue even for a minute. Why should I? It is her party. The people have voted for her. Only if I enjoy her confidence I can continue. If not, I must go. After all, the people have voted for Indira Gandhi and nobody else. Not Jagannath Mishra, or anybody. I enjoy the confidence of the electorate as long as I enjoy the confidence of Indira Gandhi.

Q: You are wearing a number of rings. Is there any significance of those rings?

A: It is the individual's faith.

Q: Do you believe in astrology?

A: I believe in God.

Q: And the rings...

A: (Laughs)...

The CM who declared himself 'Not guilty'

In 1971, Mr Nawal Kishore Sinha IMLA, founded the Patna Urban Cooperative Bank (PUCB) and became its chairman. The bank needed funds and Mr Sinha thought that his friend Dr Jagannath Mishra, who had found a place in Abdul Ghafoor's cabinet as the minister for power, irrigation and cooperation could help. He was right. The government invested Rs 100,000 in the bank by purchasing its shares; the State Cooperative Bank advanced a loan of Rs 600,000; and several state government undertakings, like the Bihar State Electricity Board, the Agricultural Marketing Board and the Agro-Industries Corporation opened accounts with the PUCB.

The bank however fell foul with the Reserve Bank of India almost the day it was born. Three years later, in 1974, the RBI ordered an examination of the bank's accounts and discovered that all its transactions had not been according to the rules. In one instance, the PUCB had advanced a loan of Rs 15,000 to Mr Krishna Singh, a friend of Dr Mishra, on his pledging Patna's Gandhi Maidan (a public property where political rallies are normally held) and the Patna railway junction, as security.

Expectedly, the RBI prescribed legal action against top bank officials: the chairman Nawal Kishore Sinha, the secretary K. P. Gupta, the manager S. A. Haideri, and the PA to the chairman A. K. Singh. It even asked for the liquidation of the bank. Following this, the state government asked its vigilance and the cooperative departments to look into the affairs of the bank. Their inquiries also proved that some of the bank's transactions had, indeed, been irregular. The then chief minister, Mr Ghafoor, ordered the prosecution of the bank officials.

The cooperative department appointed a special prosecutor and a FIR was drawn up. But, curiously, no case was filed. In May 1975, when Dr Mishra became the chief minister, one of the first attacks he faced in the Assembly from the opposition was over his involvement in the Urban Bank. Members demanded an investigation and the CM finally relented: the Assembly's Estimates Committee would go into the matter. The committee, in its report, advised also that some PUCB officials be prosecuted against. The state government did prosecute the bank officials, but spared Nawal Kishore Sinha.

The vigilance department, however, insisted that Nawal Kishore Sinha too be prosecuted. It was then that the IG (vigilance) Mr Ambika Prasad Sinha was suddenly transferred. However, in March 1977, as the state came under the President's Rule, the Governor, Mr Jagannath Kaushal brought back Mr A. P. Sinha to his

former post, and he promptly started criminal cases against Nawal Kishore Sinha. In the course of the investigations, Mr K. P. Gupta, the PUCB secretary, turned approver and stated that Nawal Kishore Sinha had withdrawn Rs 500,000 from the PUCB for Dr Mishra and the amount had been deposited in Dr Mishra's account at the Central Bank of India, Dak Bungalow Road, Patna. Dr Mishra was thus implicated in the case (case no 9 dated 1 February 1978, court of chief judicial magistrate, Patna).

Dr Mishra, then moved the Patna High Court for anticipatory bail. Rejecting application, Mr Justice Uday Sinha observed on 13 February 1978: "The petitioner (Dr Mishra) was chief minister of the state and should have been a more responsible person. His conduct should have been, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion... If a lenient view of the matter is taken the conduct of the petitioner will be a Magna Carta to the entire services in the state. If the chief minister can take bribe, why should not other members of the services?...

With villagers: plea of 'not guilty'



Judge: "The case against the petitioner (Dr Mishra) has not been instituted out of political vendetta."

Dr Mishra: "It has" (claiming which, he withdrew the case against himself!)

I do not see how a chief minister can set an example of integrity to the civil services." He also observed: "It is obvious that the petitioner was providing a cover to corruption by shielding Nawal Kishore Sinha."

Dr Mishra then moved the Supreme Court for bail and got it on 20 February 1978. But the court stipulated that "the petitioner will be enlarged on bail furnishing his own bond and of two sureties of Rs 50,000 to the chief judicial magistrate, Patna." Meanwhile, the vigilance department formally presented charges against Dr Mishra and others before the chief judicial magistrate (CJM) Patna and the hearings began on 21 November '79. The case however, was prolonged as both the defence and the prosecution asked for successive adjournments (in all, the case was adjourned on 13 occasions). Commenting on this, the CJM said on 25 September 1980. "It is unfortunate that such an important case in which ex-chief minister who is now the chief minister of the state is an accused for the offence under sections 420, 466, 471, 109, 120B IPC and under section 5(2) of Prevention of Corruption Act read with section 5(1) (a) (b), and (c) of the Prevention of Corruption Act is being neglected by the state and no prosecutor is provided to work on behalf of the state... It is really a mockery of prosecution in the circumstances in which it is being pursued."

Ever since he became chief minister again, in 1980, Dr Mishra had been trying hard to get the case withdrawn. The reason he advanced was that the case was politically motivated—disregarding the fact that the prosecution was actually ordered when Dr Mishra himself was a cabinet minister. The IG (vigilance), Mr A. P. Sinha, however was reluctant to withdraw the case. On his retirement on 1 June 1980, Mr Sudhist Narayan Sinha became the IG (vigilance). He, too, was unwilling to oblige the CM. Mr Sinha was, therefore, transferred to the innocuous post of the chairman of the police building construction corporation. It was clearly a punishment transfer for Mr Sudhist Sinha. He was replaced by a more pliable Mr Shivaji Prasad Singh.

The rest was a formality. Mr Singh, on assuming office, recommended the withdrawal of the case; he said he too believed that it was "politically motivated." And this despite the fact that Justice Uday Sinha of Patna High Court had specifically said that "the case against the petitioner (Dr Mishra) has not been instituted out of political vendetta." Only recently the Bihar government formally dropped the charges against the bank officials. Everyone, therefore, escaped.

How a CM is corrupted

By ABDUL GHAFOOR, former chief minister of Bihar

It is a peculiar thing. The moment you are sworn in as chief minister, you are surrounded by hordes of people whom you have never seen before. They carry garlands and they proclaim earnestly and loudly that they are your friends. The truth is, they are not.

These people are the flatterers who will flock around you as long as you are in power—and not a day longer. They are the hangers-on, the *chamchas*. Being human, one tends to get carried away rather easily by their protestations of friendship and the temptation that they signify. After some time one gets so used to their presence that it becomes difficult to live without them.

Your real friends, the people who really care for you, fade out. Only their pride prevents them from coming to your aid, even if they can see that you are being misled. However, although they remain aloof, they remain eager for details about their onetime friend and are keen to see whether he still remembers them or not. Meanwhile, the chief minister, surrounded by the inevitable band of flatterers, has very little time for this loyal band of old friends. As time passes, the gap between the chief minister and his true comrades widens and soon a time approaches when there is no one he can turn to for help.

During my own tenure as chief minister, not many people dared offer me bribes. The same week I assumed office I made it clear to my partymen that I would not oblige anyone who came to me with requests for favours, unless it concerned them or their close relatives. This was the only concession I made.

In this context I cannot help recalling an incident which shows how a chief minister, despite the best intentions, can be made use of. When I was in power it was brought to my notice that a certain police official had amassed a vast fortune. It was obvious that he could not have done so unless he was taking bribes, so I accordingly ordered his suspension.

The police official in question then tried every means possible to get the suspension order revoked. Sometimes he would arrange it so that a mutual acquaintance was seated next to me on a flight so as to plead his case. Another time, I faced a unique situation during a by-election that I was contesting. The suspended official visited my constituency and persuaded all voters belonging to his caste to demand the withdrawal of his suspension order as the price for their support. Even this did not work, so he tried getting the ear of some important partymen in order to plead his case. Finally, one of the MLAs from my party visited me in



Abdul Ghafoor

my chamber and said that the marriage of his only sister had been arranged with the brother of the suspended police officer. He added that the marriage would only be solemnised if I revoked the suspension order. This move, he explained, would save him paying a dowry.

I felt genuinely sorry for the MLA and told him that I would rescind the order if it helped him. As he was leaving the room, I told him that I wanted to be completely convinced that the marriage had been settled before I actually withdrew the order. Accordingly, he showed up a couple of days later with a wedding invitation and this set my conscience at rest.

Sometime later, a former chairman of the Bihar Legislative Council came to visit me and while we were talking he picked up the invitation. He jumped up from his seat immediately and blurted out "Ghafoor Sahab, what are you up to?" I was nonplussed till he explained that the MLA in question did not have a sister.

So for the moment, I kept the wedding card and my order aside. After a few days the MLA came to me to find out what I had done about the suspension order. There were some other people in my room. I sent them out and bolted the door. Now the MLA was alone in the room with me. I took out the card and my order. I told him I was going to call the IG to find out if the card was genuine. As soon as I picked up my telephone to call the IG, the MLA fell down at my feet asking me to forgive him.

Here is another example. This involves the present Bihar chief minister, Dr Jagannath Mishra, himself. He was then the minister of irrigation and electricity in my cabinet.

Dr Mishra has acquired the knack of selecting corrupt officers.

One day he brought a note on which was scribbled a name: Nāwal Kishore Sinha. He wanted Mr Sinha to be appointed chairman of the Tubewell Corporation. Knowing Mr Sinha's antecedents I told Dr Mishra that the choice of Mr Sinha would be most inappropriate. But as Dr Mishra insisted and as it was his first request to me, I yielded. Later events, however, proved how right I was about Mr Sinha, whose name figured prominently in a series of scandals.

No regime can claim to have been wholly free from corruption: not even mine. One can assume K. B. Sahay's regime (a former chief minister of Bihar from 1963-67 who had to face an inquiry commission on corruption charges) as a landmark, for that was when corruption became institutionalised; now it is even respectable. Everyone in the state knows that no work can be done without paying a bribe—whether it is in the secretariat or in the offices. Ministers openly take money for transfers and postings. Bribes are prevalent in every department. A small example will illustrate this. A road near the CM's Patna residence, was recently constructed. It is officially repaired every year—not once but thrice a year. About two and a half months ago, I saw repair work going on and the road is still in a very bad shape. Obviously, the money spent on it must be going into someone's pocket.

In the PWD, for example, it is an admitted fact that more than 50 per cent of the money is diverted towards 'non-building.' What I mean is that a lot of money sweetens the palms of engineers and the contract-awarding authorities. Thus it is not without reason that people complain that the ministers are corrupt.

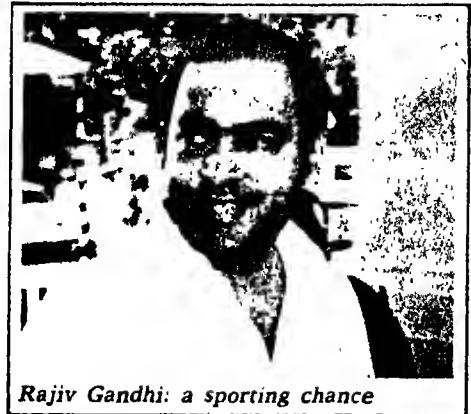
It is generally believed that the recent reshuffle in the cabinet is to muffle the criticism about corruption as it came in the wake of consistent complaints by many about the corruption of the ministers. But can a leopard change its spots? Can the reshuffle cure the ministers? The persons are the same and their habits will remain with them. Now a stage has been reached where palliatives are not likely to work. And frankly, I doubt whether there is anyone in Bihar who can set things right.

Dr Mishra is young and a comparative newcomer to politics. I had warned him of *chamchas* and I had advised him to encourage honest officers. But it seems that my advice has fallen on deaf ears. I am sorry to say that Dr Mishra has acquired the knack of selecting and picking up corrupt officers to run his departments. And so we are saddled with a corrupt ministry, a corrupt administration and a corrupt people.

Will Rajiv Gandhi be education minister?

From our Delhi bureau

Till the moment of writing, no final decision had been taken on whether Rajiv Gandhi will officially join the government or not, though the education ministry was being considered seriously as the job for him. One important reason for this was that Rajiv Gandhi could then take direct charge of the Asian Games, and use his influence and abilities to stave off what could so easily become a disaster. After all, if the Asian Games flops India will lose more than money; it will lose face.



Rajiv Gandhi: a sporting chance



Indoor stadium being constructed for the Asian Games

Problem: The chequered career of the Asian Games project seems once more to have taken a turn towards disaster—and there is no longer either time or scope for excuses. Wanted: A leader, with a team which can provide the muscle and the management needed to rescue what could be the biggest flop we have ever known. Bright Idea: Get Rajiv Gandhi.

Two separate lines on two separate graphs seem, curiously, to be heading towards each other: the downward curve charting the fiasco of the Asian Games project, and the upward curve tracing the rise of Rajiv Gandhi's importance in national affairs. With hardly a year now to go before the Asian Games are due to start, as basic a thing as the architect's designing of the stadium roof has been found to be faulty. It will be, by any standards, a tough job to get everything ready in time—even with sections of the Games being parcelled off to other cities (Calcutta is likely to get some football, for instance). And Rajiv Gandhi has now reached a point in his political career where he must raise his public profile, where he must manage a show successfully to provide evidence to the people that he too can get things done—to run an Asian Games which works, if you like. Therefore: he could become the education minister (without cabinet status), and devote himself totally to the Games (they come technically under the education ministry) leaving other aspects of the job to his co-minister and elderly relative Mrs Sheila Kaul (the Congress(I) MP from Lucknow), who is now minister of state for education.

So many birds would be killed with that one stone. Rajiv Gandhi would begin to acquire experience with the bureaucracy, he would formally enter government—this would be ideal 'management trainee' spell obligatory for the larger tasks he surely has in mind for himself. Not only that, management of the Asian Games sounds like a good reason to enter the government: in any case, it sounds better than untrammelled nepotism.

The Asian Games for 1982 were awarded to Delhi during Mrs Gandhi's first long spell as Prime Minister. But the decision came during her "evil days"—in 1976, during the Emergency. Ill fortune dogged that decision. The Janata came to power, and forgot that something like the Asian

Games had been assured to the rest of Asia. Then in 1979, an organising committee was set up under Vijay Kumar Malhotra, and he submitted contingency plans keeping in mind the lack of time and resources. He visualised minimum construction and maximum renovation of existing facilities and infrastructure.

But then Morarji Desai fell, and in came Charan Singh's government, and the Prime Minister of rural India immediately denounced the Games as an extravagance. If work on the Asian Games did not come to a complete full stop, at least a very heavy semi colon was placed on progress.

Then we saw Mrs Gandhi's victory. V.K.Malhotra a BJP leader, was sacked. A site for extensive construction was selected at Rai in Haryana after the personal intervention of Sanjay Gandhi. Land was earmarked for various projects; tenders were floated. Sanjay Gandhi died.

Now Vidya Charan Shukla entered the scene; he became chairman of the special organising committee. Tenders were awarded. Suddenly people seemed to realise that there was not much time left. And by now the Games were demanding not merely sports complexes but, according to the new managers, new roads and a whole infrastructure of hotels and hostels. The plans were burgeoning at an alarming rate, and since everyone was in a hurry, money was disappearing at an even more alarming rate. (Things have come to such a pass that Mrs Gandhi herself, who has been such a votary of the Games, recently admitted publicly that if she had to take a decision on the Games all over again, she would now say no. But then the commitment had been made and it would have to be met.)

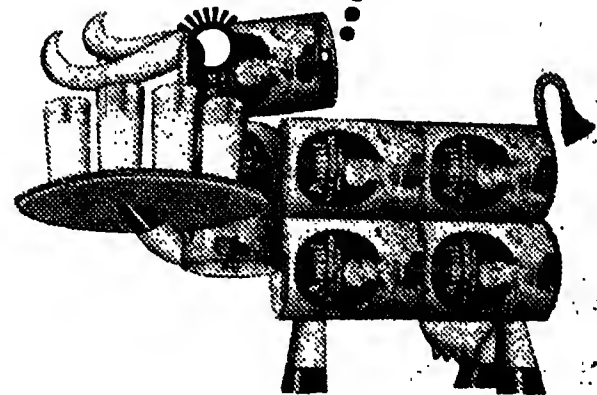
But before Shukla could really become effective, he fell out of favour: he lost both his ministry and his managership of the Games. Buta Singh took over. Buta Singh had had some experience in sports, having been president of the Amateur Athletics Federation, and he understood sports well enough to appreciate the complexity of the requirements. The pace of work was speeded up. But how fast could it go? And what was to be done about the enormous problems—almost havoc—that the constructions were causing? What more can one say than state that Delhi began to look like Calcutta, with all the digging going on. All the hurry at the initial stage was also extracting its price. Designs were found to be faulty; according to some insiders even flyovers are not reaching precisely where they were meant to reach. The authorities arbitrarily began uprooting the capital's beautiful trees before an uproar halted the massacre of greenery. The swamps created by the digging have become mosquito breeding grounds; there are strange diseases now sweeping the city. Delhi is paying a heavy price for the luxury of the Games.

Then came a stunning blow which jolted everyone. It was discovered that the design of the roofs of the indoor stadium and the indoor swimming pool were faulty, due to mistakes made by the architect. A consultant was flown in from London, and he suggested major structural changes in the roof. The government can barely afford the additional expense and the extra time. And this stadium is the heart of the Games.

The time had clearly come for something drastic. In addition to all this, the opposition—particularly the Lok Dal, and even more particularly the eloquent George Fernandes—had been waging a sustained campaign against the Asian Games, calling it a vast waste of money and resources (like cement, steel etc). There was little doubt that large sums of money were being spent: the final cost could go up to Rs 1,100 crores, according to some estimates of overall expenditure. If, on top of this, the Games are a fiasco it will severely damage the credibility of Mrs Gandhi's government. It will be labeled a government which spends rather than works.

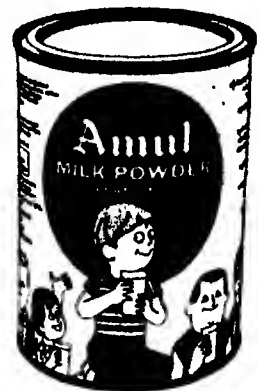
The final decision may not be so much in Mrs Gandhi's hands as in Rajiv Gandhi's. Even after his election to the Lok Sabha he has preferred to take what is (purely comparatively) a back seat. He has a little more than three years before the next national elections to the Lok Sabha, and presumably he would like to inform the country about his worth within this period. It will be a bit of a gamble for him—but then his mother did not reach where she is by sitting in a corner.

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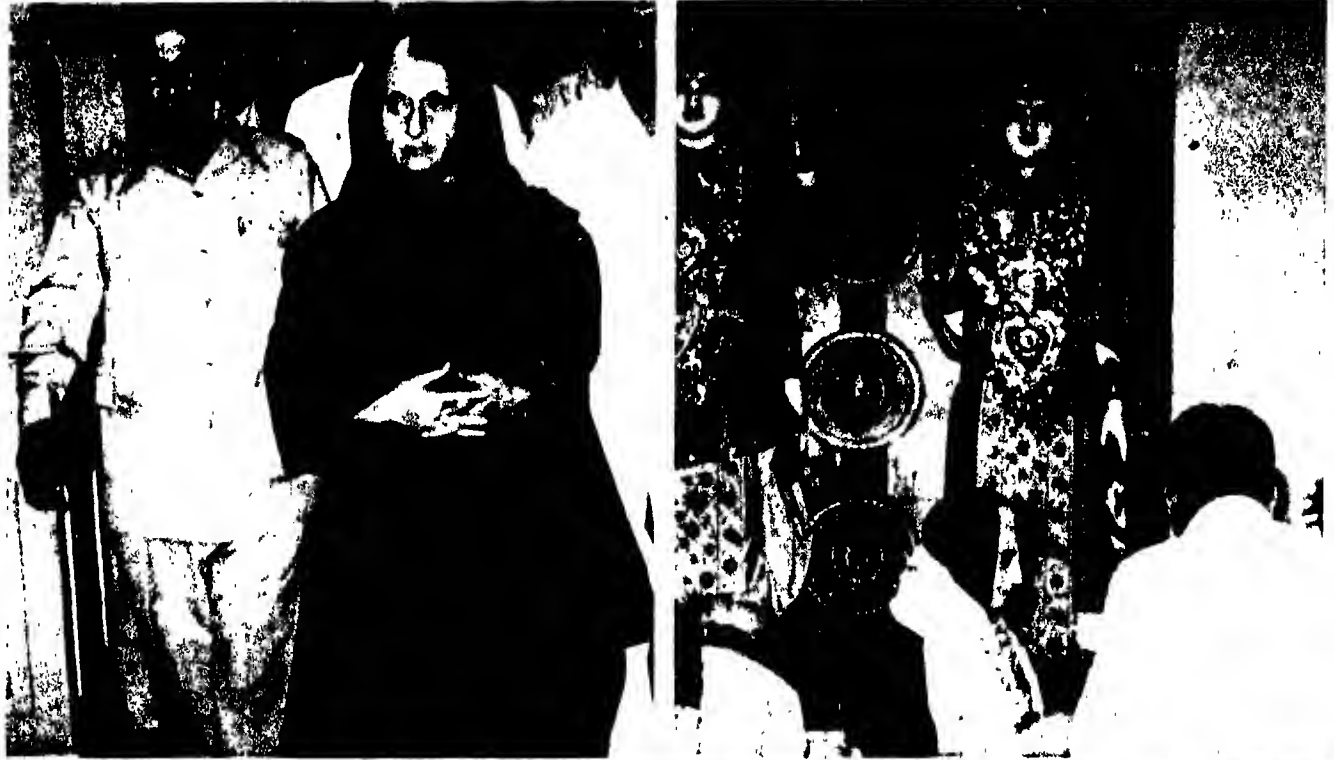
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PM worships Lord Krishna



The day of Janmashtami (23 August) saw a VIP visitor at Delhi's Birla Mandir—or, to use its formal name, the Lakshmi Narayan Mandir. Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi came early in the morning, wearing the lovely ghagra of the Mathura region. It was a quiet visit, but photographer Virendra Pravekar of the Hindustan Times was there to take these photographs.

Jiyajee style

It's hard
to define
But easy
to recognise




JIYAJEE
SUITING-SHIRTING
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The curious case of the Muslim who became a Hindu

On 30 August a 24-year-old Muslim, claiming to be grandson of the Nawab of Chhatari, became a Hindu at a highly-publicised ceremony in Delhi attended by senior representatives of the RSS, BJP and Arya Samaj. A day later there was much embarrassment when it was discovered that he was no legitimate relation of the Nawab. ANIL SAARI met him in Delhi and the Chhataris in Aligarh to report.

The RSS, the BJP, the Akhand Bharat movement, the Arya Samaj, and orthodox Hinduism in general won a new protagonist on Sunday 30 August. That was the day on which a 24-year-old man called Dr Rafat Akhlaque, a registered homeopath, not only became a Hindu but also swore to become a *pracharak* of the Hindu religion and the RSS. He was converted at the Arya Samaj Mandir in Kirti Nagar, New Delhi in front of a thousand-odd people. Among the notables there were Mahaashay Dharam Pal, well-known leader of the Arya Samaj, Mr K. Narendra, the better known editor of the daily *Pratap*, and a couple of local BJP leaders. Five hundred people had been invited to witness the conversion; more than twice the number came—the *prasad* distributed by the new Hindu fell short. Rafat Akhlaque's new name became Dr Anand Suman.

Dr Suman's new mission in life, he told this correspondent in an interview, was clear: "I will go back to the people and reconvert all those who became Muslims, along with my ancestor, during the time of Bahadur Shah Zafar."

And he has strong views on politics too: "I will support the BJP and make Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee the Prime Minister," he says. How exactly will he do that, which so many others have tried to do and failed? "I want to challenge the political parties which think they can survive on Muslim vote-banks. This is no longer possible. Up to now the Hindu was divided; I will unite them." And after he brings about the unity Shri Vajpayee will become Prime Minister (until then, presumably, Mrs Gandhi is safe).

However, more logical is the fact that Akhlaque, or Suman, had an unhappy childhood largely because of the licentious behaviour of his father, Dr K. Akhlaque, who died in 1980. This overactive doctor had five wives, and this turned his son off against both

his father and the religion which permitted more than one wife. More dramatic was that one of Anand Suman's mothers was quite young. He was sent to boarding school at an early age, and has lived most of his life in hostels. His father was a successful doctor in Sambhal, and later the son emulated his father and became a doctor of homeopathy himself. It was during his student days that he came in touch with Mr Manphool Singh Diwakar, an RSS leader of Sambhal (in Moradabad district)—Diwakar, in fact, was a tutor to Suman's younger sister. However Diwakar taught Rafat alias Anand Suman a love for the RSS: "The

Sangh (RSS) is the only organisation which works for the nation."

But it was not his conversion on 30 August which created as much sensation as Dr Suman's claim that he was a grandson of the Nawab of Chhatari and a former-member of the Students Islamic Movement (an offshoot of the *Jamaat-e-Islami*). He claimed that he had been turned off the Students Islamic Movement (of which he claimed to have been president) after they swore at a secret conclave in Hyderabad to create an Islamic republic in India.

One of the most distinguished families of UP, the house of the Nawab of Chhatari, Said-ul-Mulk Colonel Hafiz Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan, was waiting in August for a new member to join the family: one of the young brides in the house was expecting. But before she gave birth to a healthy girl, the Chhatari household found itself saddled with another "member" of the family. That was when Dr Rafat Akhlaque, or Dr Anand Suman, claimed that he was the grandson of the 39-year-old Nawab of Chhatari. (Chhatari is an estate in Bulandshahr district where the family owns farms, they were once the *zamindars*.)

The Nawab of Chhatari is no ordinary nawab or 'rajwada', and Sir Ahmad Said Khan's family is so well known in political, educational and social circles that no legitimate grandson can suddenly emerge: all the children of the family are known to a large circle of people. The Nawab's family itself considers the whole thing to be a joke. The Nawab's third son, Ibne Said Khan, waving his hands delicately around his eyes, told us in Aligarh on 2 September, "Duniya mein tamasha hote rahte hain. Ek yeh bhi tamasha tha (Life is full of *tamashes* and jokes; this is one more of them). We are four brothers and by God's grace all of us are alive. No son of the Nawab Sahab is dead. The name Akhlaque does not run in our family. The Nawab Sahab uses 'Said' and his name is Ahmad."

Rafat Akhlaque alias Anand Suman



Said Khan. 'Said' is attached to the names of all the children of our family. This boy may be originally thakur by caste like us, but that does not make him one of us. I only wish to stress that he is not a member of my family. He is not my son, he is not my nephew, and he is not my brother." At the same time he insisted again and again that neither he nor any other member of the family had any comment to make about Dr Rafat Akhlaque's conversion to Hinduism, or to his motive in claiming to be a grandson of the Nawab of Chhatari.

Similarly, the president of the Students Islamic Movement, a youth wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, Dr M. Zaki Kirmani denied on 31 August that Dr Rafat Akhlaque was ever president of the Students Islamic Movement. Sources close to the Jamaat told this correspondent that they had never heard of Dr Akhlaque before. They also pointed out that the SIM was not founded in 1977, as claimed by Dr Rafat Akhlaque, but in 1974 at Aligarh.

Even a BJP luminary in Delhi seemed embarrassed by the controversy created by Dr Rafat Akhlaque's claim to the Chhatari family. Insisting that his name should not be mentioned, he confessed that too much had been made of this conversion to Hinduism. Nor did he have anything to say about the boy's claim to the Nawab of Chhatari's family beyond saying that Dr Rafat Akhlaque had said he was being disowned because of property quarrels. Dr Akhlaque or Anand Suman himself could not be contacted on 2 September when we wanted to talk with him once again and ask about the Chhatari family's denial of any relationship with him.

Dr Rafat Akhlaque's family comes from Shekooপুর, in Bulandshahr district. His father had once taken a shop on rent at Chhatari from the Nawab's family, and ran a clinic there. It was not very successful, and he moved to Sambhal where he had more luck as a medical practitioner. A *munshi* of the Nawab's household told us that they had learnt that the boy's mother was a *pathan* and not a rajput (thakur), but there was hardly any contact between the Chhatari family and the Akhlaques after the latter had moved to Sambhal.

Mr Ibne Said Khan, the Nawab's son who looks after the family estate, said that Dr Rafat Akhlaque claimed that his family had become Muslims during the time of the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar. The Chhatari family, on the other hand, "became Muslims at the time of Jehangir, who was secular, mind you. I am saying Jehangir was secular because his mother was a Hindu (Jodha Bai) and his first wife was also a Hindu rajput. Now there is a very long gap between Jehangir and Bahadur Shah Zafar. But I do want to say once again that I am not saying anything about Dr Rafat Akhlaque's change of faith. That is his personal choice. A person has the right to join the fold of any religion. We have



Ahmed Said Khan; Nawab of Chhatari

absolutely nothing to do with that, and have no comments to make on it. All I am saying is that he is not a member of my family."

Since the 93-year-old Nawab is quite hard of hearing now, it was difficult for us to talk to him but the entire Chhatari family is at a loss to explain why Dr Rafat Akhlaque has tried to embarrass them by claiming to be the Nawab's grandson. Somebody in the household observed that it could be a case of fantasy born out of frustration. Of the Nawab's four sons, two are at Aligarh—Mr Ibne Said Khan, 59, and Mr Anwar Said Khan, 44. The eldest son, Mr Rahat Said Khan, 62, has long been settled in Pakistan. And the fourth brother, Mr Farhat Said Khan, 60, retired as sales manager at TISCO and lives presently in Calcutta. The family has three branches. The Nawab's own family is *sunni* Muslim. A second branch is *shia* Muslim, and the third is the thakur Hindu family of Barauli-Kashipur. Family members at Aligarh say that the ties between the three branches are still alive, and marriages in one branch are attended by members of the other branches.

Sir Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, has been chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University since 1965. Prior to that, he was the AMU's pro-chancellor for 15 years. In 1937, he became chief minister of UP, and he has twice been governor of the province in pre-Independence days. After Independence, he was in the Rajya Sabha for two terms. Thanks to Pandit Nehru. Sir Ahmad has had an important career in public life, according to sources outside the family in Aligarh. He was one of those who was instrumental in bringing Hyderabad into the Union of India. He served two terms as Prime Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad—from 1941 to 1946 and again in 1947. During his second term he incurred the displeasure of the communal Muslims at Hyderabad who were rallying under the banner of the Ittehadul Muslemeen. Led by Mr Kasim Rizvi, the Muslemeen, according to friends of the Chhatari family,



Sir Ahmad Said Khan; third son of the Nawab

were in favour of merging Hyderabad with Pakistan, which Sir Ahmad Said Khan opposed. Sir Ahmad had to flee from Hyderabad by air, and the air-lift was arranged by Nawab Halim Jung.

It is, however, alleged by some people that the boy's father, the late Dr K Akhlaque, might be the bastard child of one of the many women inhabiting the Nawab's mansions at Chhatari and Aligarh. During our interview with Dr Anand Suman the venom with which he spoke against the Nawab of Chhatari—"The estate has been built on the oppression of people," he shouted—suggested a deep bitterness against the Chhatari family.

Inconsistency, certainly is not a flaw in Dr Anand Suman's personality. He says he was once a militant Muslim; he talks now like a militant, extremist Hindu, convinced that in Akhand Bharat "Every person in India should be a Hindu first of all or he will have to go. I don't want *kattar* (bigoted) Muslims to stay here. I don't want them to stay here and sing songs in praise of Pakistan. I want to wipe out all that is against Hinduism and Bharat Mata." Wiping out ideological and theological opponents is obviously a particular passion with him, no matter which side he may be on.

As the propagator of the new faith, he has plans to set up a platform under the aegis of the BJP's youth wing; he wants to start a Yuva Kranti Parishad which ought to bring to the land once again the revolution of the range that Gandhi achieved, though Dr Anand Suman is quick to add that he is "not a supporter of Gandhi."

Why did he choose the name Anand Suman? He explained: "Anand" was chosen by the Arya Samaj leaders and 'Suman' is the name of a girl I was in love with from class one to class ten. She was in class ten when she died. She was a Hindu girl from Sambhal. She also studied at Naini Tal. We had decided to marry. We had decided that either one of us could convert in order to get married, it did not matter who would. When she was in class ten she died. On her death I promised myself that I would never marry anyone else."



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"It is absurd to say that harijans are becoming Muslims because of foreign money"

By H. N. Bahuguna

There is a lot of stupid talk going on about conversions; a lot of gossip-mongering is distorting the whole matter. Even the press, occasionally, participates in this. For example, one newspaper came out with the story that the Shahi Imam of Delhi's Jama Masjid had converted one Delhi family to Islam. The Imam had to immediately issue a contradiction: he said quite vehemently that he had never done any such thing. I know that nothing of this sort happened in the Jama Masjid.

The conversions that have become such big—perhaps disproportionately big—news recently are shaking Hindu society. If they can shake Hindu society enough to end the follies that exist in it, I shall be very happy. My views are clear, and I enunciated them recently to some harijans who came to see me. I told them that if they honestly believed in Islam, if they honestly believed that the preachings of Islam were better, then they should accept Islam whatever the reactions might be. But if they were going to Islam only because they were being persecuted by the upper castes, or because of injustices that were inherent in the Hindu system, then it was not sufficient reason for them to change their faith. If they were unhappy with the Hindu system they should try and change that system, improve that system; but leaving it would not be a solution, because they too were part of the system.

The conversions have been the result of economic and social tensions, of deprivation and insult that have left the scheduled castes totally disillusioned. Like a very sick man who has begun to lose his confidence in his regular doctor, they feel that a change of doctors would cure them. They are going to Islam now, but one wonders if they are aware that in India, unfortunately, Islam too is affected by the caste factor. The Sheikhs, Syeds, Qureshis, Ansaris, Idrisis—they may not be officially divided into castes, but they behave like castes. Often, they don't even inter-marry. Very few people are aware of this. It is, indeed, awful that this should be so because the caste system is the very antithesis



A converted harijan family

of what Islam stands for. But that has been the impact of India on Islam. The tragedy is that Islam has been affected by a bad factor of Hindu society—caste.

I am opposed to the caste system. I am opposed to untouchability. The fact that we have not been able to eradicate these problems is not only a failure of government but also—perhaps principally—a failure of society. Conversions, therefore, are not going to solve this social problem.

Nevertheless, all these stories which are being spread about the involvement of money in conversions are

H. N. Bahuguna



quite irrelevant. There is no use trying to say that harijans are becoming Muslims because of the allurements of money. It is even more absurd to say that they are being influenced by foreign money. How much foreign money can come in? And harijans are not insignificant in number. The whole treasury of Saudi Arabia will not be sufficient to maintain all the harijan families for all their lives. But we have all sorts of people making statements of this nature, even people high up in government. Home minister Giani Zail Singh makes one statement in Madras, and when someone challenges this statement, a home ministry spokesman "clarifies" that the particular statement was never made.

Though conversions may create tension, may provoke discussion and debate and cause leaders of Hindu society a bit of worry, they are not a solution for the real problems of harijans. However, Hindus must understand that they are the guilty party. The Arya Samaj now says that it will only work for the abolition of untouchability and discrimination. Very good, but why weren't they working for it earlier? However, let them start even now; I shall be very happy.

The Shankaracharya says that conversions must be banned by law. I can challenge the Shankaracharya on this: there can be no legal ban on conversions in our country. The Adi Shankaracharya (the first Shankaracharya) converted every Buddhist back to Hinduism. How can the present Shankaracharya say that conversion must be stopped by law? They are, after all, inheritors of this tradition. I agree that conversion by fraud is bad, conversion by allurements is bad. But the question is, who will be the judge? Is it not a fact that converted Muslims have said that they were not allowed to sit in buses as long as they were harijans, but were allowed to do so when they became Muslims? It is social disability, social persecution, that has driven them to this kind of extreme step. I am more than sure that, given goodwill and good sense, Hindu society will not have to face such ordeals. But today, we are paying the price for our sins; let us not abuse others.

"If conversions can end the follies in Hindu society, I shall be very happy"

"Hindus must understand that they are the guilty party"

Delhi's plans for Bengal's Left Front government...

It could be toppled during the *puja* holidays, reports *Shubhabrata Bhattacharya*



Jyoti Basu no confrontation with the centre

Will the *Durga puja* season, the traditional festive time of West Bengal, be the occasion for the centre to dismiss the Left Front government in that state? The proposition is attractive enough—the newspapers in West Bengal close down for a four-day period during the *pujas* and the people are too involved in the festivities to think of politics. At least one section of the Congress(I) leadership in the state, led by the union commerce and steel minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, is understood to be pressing for the immediate dismissal of the CPI(M)-led government of Mr Jyoti Basu. But Mrs Gandhi has not as yet made up her mind.

The main hurdle in Mrs Gandhi rushing to a decision regarding the fate of the West Bengal government is the state of her own party's organisation in the state. The central leadership feels that the faction-ridden Congress(I) in West Bengal is at present not in a position to provide an effective opposition to the Left Front. The main emphasis in the recent reorganisation of the party's state unit has been on promoting non-controversial old faces. The choice of Mr Ananda Gopal Mukherjee, the Lok Sabha member from Asansol (he was among the only four Congress (I) winners in West Bengal) was prompted by the fact that he had the image of being an old party hand, dating back to the days of Mr Atulya Ghosh. Both the general

secretaries appointed with Mr Mukherjee, Mr Santosh Roy and Mr Motahar Hossain, too, are old faces in the party. Mr Mukherjee had been a trusted man of the central leadership for quite some time in the past. A seasoned trade unionist from the Asansol belt, he was appointed in-charge of the Delhi state INTUC affairs soon after the 1980 elections. He solved the disputes in the state INTUC to the satisfaction of the central Congress(I) leadership and for a long time he was regarded a dark horse in West Bengal affairs as well. The back seat given to youngsters like Mr Subrata Mukherjee and Mr Soumen Mitra, the two rival youth leaders in the state, is being interpreted as an indication that the central leadership would like to project a "traditional" image in West Bengal.

While Mr Pranab Mukherjee has for a long time, been advocating the dismissal of the government of Mr Jyoti Basu, his arch rival, Mr Abul Barkat Ataul Ghani Khan Chowdhury, the union energy minister, has been advocating a diametrically opposite line. This, perhaps, is symbolic of the sharp differences in the West Bengal Congress(I) leadership. Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury would like the centre to allow the Left Front government to run its full term in office, till May 1982. He does not favour immediate elections in the state. According to the scheme put forward by his group, President's Rule should be imposed on West Bengal after the term of the present government is over. The scheme envisages a President's Rule in the state for around a year after the government's term has finished and the holding of elections, based on revised electoral rolls, thereafter. The main charge of the Congress(I) against the Left Front government being that it has "indoctrinated" the officials and "rigged" the electoral rolls. The scheme envisages remedy for both. Mr Ghani Khan Chowdhury is believed to have told the central leadership that it should not consider a major change in the bureaucracy because the officials will be on the side of the party in power—and after the imposition of the President's Rule, the ruling party at the centre certainly wields power.

There is yet another proposal before the central leadership, but the authors of the scheme being close friends of the former West Bengal chief minister, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray (who has



Mrs Gandhi: time to topple the Left Front government?

so far failed to regain Mrs Gandhi's favours), it may not be taken too seriously. According to this school, the Congress(I) should realise that since in any case it cannot win the Assembly elections next year, it should allow the CPI(M)-led front to continue in office till the normal end of its tenure. Not only that, even after losing the elections, the Congress(I) should allow the next term of the Left Front in office to pass off peacefully.

The theory is that by remaining the ruling party in the state for two terms continuously, the CPI(M) is bound to suffer such an erosion in its credibility that it will commit permanent suicide. This scheme is too far-fetched, quite obviously.

The Congress(I) has been approached by two prominent former party-men in the past few months for admission, but in both cases the response from Mrs Gandhi has been lukewarm. Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray has been close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi even in the days when Mr Gandhi was not in politics. Mr Ray's house in Delhi was among the few houses Mr Gandhi used to visit in the political circuit before joining politics. But that has not helped Mr Ray to gain an entry into the Congress(I) because Mrs Gandhi is yet to forgive him for his volte-face after the 1977 election defeat. After having been one of her principal advisers in the matter of declaration of Emergency, Mr Ray became a principal Indira-Sanjay baiter after the poll

defeat. That star will be difficult for him to disguise. Otherwise, Mr Ray is perhaps the best choice for the Congress(I) to project as the chief ministerial candidate in the state.

The other person who did not find it easy going with Mrs Gandhi was Mr Priya Ranjan Dasmunsi. However, he is now reconciled to being in the opposition and has approached the CPI(M) for an alliance in the state elections.

Whether Mrs Gandhi will dismiss the Left Front government during the *pujas*, as advised by a section of her partymen, will largely depend on the choice of Governor for West Bengal. The present incumbent, Mr Tribhuvan Narain Singh, has been told he has to go. But his successor has not been chosen, till the moment of writing. Mrs Gandhi would prefer Mr Mohanlal Sukhadia, the veteran Rajasthan leader. But Mr Sukhadia, who is a Lok

Sabha member, is not too willing to leave active politics. At one stage the name of Haryana's former strongman, Mr Bansi Lal was also considered. But Mr Bansi Lal, too, was unwilling to leave active Delhi politics. The one card the CPI(M) has is Assam. The Congress(I) is keen to get CPI(M) support for a Congress(I) government in Assam. Will a fresh term for Anwar Taimur in Assam be the price of Mr Jyoti Basu's continuance in office?

Ever since Mrs Gandhi came to power in 1980, one fear that has ruled the Left Front is of being summarily removed from power. Had the CPI(M) had any idea that supporting Charan Singh would have led to Mrs Gandhi's return, it would never have helped topple Morarji Desai. In fact, even one day before the election results, pragmatic leaders like Mr Promode Dasgupta, the WB party general secretary, openly stated that no single party could possibly get an absolute majority. It was generally held that a coalition government with the CPI(M) as a major constituent would be formed at the centre. Instead along came Mrs Gandhi, the lady who had been PM in 1971-72.

The CPI(M) leaders took three important decisions straightaway: first, they would avoid any major confrontation with Mrs Gandhi; neither would they indulge in provoking the centre nor would they join a coalition front against Mrs Gandhi; second, they would support Mrs Gandhi on all possible national and international issues without major compromises; and third, they would step up the process of strengthening their power base, specially in the rural areas of West Bengal, Kerala, and Tripura so that the party could absorb a violent attack from a hostile Congress.

The CPI(M) is, theoretically, a revolutionary party. But it has not participated in revolutionary politics since 1971, even during the Emergency it preferred to keep a low profile.

After 1980, the CPI(M) began a two-pronged strategy: talk with Delhi, and build quietly a solid rural base. The CPI(M) has few illusions about the violence that could take place later. So, in fact, it is preparing itself to use

... And how the CPI(M) wants to combat Delhi during President's Rule

BARUN SENGUPTA finds out

violence if the need arises. The party is strengthening an underground organisation, and is, in fact, collecting arms.

West Bengal's CPI(M) leaders are confident that though Mrs Gandhi might succeed in toppling the Kerala Left Democratic Front ministry by instigating inter-party squabbles, he will not be able to use that method in West Bengal. The CPI(M) is definite that the West Bengal government can only be removed from power by force. And they also know that the Assam problem has bought them time.

The CPI(M) has consolidated its position through elections to the *panchayats*, the municipalities and educational institutions at a pace never seen during the Janata regime. It has also placed its supporters in government offices and the police force. In addition, leftists are trying to win over the large body of state government employees by increasing their wages and benefits.

There has been a price: an increase in the state's expenditure. Funds originally allotted for long term develop-

ment projects like irrigation, agricultural development and construction of roads are now being channelised to meet the demands of increased wages. Since 1977, the CPI(M) has concentrated its efforts to raise the standard of living in the rural areas by freely distributing food and money through its various projects like "Operation Barga", the Food for Work programme and other relief measures. However, over the past one-and-a-half years, the relief measures have not been restricted to the rural areas alone: the urban population has also benefitted from the CPI(M)'s largesse. Writers and artists are now being financially aided by the Left Front government. This is being done with the primary motive of building across-the-board support. The CPI(M) is confident that the recipients of the benefits will vote for the party in future elections, or equally important, be voluble supporters in the cities.

Within the party, however, there seems to be a conflict of opinion between Mr Promode Dasgupta, and Mr Jyoti Basu. While Mr Dasgupta feels that the party should become more militant to counter the centre's moves using mass meetings, processions, strikes and *bandhs*, Mr Basu feels a softer line is adequate for the moment. The chief minister thinks that militancy can only worsen the law and order situation and give the centre another excuse to act against the government.

Mr Basu is definite that Mrs Gandhi will not allow the CPI(M) to participate freely in the coming elections. For the moment, Mr Basu is content with remaining in power as long as he can without provoking the centre too much: but the quiet preparation goes on for the future.

CPI(M) leaders at a meeting, preparing for the future





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The Government

Infighting in sugar lobby

The union minister for agriculture, Rao Birendra Singh, is in a fix: he does not know whether to accede to the demand of Vasantdada Patil, the Congress(I) general secretary and the president of the National Federation of Cooperative Sugar Factories that the cases launched against five cooperative sugar factories by the government be withdrawn or to proceed with the cases as demanded by Vikhe Patil, a prominent MP from Maharashtra and a stalwart in cooperatives. The prosecution was launched by the Janata government and in 1979, the CBI was asked to start investigations against five sugar cooperative factories—three in Maharashtra

and one each in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The CBI investigations revealed that all the factories had wilfully defaulted in the distribution of 80% of the free sale sugar quota allotted to them. Vasantdada Patil is very keen that the case against at least one of the sugar cooperatives, with which he is closely associated, be dropped and had even approached the union home minister Zail Singh, but drew a complete blank. He has now sought the intervention of Rao Birendra Singh. Vikhe Patil, on the other hand, has threatened that if the cases are dropped he would launch an agitation. Will the agriculture minister sort out the issue?

Small-scale units held at ransom

The government has changed the existing nomenclature of 37 items reserved for manufacture in the small-scale sector. Within the item of confectionery, chocolate and chocolate preparations were earlier exclusively manufactured by the small scale units. But no longer. For, by changing the definition, the government has allowed organised large scale industries to enter this field. Over the years, in this manner, more and more large industrial concerns have managed to get backdoor entries to manufacture items reserved for the small-scale sector. While large industrial concerns have often benefitted by collusion with certain small-scale units, it is also true that many small-scale units are being held at ransom by large units by withholding and repeatedly defaulting on payments. A few years ago, there was talk of introducing comprehensive legislation to protect the interests of the small-scale sector, but by all indications, it will be a long while before such legislation is introduced.

'High-rail' robbery?

The Indian Railways could be nailed for many crimes, but there's a new one for the list: instead of carrying coal to consumers who have booked it, the railways have started using the coal meant for some other consumer to run its steam engines. This is just like a truck owner who has been hired to carry diesel to gas pumps, using up the diesel to run his fleet of trucks. No truck owner does this for the simple reason that he would be sued by the contracting party. But the Railways have taken care of this eventuality by a careful choice of its victims. It has left undisturbed the coal that is meant for the major coal consumers, namely the power stations, cement plants and other large industries. It gobbles up only the coal which has been booked by small-scale industries, which are not powerful enough to take on a big outfit like the Railways. When asked how much coal has been 'hijacked' in this fashion, the official reply is: "No figures are maintained separately on this subject." Naturally.

Promoting Manipur— for whom?

Peculiar are the ways of the Manipur government. Recently, the state government was given a grant of Rs 10 lakhs by the Planning Commission for the development of tourism in the state. As it is, this amount is not sufficient for infrastructural work. But to make matters worse, the administration decided to arbitrarily take away Rs 1.75 lakhs from this amount and set up a publicity unit in Delhi "to build up the image of ministers." There are a number of bills pending with the tourism department, which is now engaged in building a tourist lodge in Imphal. Could not the money be better utilised?

Scheme to revive sick industries defeated

The central government has recently asked public financial institutions to reduce interest rates under the soft loan scheme for modernisation programme in five sick industries—textiles, sugar, cement, engineering and jute—from 12.5% to 8.1%. But, the conditions attached to it are such, that it may defeat the objective of reviving the sick industries. One condition is that the reduced interest rates will only apply if, according to the financial institutions, the units concerned are capable of early recovery and revival. In other words, the grant of loans on easy terms is left purely to the discretion of these institutions. Even the public sector National Textile Corporation (NTC) which is to nurse back to health 103 textile units under its charge, falls under this condition. Besides, the NTC has also been charged with the task of producing cheaper cloth for the poorer sections. In the face of this, should not NTC get loans at cheaper interest rates? Higher interest rates will increase NTC's losses.



How Delhi spies on Kashmir politicians

By UDAYAN SHARMA

It is hardly a surprise that Delhi keeps an eye on the states, or that it keeps a slightly more watchful eye on the states run by opposition parties, or that it is most vigilant about what happens in the very sensitive state of Jammu and Kashmir—or, for that matter, that this is true irrespective of whether Mrs Indira Gandhi is in power or Mr Morarji Desai. But who are the eyes and the ears of the centre in the states? The general belief is that intelligence agencies run by the centre perform this role, and this general belief is generally right—but this is not the full truth. Along with the Intelligence Bureau (IB), the centre has other agencies and sources too. And Delhi's need to know extends over a wide area—from potential saboteurs on or across the borders, to internal saboteurs whose ambitions may be to topple governments in the Assembly or Parliament.

The IB's state unit is called the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau (SIB). The SIBs are normally located in the state capitals, but not necessarily in all

the state capitals. For example, the SIB in Madras controls, in addition to Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh too. Normally the head of the SIB is of the rank of DIG, the only exception being West Bengal: the SIB in Calcutta is headed by a person of the rank of IG, or joint director. This, incidentally, is not because the centre feels especially threatened by the presence of a leftist government in West Bengal, but because of the sensitive and potentially explosive nature of the eastern sector which the SIB in Calcutta has to handle. One post of joint director in Kohima has been created to help monitor the east, but even then it is one of the toughest assignments in the country.

Not that the SIB in Calcutta ignores the CPI(M); it keeps a close tab on all the leftists. Before the CPI(M) joined the government in 1967, the SIB used to work in close cooperation with the state's Special Branch, but now doubt has crept in: because the Special

Branch has been infiltrated by sympathisers and supporters of the leftists. The paradox here is that the top and middle level officials of the SIB in Calcutta are generally on deputation from the state government, so one wonders how pure is the pristine purity of the SIB here, or how it can really be maintained.

Contrary to any misconceptions, the IB and the SIB is not really flush with secret funds which it can disburse lavishly. In fact, its officials are often handicapped by poor facilities, particularly at the district level, where they have to keep a strict distance from the local police. As a result they have to use public transport and cannot avail themselves of the comforts that the *thana* can add to their lives. Usually, IB operatives keep a low profile: at least that is what they are supposed to do.

There is also a branch of the external affairs ministry, headed by a senior IPS official, in Calcutta, which is meant to concentrate on activities across the border, but uses its spare time to take a look at the left parties.

Sheikh Abdullah: watched by the SIB



SONDEEP SHARMA

But what is more interesting is the centre's penetration of the state Special Branch in West Bengal, through a group of officers who have been taken into the confidence of the IB. This "penetration" has become "necessary" only after the entry of the CPI(M) into government, and the resulting conflict between Congress and Marxist interests. In any case, this has been a very successful operation, and no one in the state knows who Delhi's real men are in the Special Branch.

The much-and-often-unnecessarily-maligned RAW also functions in Calcutta. But the grapevine says that RAW is going to be bypassed by a new outfit now being set up in Calcutta by a former top policeman whose efficiency has been often tested and proved in the past.

But these are all official agencies. Delhi keeps in touch with what is happening in West Bengal through other channels as well. For instance, people in the business and trading communities who generally have to keep their noses close to the ground in order to survive in their businesses (some of them have become expert double agents, supplying information both to the state and the central governments). One of the worst sources of information about West Bengal is the state unit of the Congress(I) which, technically and legally, should be the best source. But if Mrs Gandhi only depended on her party to give her information about West Bengal, she would learn nothing about the state and everything about which faction of the Congress(I) was doing what wrong where.

Tamil Nadu is one state which, contrary once again to popular conception, has given the centre the least amount of trouble. In fact, the Tamil regional parties seem to vie with each other to publicly support and secretly help whichever party is in power in the centre. And as one intelligence source put it, "The DMK and the AIADMK are capable of supporting anyone in Delhi."

Obviously, the state watched most closely, taken most seriously, is Jammu and Kashmir. The SIB in Srinagar is headed by a deputy director of the DIG rank. He has two assistant directors, one in Srinagar and the other in Jammu. Information from this state is fed to the special desk at the headquarters in Delhi, controlled by one deputy director (rank of DIG) and one assistant director, who process the information and send it on to the director through a joint director.

Thanks to the all-too-keen interest Pakistan and China take not only in Kashmir but also in its politicians and their financial welfare, the state demands some very special attention from our intelligence services. Therefore, RAW, CBI, Special Branch, army intelligence and BSF intelligence are all active in this state. It is now well known that even the Governor plays a part in helping to gather information

The hardcore, disciplined Jamaat-e-Islami may consider itself to be ideologically foolproof, and its members impervious to either guile or inducement, but it is heavily infiltrated. As has been Lone's People's Conference. Indeed, the situation has become such that every political activist seems to be suspecting the other.

and brief the Prime Minister: he uses the SIB to get the most accurate possible picture of what is happening, so that his reports to the centre are not a mere formality. And of course tapping phones is part of the approved process of intelligence gathering.

Some of the unofficial sources used by intelligence agencies are surprising. For instance, civilian officers in private and public industries. But the main task of infiltrating the various political groups is done by the SIB. The opponents of Maulvi Farooq (Bakara Party) claim that he was broken and made a tool of the centre during his arrest in the mid-Sixties. Whenever Delhi needs someone to raise a confrontation with the Sheikh, out is brought the Maulvi. He has been on the best of terms with the centre through all the shifts in power. He was supporting Mrs Gandhi till March 1977. And then he became the favourite politician of Mr Morarji Desai, who even dined at the Maulvi's house while PM. And now he is Mr Rajiv Gandhi's man in Kashmir.

It is also said—with what degree of veracity is difficult to prove—that the most successful operation of the SIB in the valley was the way in which a member of the family of Mirza Afzal

Mirza Afzal Beg: misled by Delhi

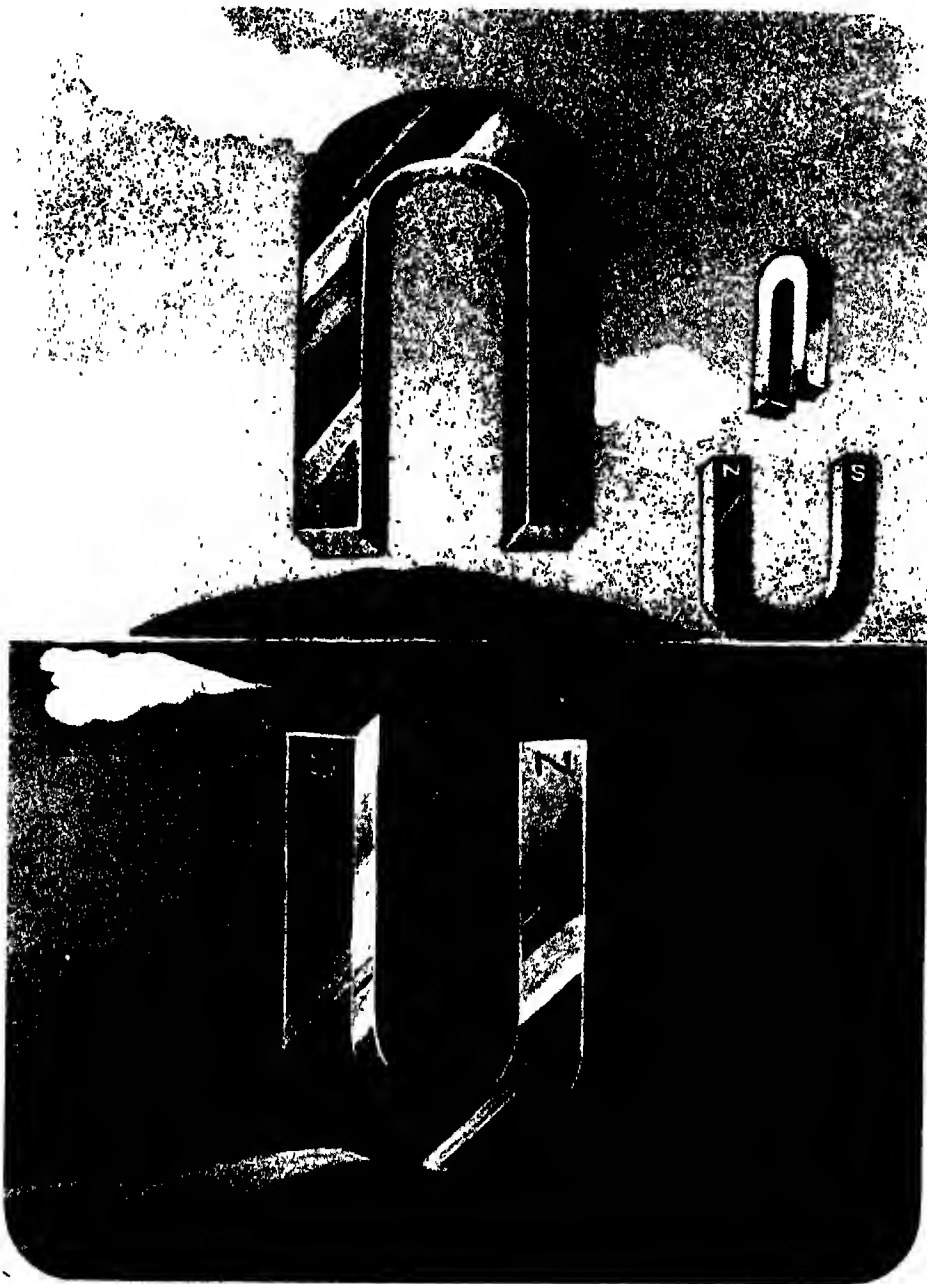


Beg (once the alter ego of the Sheikh) was made a source of all that happened in the National Conference inner circles. Later when the Sheikh was made chief minister and Afzal Beg too became a powerful minister, this person tried to cut off his links with the intelligence officer: eventually the matter was resolved with the officer being transferred to Delhi. It is also alleged that later Mirza Afzal Beg himself fell into a trap laid by the intelligence officers. He began believing that he could replace the Sheikh with the help of Delhi—and he was encouraged in such a belief. Many observers believe—once again such a belief can hardly be substantiated since no written documents vouch for such things—that the Sheikh-Mirza Afzal Beg controversy was carefully engineered.

The most powerful intelligence agency in Kashmir maybe the IB, but certainly the most active is RAW. However, it is to the IB that one of the most spectacular intelligence successes must be credited. Mr S. N. Mathur, who later became the director of IB, was the DDIB in Srinagar in 1971. To him goes the credit of the 1971 plane hijacking operation, in which an Indian plane was hijacked to Pakistan. Pakistan whooped with joy over this "defection," India stopped overflights across her airspace, and suddenly Pakistan realised it had been tricked by a double agent. This double agent Qureshi was used superbly. According to many people, the SIB really became a crack unit in Srinagar after Mr Mathur's tenure there. Its reporting on Kashmir politics is extremely good. Domestic servants of important politicians are one good source of information about the whereabouts and meetings and 'what was said.' The hardcore, disciplined (supposedly) Jamaat-e-Islami may consider itself to be ideologically foolproof, and its members impervious to either guile or inducement, but it is heavily infiltrated. As has been Lone's People's Conference. Indeed, the situation has become such that every political activist seems to be suspecting the other.

Of course the international intelligence agencies are all too eager to find out ways and means of operating in this highly sensitive region. The Soviets, like the Americans, are active too, but are said to be a little more successful. According to one source, Maqbool Butt, chief of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, who is now awaiting hanging in Tihar jail, was nabbed after a tip-off by the Russians.

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In case you are suffering from any disease right now, please carefully compare the symptoms of such disease with the symptoms of GAS TROUBLE enumerated hereunder. If you are convinced that the root cause for your problems also is GASTROUBLE, please be assured that there is no need for fear, disappointment or anxiety over your condition. Please use GASTRO and experience fast and full relief from your troubles. It is only natural with human beings to wish to enjoy life with body and mind as much as possible and as long as possible. Hence this advice.

Most of those who suffer from the disease, commonly known as "gas trouble" are not aware of two very important aspects of this ailment. They are not aware that gas trouble gives rise to a host of other serious diseases. Most of the sufferers also do not know what to do about the complaint. Consequently such people lead unhappy and restless lives without eating proper food. Thus they slowly fall into the deep pit of ill health. We invite such people to read through the following paragraphs containing basic details about the disease. No doubt they will be immensely benefited by this knowledge.

When the digestive power called "Jadharangni" gets weakened, the food does not get digested properly and in time. Such semi-digested food ferments inside the stomach and produces foul gases. These gases in turn cause belching, chest pain and other severe uneasiness. These conditions are the main symptoms of gas trouble. Also, when the body is exposed to sun or fire, chewing or smoking are indulged in and when food items like chillies, asafoetida, tamarind, onion, liquor, tea, coffee, butter milk, curd, root vegetables, peas, dry fish etc. are excessively consumed disregarding the nature of the constitution of the person concerned, excessive bile juice is produced in the stomach. This juice causes pain and burning sensation in the upper abdomen and chest. Belching with sour, bitter, fermenting and undigested taste is experienced.

ADVT

This gas gets stagnated in the upper abdomen causing chilliness, fever, giddiness etc. The decayed bile juice then enters the intestines and bowels. This produces a gas that travels like electricity. As this gas spreads to the brain, chest, heart etc. with electric speed, the patient feels giddiness, unconsciousness and pain around the heart. Again, the excreta and gas which accumulate in the bowels get heated because of pressure and the gas travels through intestines creating giddiness, unconsciousness, chest pain and similar conditions. All these conditions are collectively called GAS TROUBLE.

OTHER COMPLAINTS DUE TO GAS TROUBLE

Excessive generation of foul gases in the abdomen fills the stomach and creates a feeling of heaviness even when very light food is taken. Low and loud sounds from different parts of the stomach, burning sensation, feeling of disturbance as though from pin pricks, acute biting sensation inside the stomach, feeling as though water moves inside the stomach, emanating gas attacking the region of chest and gnawing pain, constriction the throat, movement of gas up and down with noise, movement of bowels either loose or in the shape of tape or clay, discharge of phlegm (Kapha), tendency to pass motion frequently, burning and itching inside the anus, frequent excessive and discoloured urination, belching with bitter taste, inclination to eat frequently, physical weakness inspite of taking nutritious food, lack of appetite, excessive appetite, cough, nausea, vomiting and pricking sensation in limbs. Piercing pain in the stomach, feeling of being bitten by ants or traversed by insects, feeling of lightness in the chest, increase in heart beats, accumulation of gas in the stomach after hard work, feeling of intoxication, severe pain in different parts of the head, deterioration in eye sight, burning sensation in the eyes,

watering from the eyes reduced or blocked hearing, humming in the ears, bad dreams (experience of many people show that majority of gastric patients have sleep filled with bad dreams), intolerance to noise, desire to lie down always, panting while walking, frequent presence of phlegm in the throat, profuse saliva in the tongue, fungus in the tongue, noxious odour in the mouth, loss of sleep, headache, cold, sneezing, constipation, pains in joints, insatiable thirst, bloodlessness, aversion to work, lack of thinking power, desire to be alone, failure of memory, lack of determination, inability to control passion, bad temper. There are innumerable people, suffering from such miserable symptoms. These symptoms may manifest singly or in combination, permanently or temporarily. According to Ayurveda all complaints arise from the imbalance of TRIDOSHAS (Vata, Pitta, Kapha). Of these, the first, vata is most important. Gas trouble is related to this dosha. When obstructed gas is released from the body through any of the outlets, the patient feels relief. It is clear from this that undue accumulation of gas in the abdomen and its obstructed release are the root causes of all the above symptoms.

GASTRO—The REMEDY

There are single remedies for single complaints. There are also combination of remedies of particular complaints. Some specific remedies are there for a combination of complaints. Gastro is a specific remedy for all the symptoms and conditions arising out of gas trouble. Those who do not know that diseases are caused by the increase and decrease of the vital assets of the body (vata, pitta, kapha) may find it difficult to believe that one medicine can cure several complaints and such persons cannot be blamed for that. They can only be advised to try GASTRO and satisfy themselves. If you are a gastric patient do not be under the impression for a moment that it cannot be cured. The truth is

contrary to that belief and GASTRO is an example. As you do not know that there are resistance powers in your system, similarly Gastro has the inherent capability and medicinal properties in it to cure gastric complaints and allied diseases. The Ayurvedic teachers of yore have prescribed invaluable ingredients to prepare medicines for the unfailing cure of such diseases, restoration of lost or damaged physical energy and strength and maintenance of the health of mind and body and replacement and rectification of the wear and tear of the human body occasioned by time and age.

Gastro is an excellent medicine prepared after studying and analysing the old teachings in relation to the present day requirement and changed conditions and you will get convinced from the steady improvement noticed in the physical conditions enumerated above, when you begin to use "Gastro" specially manufactured by us, due to the undisputed efficacy of the product. But it should be said that trust without work and work without trust are equally meaningless. Your anxiety to get rid of your illness is established when you repeatedly read this with the intention of thoroughly grasping the points discussed in it. All of us want to be happy mentally and physically throughout our lives. When gastric patients locate the root cause of their complaint they will have the impression that they have discovered a gold mine in their own garden.

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HEALTHCARE

Mysterious disease strikes Delhi

Be careful if you have had conjunctivitis

New Delhi: Close on the heels of the conjunctivitis epidemic in the capital, comes an even deadlier foe: a hitherto unknown disease which paralyses—and even kills—its victims. The outbreak of this polio-like disease was detected in mid-July. In fact, statistics indicate a close relationship between this strange disease and conjunctivitis. Thus far, very little is known about this disease except that it attacks adults—knows no social or economic distinctions, does not believe in sexual discrimination, usually gives a day or two's notice—and renders useless any one or all four of a person's limbs. Over 200 people have been admitted to the city's major hospitals with this frightening disease. Two of them have already died, at the time of writing, and the total number of people affected might run into thousands.

"I had this redness and pain in the eyes (conjunctivitis) and two weeks after being cured, I suddenly felt feverish one night. The next morning my left leg went weak and the muscles had a fluttering sensation, like a bird flutters when you catch hold of it by the feet. Then a dull pain set in and my leg went numb. After a few hours the same thing happened to my other leg and gradually my hands too—they felt as hard and immobile as ice—that's when I was taken to hospital," said Telu Ram (45), a sweeper with the municipal corporation of Delhi and a patient at the Dr Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital. Other accounts are more or less similar, the common factor being a two-week-old history of conjunctivitis, pain in the limb or limbs, and then paralysis. In the more severe cases, the chances of the paralysis remaining permanent are high. As for the rest, some have been able to fight the disease and have recovered completely, while others, showing signs of improvement, are normally discharged from hospital with instructions to visit for periodic check-ups. The mystery, however, remains unsolved. The nature and origin of the disease are unknown (an article in *Neurology India* dated 1964 being the only instance of a disease similar to this, being cited), medical opinion differs on the methods of treatment. Further, the duration of paralysis is, at best, a matter of speculation.

"Frankly, I am intrigued," says Dr



Telu Ram, a victim of the mysterious disease

G. K. Ahuja, associate professor of neurology at the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), who has not been giving his patients any drugs. Painkillers in extreme cases, and physiotherapy, is all that the patients are being given at the AIIMS. Of the 20 patients admitted since mid-July, 10 have been discharged. "Though none of them had completely recovered, we expect them to be normal after a few periodic visits," explains Dr Ahuja. Polyradiculopathy is what they call it at the AIIMS. In simpler terms, "it is a non-specific response of the nervous system to a virus, conjunctivitis, in this case, and not a specific virus by itself."

Dr P. B. Mazumdar, the medical superintendent of the Dr Ram Manohar Lohia (RML) Hospital, an experienced neurologist, feels otherwise. "It is a disease stimulating polio, possibly a virus, though not any one of the three recognised strains of poliomyelitis viruses; the major difference being that polio normally attacks children. This new disease is being seen in adults only and there appears to be some sort of a relationship with conjunctivitis," he explains. The RML hospital, being bigger than the AIIMS, has been able to admit 50 patients, 30 of them were discharged after showing signs of improvement. "We have been giving our patients a cortisone preparation and vitamin B-complex," states Dr M. P. Dubey, head of the department of medicine at the hospital, who is as baffled by the strange disease as his colleagues in the medical profession.

At the Safdarjang Hospital, one of the largest in Delhi, the authorities were apparently unaware of this new disease and were not able to furnish any data. Surprisingly enough, the National Institute of Communicable Diseases in Delhi, seemed to be blissfully unaware of the outbreak of this disease even a few days after reports appeared in the newspapers. A complacent Dr M. Dutta, deputy director of epidemiology, confessed, "We are still collecting facts and are unable to give any data at the moment," despite the fact that the disease broke out over a month ago. His ignorance was further displayed when he said, "So far we have checked medical records for polio-like diseases at a few hospitals and the incidence seems to be the same as in other months this year and in corresponding months in previous years."

Newspaper reports, often misleading and inaccurate, have already created a scare among literate sections of Delhi's populace. Many doctors in the city relate how they have had to reassure frightened patients (and even perfectly healthy people) that they had some minor ailment, easily identifiable and easily curable, and not this strange new disease. To avoid this disease, one has to avoid conjunctivitis—most of us know how to, by now. Beyond that nothing else is known. Consolation may be derived from the fact that as yet this paralytic disease is nowhere near attaining epidemic proportions. But if you have had a recent attack of conjunctivitis, you had best keep your fingers crossed. Debasish Chatterji

Khushwant's mail watched

New Delhi: The government in Delhi has been intercepting the postal mail of not only its known opponents, which might be expected, but also of some of its most famous supporters. Number 72 on the list of those whose mail was being intercepted (before a furore in the Lok Sabha ended it) was none other than Mr Khushwant Singh, the former editor of the *The Illustrated Weekly of India* and present editor of *The Hindustan Times*, who has consistently supported Mrs Gandhi through the Emergency, and then through the more trying Janata raj. In fact, the reward for such support came when Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi nominated him a Member of Parliament. One reason for such action might be that the "Sanjay group", which is, to put it mildly, in the doghouse these days. Indeed, one of the most prominent and powerful members of this group, Akbar Ahmed (an MLA in Uttar Pradesh) even went through the ignominy of receiving a disciplinary letter from his party chief. Who could have imagined that this would be the fate of one of Sanjay Gandhi's closest friends?

Libya's Gaddafi hits out at the USA

London: On 1 September Libya's Col Gaddafi threatened to attack US bases in the Mediterranean. It was a brave—if impossible—threat. But he is carrying on his one-nation war against a Reaganite America to a point where the Middle East would explode. The most dramatic battle in this war occurred on 26 August when two Libyan airforce jets were shot down over the Gulf of Sidra. Americans said that two of their F-14 Tomcat fighters were attacked by two Libyan SU-22s over international waters and the Americans shot back the Libyan jets in retaliation. However, the Libyans maintained that eight F-14s had threatened the two SU-22s in Libyan airspace and that one Tomcat was destroyed. What casts doubt about the American claim is the apparent foolishness of the Libyans in despatching two comparatively low performance aircraft to tackle the Sixth Fleet, a part of Task Force 60, which consists of two aircraft carriers (the Nimitz and the Forrestal with 100 planes each), four frigates, four cruisers, four destroyers and two destroyer escorts. It has come to be known now, that the American decision to organise a major naval exercise in the disputed waters was taken with the unanimous consent of President Reagan and his senior advisors.

Americans claim that during the first two days of the exercise, there were several intrusions by Libyan fighters. At 7 pm Libyan time, on the third day, Pentagon says, two F-14 planes spotted two Libyan SU-22 jets at a distance of 30 to 40 miles, on their cockpit radars. The SU-22s passed under the US jets and one of them fired an Atoll missile, which has a range of upto four miles, from a distance of less than two miles. It missed. The Americans fired back with Sidewinder missiles that hit both the aircrafts. The pilot of one of them was seen to eject, but no parachute was noticed from the other.

The new stipulation worked out after eight years of sluggish negotiations at the Law of the Sea

Conferences, which has not been ratified yet, provides coastal states with a 12-mile territorial sea and a 200-mile 'exclusive economic zone' within which they have the sovereign rights to natural resources. But the movement of ships, aircraft and submarines belonging to other states cannot be resisted in any way. So, the US fleet was well within its rights, 60 miles from the Libyan coast.

But some questions remain. Did the Libyans really fire first? There is no evidence barring the American version to prove this. If they did, were they, by any chance, goaded into doing so? Finally, why did the US planes, having avoided the Libyan missile and given their superior speed and manoeuvrability, not simply fly off? The exultation shown by members of the Nimitz crew when television cameras visited them in the Bay of Naples, a couple of days after the outbreak of hostilities, gave the impression that the Americans were celebrating some kind of a victory. Said David McLintock, a former US Navy pilot who had served in the Gulf of Sidra, on American TV soon after the incident, that provoking the Libyans into an attack has been a regular feature of previous operations.

Libya's Col Gaddafi is regarded in Washington as "the most dangerous man in the world" and the seeds of the recent air clash was planted 12 months ago when President Carter, worried about the hostages in Iran, ordered the Sixth Fleet to steer clear of controversy. The US Navy, which has staged its "war games" in the Gulf of Sidra area at least four times in the past seven summers, considered this as quite unacceptable. Some time early this spring, according to the Pentagon, the commander of the Sixth Fleet, vice admiral William Bowden, sought permission to ignore the Carter directive. The matter being sensitive, the idea was formally put to the National Security Council. The meeting took place in June. In July, William Bowden was given the permission to proceed with the

manoeuvres and briefed about the confrontation risks.

President Reagan's hatred for Col Gaddafi is "well known." Indeed, his best ally in the Arab world, President Sadat of Egypt, calls Gaddafi "a madman." Other Arab regimes are less critical but admit to his "eccentricity." He came to power after a revolution in 1969, and almost immediately, succeeded in ousting the American and British bases in his country, and in obtaining more favourable terms from the American and other oil companies stationed in Libya. Ever since, with his Islamic fundamentalism and revolutionary ideals, he has been a thorn in the flesh of the West. In fact, he now maintains that the Americans propose to "invade" his country, and promises to defend the country as well as the Gulf, even if this means "a third world war."

On assuming power, the Reagan administration lost little time in adopting a tougher attitude. There has been widespread speculation in the American media about the CIA planning a coup in Libya, and even preparing to assassinate Gaddafi. These reports have been stoutly denied by the White House, but the concern expressed by some leading senators, suggests that the matter cannot be totally ignored.

US-Libyan relation is at a breaking point. Over the years, American support for Israel has formed the basis of growing hostility between Washington and Tripoli, and expanding purchases of Soviet arms by Libya have caused increasing alarm in the United States. Another irritant has been Gaddafi's campaign of killing Libyan dissidents exiled in Europe and America. The thread snapped as it were, when Libya intervened with arms in the civil war in neighbouring Chad.

As for the Soviet reaction, looked upon as crucial and watched with great interest in the West, a Tass release villified the US military operations and bases abroad, but offered no sympathy to Gaddafi. Interestingly in Europe, despite the happiness at the Americans' rejection of Gaddafi's excessive claims to Mediterranean waters, there are distinct qualms about President Reagan flexing his military muscle. West Germany, in particular, views the episode as yet another case of the Reagan preference for "cowboy action" rather than intelligent calm. Ashis Ray

Russian SU-22



The US aircraft carrier, Nimitz



Tomcat with a Sidewinder missile



The law clerk in her blue jeans

New Delhi: The bespectacled man behind the reception counter at the Supreme Court was at sea when we asked him where the advocate L. C. Goyal could be found. He was also a bit indifferent. The moment we said that the advocate's clerk was Adesh Lata Jaspal, the confused look disappeared. And so did the indifference. "Oh, you mean, the girl in the jeans? Chamber No 39," he replied, his face lighting up in that dark reception room.

Chamber 39. Ms Jaspal was not there, but everyone knew where the girl in the blue jeans (who had become an overnight celebrity, even internationally, when Chief Justice Y. V. Chandrachud asked her on 19 August not to come to court in jeans) was: Court No. Five.

Outside the court room, dressed in flowing black robes over starched white saris and with equally starched looks were two women advocates whom we asked for the whereabouts of that elusive lady in the blue jeans. "Why do you want to see her?" shot up one eyebrow. "You press people are disgusting. You want to make a mountain of a molehill. The Chief Justice was right, there is such a thing as a decent dress, and jeans are not a decent dress for the court...and she was wearing flowers in her hair and dangling earrings..."

Inside the court, it was much as it would have been the day Ms Jaspal wore her un-wanted jeans (the make of the jeans is Wanted and it is surprising that the advertising whiz kids have not asked Ms Jaspal to model for them although she has had a couple of film offers). The Chief Justice was behind the bench. Ms Jaspal (21), sat quietly nibbling her pencil, wearing a steel grey *salwar-kameez*.

Ms Jaspal thinks this is much ado about nothing: "Why, I have been to court so often in jeans. Usually I wear those small tops, but that day it was a pink *kurta* with full sleeves..."



Ms Jaspal in her blue jeans

At this point in the conversation (we were sitting in the canteen opposite the Supreme Court) Mr Goyal interrupted us: "Perhaps the Chief Justice did not mean jeans as such. After all the army officers wear khaki jeans, in the navy they wear blue jeans... Jeans is just the name of the cloth. What the Chief Justice probably meant was that the jeans were tight-fitting..."

"Were they?" we asked Ms Jaspal. "Yes," she said demurely. "But jeans are always tight-fitting..."

There are no Supreme Court rules as such about court etiquette and clothes. But the bar council has a set of rules. The proper dress in court is white blouse or shirt and black coat. Convention, however, has it that a white sari with a white blouse is the standard dress for women advocates.

According to Mr Goyal, the court marshal called him after his case was over and asked him who the lady sitting next to him was. Later, the Chief Justice, according to Mr Goyal, asked him to tell his private secretary and clerk that saris were still available in the market, and that a sari was the proper dress.

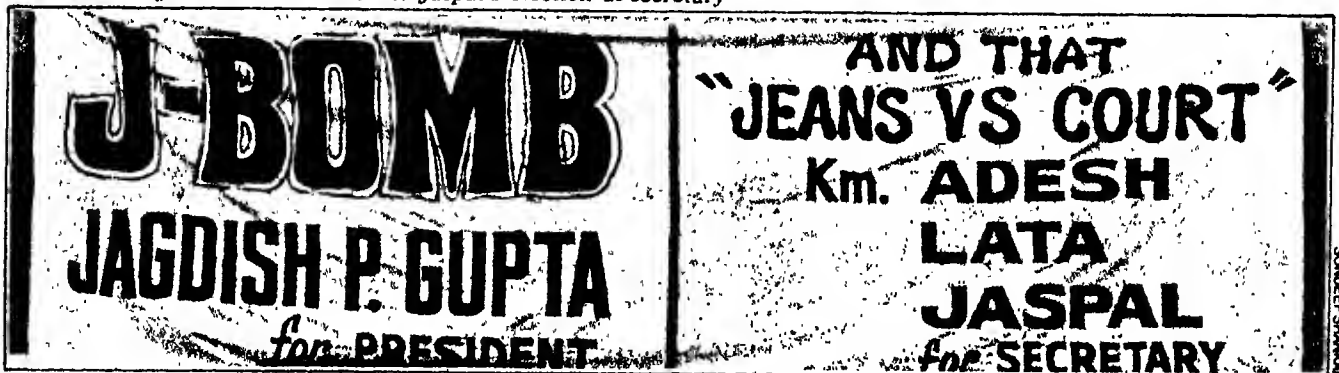
But Mr Goyal and Ms Jaspal, who began to work with him in 1980, did not leave the matter at that. Ms Jaspal wanted to know whether the Chief Justice was "making a suggestion or giving a directive." "If he was making a suggestion, she would wear a suit, but if it was a directive, she would like to file a writ, this is what I told the CJ," said Mr Goyal.

Later, when the latter went to see the Chief Justice in his chambers, he told her that he was only making a suggestion and that it did not look very "nice" if advocates and clerks wore jeans to court. Ms Jaspal said, "He told me that since I was a student of law I should come in a sober dress, at least in court..."

Ms Jaspal has certainly put away the jeans for the moment, at least to court. Her mother does not allow her to wear them there. But they have not been put away for good. She wears them to the law centre where she is contesting the elections for secretary of the students union. It is certainly making hay while the sun shines. Banners have appeared all over: "Jeans vs Court" and the contestant is referred to as J-bomb.

Madhu Jain

The famous "J-Bomb" banner for Ms Jaspal's election as secretary



Shocking assassinations

Teheran: "It is possible that we will be killed tonight by someone, but we (would) have lived for Islam..." The man who said this in an interview to SUNDAY (1 February) was laid to rest at Tehran's Behesht Zahra cemetery on 31 August this year. He had been killed by an incendiary bomb; his face was burnt beyond recognition—only from the marks on his teeth was he identified as the former Prime Minister and the newly-elected President of Iran, Mohammed Ali Rajai (48). Also killed by the very same bomb was Mr Rajai's trusted friend and Iran's Prime Minister, Mohammad Javad Bahonar (47).

Two months ago a bomb planted at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party had claimed over 70 important political lives; stunned and angry, Ayatollah Khomeini had asked: "Who are they? Are they human beings or savage beasts who dare not show themselves? Who are they who send other people's children to carry out sabotage?" These questions were obviously rhetorical; the world knew that ousted President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr had called his supporters out into the streets to show Khomeini that he wasn't a spent force in Iran. But if the *mullahs* were confident on the streets, they had every reason to be apprehensive of what would probably happen in future; for Bani-Sadr had escaped from Iran and had taken with him a dreaded leader of the leftist guerillas, Massoud Radjavi (32).

When Bani-Sadr surfaced in France he set up the National Council of Resistance, appointing Radjavi as its leader. It was a marriage of convenience: the left merging its cause with the moderates'.

"The Ayatollah's regime has the ability to mobilise but it cannot organise the people," said Radjavi in an interview to a French daily, *La Croix*, a few days before Iran lost both its Prime Minister and President in the bomb blast. Outlining his strategy to oust the religious dictatorship of the Ayatollah, Radjavi said: "Eighty per cent of the people are against Khomeini but they are frightened by the executions.... Our objective is a general insurrection." He claimed that on 24 July, the day Mr Rajai was elected President, his terrorists had carried out 190 armed operations all over the country. The signs were ominous; but the *mullahs* paid no heed. Understandably, Radjavi has a very poor opinion of the security arrangements in Iran: "Bani-Sadr and I left Iran right under the nose and beards of the *mullahs*."

Radjavi and his *mujahideens* would probably be the deciding factor in Bani-Sadr's longrange war against Islamic fundamentalism in Iran. Their

loyalty to the exiled leader can be judged from the fact that it was only after Bani-Sadr's sacking as President that they took up arms against the Ayatollah's regime. The real basis of the Radjavi-Bani-Sadr alliance is, of course, the hatred for religious dictatorship which "destroys the right to think."

"I know that now in Paris there are elements opposed to the Islamic revolution," said Ayatollah Khomeini at the funeral of Mohammed Ali Rajai and Javad Banohar. What he chose not to disclose is the fact that the very same elements in Paris have posed the most serious threat to his regime and created a political vacuum in Iran.

FOREIGN STUDENTS

Khomeini hates leftists

New Delhi: What appears to have become a civil war in Iran is spilling over to India as well. On 27 August, 185 students belonging to the leftist People's Mujahideen Organisation of Iran (PMOI) began a six-day hunger strike outside the UN office in New Delhi in protest against the executions of leftists by the Khomeini government after former President Bani-Sadr left for France on 19 July. It did not take more than a day for the pro-Khomeini students to react: at 6 am on 29 August, while the hunger strikers were asleep, they attacked them with screw-drivers, knives and bicycle chains, seriously injuring 21 of them who were later removed to hospital.

There were, till the beginning of last year, over 7,000 Iranian students in India. Many of them were called back after the Iranian government passed a law requiring all those who had gradu-

ated to return home and to go to the battle-front. But there are thousands who have yet to return and they belong to different factions, ranging from pro-Khomeini fundamentalists to the Marxist-Leninists and the Kurds. Those who resorted to violence on 29 August belonged to the Union of Iranian Students' Islamic Associations, a wing of the ruling Islamic Republican Party; their victims were supporters of Massoud Radjavi, the leader of the National Council of Resistance recently set up by Bani-Sadr to remove the Ayatollah's formidable regime.

In 1978 it was much the same fervour; but the enemy then was the Shah and the hero was Ayatollah Khomeini. The cloth masks they wore then were black; today they are appropriately red. There is another significant difference this time: the demonstrators do not march to the Iranian embassy (they don't accept it as their mission anyway). Said one of the students: "It is too dangerous. The police are inside the building and they will shoot us. We don't mind dying, but not here. In Iran, yes, for our cause." Ironically, this student was also one of those who had marched for the Ayatollah two years ago. "We supported Khomeini because he was the head of all groups," said another student. "But the last two years have shown that Khomeini's slogans are hollow." This student believes that the release of the American hostages was a trade off for the \$2.7 billion given to Iran and for the Talbot deal for automobile production in that country.

The leftists are conspicuous in their red masks. They don't consider Khomeini a true Muslim. "He has a reactionary understanding of Islam," they claim. Islam should not be forced down the throat, says one of them. They fear that the Indian government might deport them in order to keep the Ayatollah happy and the flow of Iranian oil to India steady. (During the Shah's regime the Indian government had planned to deport a number of Iranian students to their country where they would have faced a firing squad; eventually they were packed off to France.) But as long as they remain in India the street wars will probably continue.

Madhu Jain

Iranian students in masks demonstrate in Delhi



Does government want to check black money?

Bombay: Tax officials claim that the latest hawala raids have caused panic in the stock exchanges. Many hawala agents have come forward to "confess." Officials also say that zeroing in on the hawala agents is a time-consuming process and requires checking, ferreting out information, following it up with clues that are very skimpy. A diary found, for instance, has entries written in code or mere numbers which have to be deciphered. They normally deny everything and the courts take their side because there is no concrete evidence. Thus, finding the culprits is an unending process.

More than a question of logistics, the issue is a lack of political will, since a government that really wants

to track down culprits can do so. Everyone knows what is being sold in black and white. Right behind the income-tax offices on Queen's Road is a string of buildings on New Marine Lines where every flat is sold on black money transactions. The tax department can make a start from there.

The capriciousness with which the hawala subject was handled belied the serious repercussions on the country's economy. As the well-known tax consultant and advocate Y. P. Trivedi said, the sophistication and ingenuity of the Indian business community, made the American mafia look like kids. Nowhere in the world have businessmen complete hold over the economy as in India.

The present hawala raids started

about eight months ago when a pretty, young stenographer fell out with her boss who was in the hawala business on a small scale. One thing led to another and the tax sleuths uncovered hawala transactions valued at Rs 40 crores. Hawala is primarily a commercial word in Marwari, Hindi and Gujarati and means literally "transfer." The commercial connotation is "bogus transaction" or "bogus entry." Principally, there are two types of hawalas: purchase and sale hawala and money/loan hawala. And the one who gives a bogus bill is called a hawalawallah. Mr Trivedi recounts that he once cross-examined such a person. That man told him quite blandly, "I can give you a bill for anything, even for an elephant. If you want a bill for having bought a Boeing (aircraft) I can give you one for that too. After all I only have to make a bill, I don't have to give you the item." This is the ingenuity of a hawala transaction. In the case of purchase and sale hawala, if one wants to inflate purchases and deflate sales, the hawalawallahs show fictitious sales, purchases or expenditures made by an intermediary who was paid through account payee cheques. Later the intermediary returns the money in cash which becomes black money. When profits are high, one can "buy" losses this way, which means one can convert white money into black, making India the only country in the world where you can "buy" losses.

There are a large number of hawala agents in the city and they are necessary for people who deal in commodities where super profits exist: in polyester, filament yarn, cement, steel, dyes and chemicals, pharmaceuticals, textile, machinery and spares and foodgrains. These agents are generally nondescript.

Hawala is born of the needs of the tax evader and black money holder. For everything one does in the country today, one needs black money. For instance, even transferring a tenancy right which is against the law, fetches a fancy premium. Purchase of flats is paid for in black to the tune of 80 per cent and despite raids, some months ago on estate agents and chartered accountants, flats continue to be sold at a ratio of 80:20.

The question uppermost in every citizen's mind is whether the government is sincerely interested in reducing the evils of black money. For instance, we are told of raids on film-stars, businessmen and others. In 1980 the income-tax department conducted 3,746 searches on various premises and cash and valuables worth Rs 19.25 crores were seized. Between 1 April and August this year, there were 758 searches and Rs 10.76 crores were seized. And this as everyone knows is the tip of the iceberg. The raids hardly have any effect. Each case taken to court lasts at least five years and assessment takes equally long. And, meanwhile, black money continues to be made by the hour.

Olga Tellis

How a government is playing with human lives

Lucknow: Mr Mohan Singh, Lok Dal MLA and the party's chief whip, lashed out at the UP ministry of health, especially its officers, in the last Assembly session for succumbing to graft. Till the time of writing no inquiry against the department has been instituted.

According to Mr Singh, the ministry of health invited tenders for the purchase of ayurvedic, allopathic and homeopathic medical kit bags to the tune of Rs one crore and 68 lakhs. According to the conditions of the tender, only those firms which possess licenses for production and sale of medicines could put in their bids. Among the firms which submitted the tenders, the lowest was given by M/S A.B.L. Research of Hapur, UP. Also taking part in the tender were three Delhi firms: among them was the firm which had quoted the highest, the Delhi State Small Scale Industrial Corporation (DSSSIC). The DSSSIC does not possess the necessary license for the production or sale of medicines. The two other Delhi firms came to know that they would not qualify for the tenders because of their high rates so they withdrew in favour of DSSSIC. But not before they had pressurised the joint director (health) of UP, Mr R. P. Dass. According to Mr Mohan Singh, Mr Dass was made to accept the tender of the DSSSIC for a 'consideration.' What the two other Delhi firms would do was supply the DSSSIC with the medical kits which in turn would be sold to the government. The order for the purchase was given to DSSSIC despite protests from

the deputy director of the UP industries directorate who is a member of the purchase committee. It is interesting to note that the DSSSIC were to supply both ayurvedic and allopathic medicines. This is illegal.

The purchase committee had decided before passing the orders, that the 12 drugs which were to be supplied with the medical bags should undergo a sample test to prove their genuineness. The medicines were sent to the government test house in Lucknow which found five of the 12 medicines, spurious. The joint director, Mr Dass, then sent the medicines to the drug inspector asking him to have them tested at two private test houses: the Shri Ram test house and the Analytical Testing Corporation. The drug inspector raised objections saying that sections 23, 24 and 25 of the Drug Act did not permit him to have the medicines tested at private testing houses. Soon after the drug controller changed the order and had the medicines sent to two government test houses: the government Analysis Centre at Lucknow and the National Test House at Calcutta. The reports from the government test houses were the same: five of the samples were spurious. Despite the reports from the government test houses, the UP health ministry went ahead with its purchase. Till the time of writing, Rs. 80 lakhs have already been spent for the purchase. The state government, it seems, is bent on playing with human lives that are going to be treated with spurious drugs.

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A drug addict's equipment

DRUGS: A PASSAGE THROUGH INDIA

MADHU JAIN reports how drugs produced in the Golden Crescent make their way West through India, along with local consignments

It was an innocuous pile of fork lift tyres lying around in open crates at Frankfurt airport. While unloading, one of the tyres fell on the ground and developed a hair-line fracture. Within seconds narcotics squad dogs rushed to the tyre and began to bark. The game was up.

The Germans immediately warned the American customs: the tyres had been airlifted from New Delhi and were headed for New York. And when four men turned up to "take delivery of the merchandise," the police were ready. There were 300 grams of the finest hashish in each one of the "made in India" tyres. In all, 100kgs of hashish were found. This was only one of the consignments.

Meanwhile, the Germans had also warned the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI) in New Delhi. The airway bill was found and the men at the Delhi end, including a young Stephanian, were arrested. One of the Indians of Jama Masjid area who had been involved in rubberising the tyres flew to the United States to testify against the four men who had been arrested. They were sentenced to no less than 15 years' imprisonment each on the evidence of this Indian. But the Indians in Delhi, though arrested were soon out on bail and have yet to be sentenced. (Hence, no names.)

For narcotics, it has become more than a passage to India. It is a passage through India. This country is becoming a very important transit point for drugs, a clearing house into which come opium-based drugs like morphine and heroin from the infamous Golden Triangle: Laos, Burma and Thailand, and, the Golden Crescent: Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, and



then out again to the West, this time suitably white-washed.

An Indian, or even a foreigner, with Delhi or Bombay as his embarkation point, is not likely to be searched by European customs officials as thoroughly as someone flying directly from Bangkok or Kathmandu into Europe. It costs about Rs 5,000 to hire a courier to take out the drugs in, say, a guitar. For harder drugs like heroin, a courier can be paid anything upto Rs 10,000.

India is a very convenient cauldron for drugs. Drugs find their way into this country from the Golden Triangle either through Burma to Imphal and then goes to Bombay or Delhi—and finally to the West. Drugs too come in from Nepal which has a 1,800 kilometre border with India. Drugs are now pouring in from the Crescent, where the poppy fields are flourishing in the absence of control by the governments and drug traffickers are literally making the best of a bad situation.

There are other equally important reasons why more and more drugs from the Crescent are coming into India. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the land route which was used to carry the drugs to Europe (the other route was by air) became useless. (Even the Turkish guest workers who carried drugs to Germany were caught.) Moreover, less heroin is being produced in the Triangle after recent droughts. Indian airports, consequently, have become more popular and less dangerous take-off points. Again, narcotics from the Golden Triangle, until a couple of years ago, used to find its way to Hong Kong where Western syndicates would swoop down to collect their consignments. But the

severe penalties for both drug users (abusers is more appropriate) and traffickers were effective deterrents. The death penalty in countries like Burma and Thailand and even Turkey scared away many smugglers. The *Midnight Express* certainly does not stop in India.

India's importance as a transit point increased because it is considered a "soft" place. In India, a distinction is made between drug abusers and traffickers: the former get about a year in jail or less; while the sentence for possession of narcotics is upto seven years but seldom more than three years is given. The fines are ridiculously low—seldom over Rs 30,000 for traffickers.

But what is even more tempting for the dope smugglers is the fact that it is

very easy to get a bail order in India. If you have money, the right connections and an ample amount of grey cells, India is the ideal place for a drug trafficker to operate from. There is an Israeli drug trafficker who has been in Delhi for several years. This tough-looking former commando has a house in Vasant Vihar. He conveniently arranges to get arrested on a bailable offence—a few grammes of opium "found" on him are enough—and then bribes court officials not to bring his case forward. Since he is on bail, he can't leave the country, even though his travel documents are no longer valid. Business continues as usual, normally from a hotel off Connaught Circus.

Easy bail and the lenient anti-trafficking laws are not only attrac-

tions for the drug traffickers but also for the drug addicts. India has become a perfect haven for drug addicts and "pushers" because drugs are cheap and easily available. And even more important is the fact that the police often look the other way for a small amount of money or for other "favours" if the "junkie" is female and white. Nor is getting a false passport a difficult matter. There are many printing presses turning out perfect passports which can be had for a price.

There is an intricate narcotics network in India which is rapidly getting more efficient, sophisticated and deadly. It involves not only the peddler on the streets in the notorious Paharganj area in Delhi but also a millionaire smuggler in Bombay who has excellent connections among some

Drugs and their symptoms

	DROWSINESS	EXCITATION	IRRITABILITY	BELLEGERENCE	ANXIETY	EUPHORIA	DEPRESSION	HALLUCINATIONS	PANIC	IRRATIONAL BEHAVIOUR	CONFUSION	TALKATIVENESS	RAMBLING SPEECH	SLURRED SPEECH	LAUGHTER	TREMOR	STAGGERING	NO COORDINATION	DIZZINESS	HYPERACTIVE REFLEXES	DEPRESSED REFLEXES	INCREASED SWEATING	CONSTRICTED PUPILS	DILATED PUPILS	UNUSUALLY SHINY EYES	INFLAMED EYES	RUNNY EYES AND NOSE	LOSS OF APPETITE	INCREASED APPETITE	INSOMNIA	DISTORTION OF TIME	NAUSEA AND VOMITING	ABDOMINAL CRAMPS	DIARRHOEA	CONSTIPATION	ORALLY	INJECTION	SMIFFED	SMOKED
MORPHINE	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
HEROIN	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
CODEINE	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
HYDROMORPHONE	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
MEPERIDINE	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
METHADONE	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
EXEMPT PREPARATIONS	☆	■	■	■	☆	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	■	☆	■	☆	■	■	■	■	☆	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	☆	●	●	●	●
COCAINE	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	
MARIJUANA	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
AMPHETAMINES	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
METHAMPHETAMINE	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
OTHER STIMULANTS	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
BARBITURATES	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
OTHER DEPRESSANTS	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
LYSERGIC ACID DIETHYLAMIDE (LSD)	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
STP	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
PHENCYCLIDINE	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
PEYOTE	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
PSILOCYBIN	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆
DIETHYLTRYPTAMINE	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆

☆ SYMPTOMS OF ABUSE

■ SYMPTOMS OF WITHDRAWAL

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very influential people. (The police know who he is but have no proof because he never carries more than a gram of heroin or any other drug on him and is too clever by half.) In between are scores of other people—hippies, junkies, pimps, customs and police officials, doctors, lawyers, travel agents and exporters and importers. The millionaire, who lives near Napean Sea Road, has an obliging mother-in-law in west Delhi who often stores the "merchandise" for him. Unfortunately, on a recent raid on her house the police only discovered that irritating one gram of heroin—probably a sample. Only this man's alleged Delhi associate, Kishore Deb Mukherjee who lives in Karol Bagh, was arrested and convicted abroad in 1978 for possession of heroin, hashish and cocaine.

The network runs deep and wide and its tentacles have spread even into jails. Last year an Italian model was flown out of India by the Italian embassy after a two-year spell in an Agra jail. She had been caught with some morphine and was sentenced to jail. But once there, this model, who lives in Munich, continued to get her regular supply of morphine. She had to prostitute herself to inmates and jail officials to earn money for the drugs. When she entered the jail she was a beautiful girl of 22. When she left she looked twice her age; her face had become bloated and ugly.

Tihar jail has recently become infamous for drug trafficking within its walls. One of the doctors who has treated some of the drug addicts there told this correspondent that it was obvious that the addicts were regularly getting their supplies. "If they weren't, they would be violent and desperate... you can't imagine how desperately their bodies need the drugs. If you touch the stomach of a morphine addict, who has been off the drug for some time, it is as if an animal is kicking from within. But the ones I sew were quiet..." So if toothpastes, soaps and cakes get in, so do drugs. Even the CBI director, G. S. Bawa, grudgingly admits this. Some people say that the Mafia is behind the scene, pulling the strings. But police and customs officials in India do not believe this—despite the fact that one of the Mafia's hired killers, Ilyas, an Egyptian, was deported from India in February after he spent several months in Delhi trying to kill Walter Harrison, a taxi driver who witnessed many of the narcotics transactions. Most officials believe that the big bosses—the ones behind the scenes—are Indians who use the hippies and junkies as buyers, pushers or couriers.

Smugglers have merely diversified. They have added narcotics to the list of commodities they trade in. The arithmetic is simple and stunning. One kilogramme of hashish costs Rs 2,000 in India. In the United States, it fetches as much as Rs 32,000. Hashish oil costs 150,000 dollars per kilo and morphine which can be bought for Rs 30,000 a kilo sells for 700,000 dollars

A DRUG ADDICT'S PARADISE

It was supposed to have been akin to the legendary Shangri-la. A lush, tropical green visage. A home for exiled monks, from Kampuchea, Vietnam and Tibet. And an atmosphere of peace and tranquility, ideal for meditation. Disturbed only by the distant hum of DTC buses plying on Mehrauli Road.

But, inside it was more akin to hell. The Buddhist Youth Hostel at Ashoka Vihar, in Delhi, a kilometre away from Qutub Minar, was a paradise all right—a paradise for drug addicts. There were a dozen drug addicts from West Europe in various stages on the journey to 'chemical-nirvana' when we entered the derelict, evil-smelling canteen at one end of the hallowed ground reserved for the Buddhists. Pandit Nehru had originally supported the idea for a centre of world Buddhist fellowship here. But it was for a nirvana of a very different kind indeed.

Two of the "junkies," stared blankly at the ceiling. The rest sat huddled over a chess board. These people must once have been the beautiful flower children. They had withered. Not one of them could have weighed much more than a 100 pounds. One of them had every inch of his chest and arms tattooed with snakes and dragons. There was even a cherubic German blonde in her teens with the baby fat barely off her cheeks. But the pink from her cheeks had vanished. When she smiled, she was metamorphosed into an old woman: there were hardly any teeth, those left were charcoal black. She was far on the morphine trail.

As soon as our photographer took out his camera, the glazed looks disappeared. The hippies (or whoever they were) descended on him like hawks. "No pictures," they snarled. The French girl who had taken us to this hostel tugged at my sari in quiet desperation and said, "It is time to go... these people are dangerous. They will even kill..."

People have disappeared from here. And nobody has been the wiser for it. A few years ago a drug addict died of an overdose and he was cremated before anyone could identify him. The police don't enter this little Eden of drug addicts. The lodge might not have diplomatic immunity, but it has something which might even be better—religious immunity.

The police only enter when called—for instance when there are violent fights and drunken brawls. Some plainclothesmen also hang around in the hostel and they all tell, with that unmaskable glee of a

voyeur, of the naughty goings-on in the hostel: orgies, and white women bathing out in the open. (The farmers of Mehrauli have protested to the police about this because they feel that this has a corrupting influence on their families.) The wonder is that while the officials in the "field" know all about this youth hostel, the information has not made its way to the bosses on top. Recently, however, a senior police official has come to know that since the mid-70's this hostel has been turned into a den of iniquity.

The junkies, on the day we visited the hostel, may have been in a foul mood because they now have to find a new hideout: there was a notice outside the office of the lodge's secretary which said that everyone would have to leave by the end of August. Where else could they find a place so secure?

The secretary, a rather forlorn-looking Cambodian monk who left his country in 1972 (he was in Pune until last year), was quite perplexed when we wanted to talk to him. What he saw around him certainly wasn't Buddhism. "There is no Buddhist activity here. People who used to give us money now ask us if this place has become a night club. They think that the cups and plates and cupboards they donate will go to the hippies. They wonder where the monks have gone."

The monk, who looked as miserable as a captain forced to go down with the ship, was quite ready to return to Cambodia, in spite of the communists. There used to be a head monk who used to go round the hostel with a stick each night asking the "guests" to pay the customary Rs four a night. But ever since he went to the United States last year, even this has stopped. The lodge has even found a mention in a special guide book for the wandering youth published in, of all places, Poland.

But these evicted "guests" need not worry too much. They can quite easily disappear into that vast underworld of the drug addict in Delhi. Convenient little guest houses off Connaught Circus or the seedy hotels in Paharganj provide refuge for the drug addict in Delhi. There are, of course, the religious centres in the country. Godmen sprout in India as easily as that *fleur de mal*—the poppy. Cannabis grows wild in places like Manali, and the drug addicts flock to these places, like a herd. Some remain there for a decade or more. Goa and Nepal are the most populated, but Benaras, Hardwar, and Manali are getting equally crowded.

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in the United States. Since the prices are considerably lower in Europe, the hard drugs end up in the United States.

The prices become surreal when it comes to heroin. A kilo of heroin can make a smuggler a millionaire overnight. One kilogram of heroin in today's narcotics-hungry market sells in wholesale, for almost 300,000 dollars. But the dope kings are very greedy and have found ways of adulterating drugs and increasing their profits. Thousand grammes of heroin diluted at 90% purity will fetch only 300,000 dollars. But when diluted further, that kg goes a very long way indeed. For example, it would produce 2,000 grammes at 45% purity.

This is one of the reasons dope kingpins tend, increasingly, to get the opium processed in the source countries rather than take it out in its unprocessed forms. Perhaps, this is why as many as five illegal morphine factories have been discovered in the last six months in South India. Over two and a half kg of morphine have been seized from clandestine factories. Says Mr G. S. Bawa: "Smugglers no longer find it convenient to take out unprocessed opium. So it is being refined here. More and more morphine factories are being discovered in the opium-growing areas... We recover about five tonnes of illicit opium a year. Now if detection is only 25%, as it is in the case of other crimes there would be 25 tonnes of illicit opium being produced each year."

India produces 800 tonnes of illicit opium annually. It used to be 1,200 tonnes until last year, but the world market was glutted when Australia began to export opium—as did Turkey when it resumed its cultivation of opium.

There are 54,000 hectares under opium cultivation in India, spread over Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, on which work about 22 million farmers. The opium production which extends over nearly 75,000 villages, is controlled by the Central Narcotics Bureau. Opium smuggled out from these opium-fields is barely enough for local consumption according to Mr Bawa. In fact, a lot of opium from Pakistan filters through Punjab, where it sells for about Rs 2,000 per kg. Punjab has traditionally been the land of opium-eaters. And still is. Landlords often add a bit of opium in the tea of the agricultural labourers so that they work longer. Some of the opium has also found its way, in cargo boats, to Ceylon and to Mauritius. The two governments have in fact complained to India about some of the illegal opium entering their shores.

Some illicit morphine factories have been discovered in Ghazipur and Banaras. The latest was found in Shahdara on the outskirts of Delhi when 550 gms of fine quality opium and 10 kgs of opium solution prepared for the extraction of morphine, 8.5 kgs



Forms of cocaine: precious commodity

of opium, chemicals and equipment needed for making morphine were discovered. Interestingly enough, one of the arrested, Jeetu, was a dismissed employee of the Ghazipur opium factory—as is the case in many of the people employed in the clandestine laboratories. An African drug addict we met also claimed that there were quite a few morphine laboratories in and around Mehrauli.

No heroin factory has as yet been found. But one of the foreign narcotics experts in India believes that one is bound to be found within the year in an opium-producing area in India.

"India really is a haven. You have all the natural products, skilled chemists, and large areas where the arms of the law have no access to. A deadly combination. It could be in Neemuch, Amritsar, UP or anywhere." Many heroin labs have been found in Afghanistan where the Pakistani chemists have been busy making heroin. (Pakistan is also a major source for heroin from West Asia.)

For illegal morphine manufacturers, India offers another advantage—some of the chemicals needed for making heroin is easily available. In western countries, firms which use acetic anhydride, the essential chemical needed to produce heroin have to account for it. In India it is found, lying unattended, in synthetic textile factories. It is also used in cough mixtures and in aspirins.

There is yet another dangerous trend emerging. According to Mr R. M. Singh, who looks after narcotics cell in the CBI, "Pharmaceutical laboratories are illegally diverting morphine. For instance, the Government Opium and Alkaloid Works Factory in Ghazipur generally gives morphine ampoules to doctors and to pharmacies. In Hathras, near Aligarh, a private firm was authorised by them to get morphine sulphate and to make morphine ampoules...but, they sold two bottles of 500 grammes each to a smuggler. These people were arrested on 22 May this year near the Ashoka hotel."

It is obvious that narcotics officials—of the CBI, the DRI or in various state police forces—have become more active. One of the DRI men told this correspondent that Mrs Gandhi had sent a circular asking the narcotics officials to become more vigilant. But it is not clear whether there is more drug trafficking and

abuse in India or whether the narcotics officials have just become tougher. Police officials complain that our laws are too lenient.

"Our judges are fairly lenient to western drug addicts. They do not realise the gravity of the problem," a police officer said. Moreover, the narcotics officials or even the customs officials cannot investigate or arrest drug traffickers. They have to turn to the police—even though they are the ones who are supposed to stop drug offenders.

"In our country even murder is aailable offence, let alone drug trafficking," said a frustrated official complaining about the laxity of the laws. Not are the customs officials at Indian airports vigilant enough.

And the problem is becoming all the more serious since Indians, especially the younger ones, are increasingly becoming drug addicts. College students, the unemployed and the sons of affluent fathers are now taking to drugs. Even heroin and cocaine—the latter mostly in Bombay because it is more expensive and fashionable. "We are on the road to the psychotropic substances. LSD, amphetamine, all these are available here, only they are now becoming more popular. And the possibility of Indians taking to morphine and heroin is there," says R. M. Singh.

Sadly enough, some of the Indians begin on drugs while in school. There is the well-known case of Ravindra Singh who died of an overdose of a morphine injection at the age of 21 in 1978. In his book, *I was a Drug Addict*, brought out by his father, Brigadier Gyan Singh, Ravindra Singh writes that he started on charas (hashish) while in the eighth class at Mayo College in Ajmer. He went on to harder drugs. And, finally to heroin and morphine when he met some addicts in India and Nepal. His case is not uncommon. There are many cases of public school boys becoming drug addicts while still at school and their going on to LSD or morphine or even heroin.

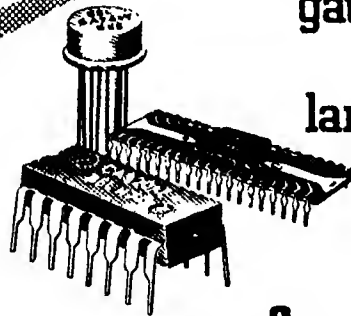
Mr Bawa blames the hippie girls for this: "The psychological lure of the fair skin is getting them entrenched...especially the young Indians. It is the liberated hippie women who are at fault." Some police officials believe that the drug addicts make friends with rich, young students from public schools. Once they get them 'hooked' they keep on fleecing them for money.

Occasionally, one sees an emaciated young Indian lying outside the CBI office in Ramakrishnapuram. A former student of a public school in Delhi (where he started taking drugs), the son of a rich father this boy, in his early 20s has been turned out of the house and lies languishing in front of the building occasionally trading information for a whiff of confiscated cocaine. The police officials don't give him more than a few years to live. In fact, many consider it to be a very optimistic estimate. ■

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THE WORLD

Celluloid scare

Polish filmmaker Krzysztof Zanussi sent the shivers to Washington while shooting his latest film *From a far country*, a cinematographic record of Poland during the last 50 years. "I was shooting the scene of the Soviet liberation of Krakow in 1945," said Zanussi. "I used a lot of Polish tanks. An American satellite passing overhead relayed the scene of the tanks moving towards Krakow and the Americans thought that the Russians had invaded Poland. There was absolute panic." Zanussi later went on television to explain that the whole thing was make-believe.



Zanussi: recreating history

Weinberger's 'red book'



Weinberger: ingenious

US defence secretary Caspar Weinberger has come up with a novel idea: releasing in book form what has so far been regarded as highly confidential data on Kremlin's nuclear and conventional

arsenal. Mr Weinberger hopes that this book will help America's European allies to "appreciate the Soviet threat." According to his assistant in the Pentagon, Richard Perle, it would mean "the most massive declassification of previously secret material in our history." In the Pentagon the proposed book is being referred to as 'Caspar Weinberger's little red book.' But the CIA and the Pentagon's intelligence chiefs have not yet agreed to allow publication of "overhead photographs"—the ones taken from American spy satellites and reconnaissance aircraft. They argue that such photographs would reveal too much about the quality and scope of American information-gathering techniques.

Great expectation



The news that Ching-Ching, a Chinese panda now in the London Zoo, may be pregnant has caused a great deal of excitement throughout the world. Ching-Ching was artificially inseminated with the sperm of a male panda when, after three years of close observation, it was found to be going through its 'fertility period' (in a panda this period lasts not more than three days).

Mother-son feud

Former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike feels that her 32-year-old son Anura ("a young man in a bit of a hurry") is trying to replace her as leader of the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Mrs Bandaranaike has been deprived of her civic rights for seven years by a Presidential commission for alleged misuse of power. Anura Bandaranaike claims that his mother is trying to impose her choice of Parliamentary candidates for the next elections; he has also accused his married sister, Chandrika Kumaratunga, of playing a "Sanjay Gandhi-like role" in helping Mrs Bandaranaike. "My daughter is helping me in my work because I have to have someone helping me. My son is not helping me," replies the mother to her son's allegations.



Bandaranaike: troubled mother

Briefly

Ted in love?



Edward Kennedy: not lonely

Estranged from his wife, Joan, senator Edward Kennedy has found comfort in Hollywood actress Susan St James. The two of them were photographed recently while swimming and sailing near the Cape Cod town of Hyannisport. According to *The New York Post*, the senator was merely "consoling" the actress after she broke up her affair with a Mexican film producer.

'French leave'

If the plans now being studied by the government take shape, workers in France will be permitted to take a year off on reduced wages so that unemployed hands can take over their jobs. The workers' jobs will be guaranteed once they return from their year-long holiday.

Cold service

Britain's only school for butlers teaches the 'Jeeves-in-training' how to turn down passes from sex-starved wives of American tycoons. Those who pass out from Mr Ivor Spencer's School for Butlers after a six-month grind are in great demand in Houston and New York; and prospective employers in the USA insist that applicants must be trained in the art of repelling the sexual advances of high-society women with utmost tact and courtesy.

BBC goes black

The BBC has appointed its first black woman television newsreader: 31-year-old Moira Stuart who is not too sure how the viewers will receive her. "If I am criticised there is very little I can do," she admits.

THE RISE OF THE JATS

Along with the decline of the Mughal empire in India, the Rajputs too slowly but steadily faded out from the national scene. The Jats, Marathas and the Sikhs filled the vacuum: they consolidated their strength and emerged as powerful political forces. The Jat chiefs, Badan Singh and Suraj Mal, displayed spectacular courage and enough intelligence to not merely build an empire but also to keep it. K. NATWAR SINGH, our ambassador in Pakistan, in his book, *Maharaja Suraj Mal, 1707-1763* recreates a comparatively little known but vital chapter in Indian history. This is the concluding extract from his book.

Suraj Mal: Early campaigns

The decline of the Mughal empire also initiated the decline and eclipse of the great Rajput houses of Mewar, Marwar and Amber. Rajasthan became 'a zoological garden with the barrier of the cage thrown down... the fiercest animal passions raged throughout the land, redeemed only now and then by individual instances of devotion and chivalry...' For three centuries the Rajputs had won the respect and gratitude of the people of India. The high virtues of courage, good character and honour were associated with them. By the eighteenth century they were a played-out race, steadily but surely falling into the background of national life.

No outside power could compete with the death wish of the Rajputs.



Portrait of Maharaja Suraj Mal

'The houses of Jaipur and Jodhpur vied with each other to destroy themselves. There was no crime a Rajput would not commit for the sake of land. Father killed son and son murdered father. Women of the noblest rank gave poison to their trusting kinsmen. None, not even the highest born descendant of the God Rama, shrank from buying the aid of an alien plunderer to decide domestic contests.' No amount of glossing over this deplorable state of affairs can hide the reality. The Almighty inflicted on a long-suffering people wholly unworthy rulers.

The sad sunset years of Rajput fortunes coincided with a Maratha, Jat and Sikh dawn. In Rajasthan the chronic inter-state and inter-clan rivalries wholly preoccupied Rajput chiefs. As time went by the Marathas and the Jats began to have much say in their

affairs.

During the 1720s and 1730s the Bharatpur Jats were treading cautiously and Badan Singh was not the man to rock the boat. He was content with not doing anything spectacular or dramatic, and we hear little about them. Badan Singh and Suraj Mal gave every day of their lives to consolidating their position at home. Not only Soghar but other Jat chiefs who came in their way were eliminated without hesitation, with a firm and decisive hand. Up to the invasion of Nadir Shah they kept out of the way of the rulers at Delhi, busy with their grand buildings and gardens and enriching themselves. No excess which would attract attention at Delhi was committed. Survival in the initial years was all that mattered.

Badan Singh amply justified the confidence Raja Jai Singh placed in him. He maintained cordial and respectful relations with the Jaipur ruler. Each year he visited Jaipur, where Jai Singh, not the most considerate of men, extended every courtesy to the Sinsinwar and treated him like a Raja. The suburb of Jaipur where Badan Singh stayed was named Badanpura. This close link between the two did not go unnoticed and benefited Badan Singh and Suraj Mal in their dealings with troublesome Jat chiefs not belonging to the Sinsinwar clan. The patronage of Amber had its uses.

When Peshwa Baji Rao visited Jaipur in 1736, Jai Singh held a big *darbar* in his honour. Badan Singh could not attend, but Suraj Mal represented him. The young man was welcomed like a prince by Jai Singh. The *darbar* was not an unqualified success. The Peshwa's manners left much to be desired and caused aristocratic eyeballs



The city palace at Jaipur, built in the early 18th century.

rows to be raised. At Jaipur Mughal ceremonial and etiquette were strictly if not joyously observed. During the **Barbar** Jai Singh, noticing the condescending attitude of the Peshwa, asked Baji Rao why he did not treat him as he did the Raja of Udaipur. Baji Rao's crushing reply was, 'The Raja of Udaipur is equal in rank and status with my own king, Sahu Maharaj, who had never considered the Musalman Padishah of Delhi as his sovereign, while you are nothing but a Mughal *mansabdar*.' It needed some nerve to say this as Baji Rao was keen to enlist Jai Singh's support to obtain from Delhi the *subadari* of the province of Malwa. Baji Rao did not stop there. He added injury to insult. He puffed his *hukka* and blew the smoke in the face of his host. Laws of hospitality forbade Jai Singh from creating a scene which would have only made an already nasty situation worse.

When Jai Singh introduced Suraj Mal to the Maratha, Baji Rao made disparaging remarks about Suraj Mal's humble origins. The young Sinsinwar kept calm and responded with a dignified silence. But his guardian, Thakur Shardul Singh of Halena, could not contain himself and returned the compliment by reminding the Peshwa of Shivaji's humbler origins. The first Jat-Maratha encounter was not a happy one.

Badan Singh kept himself aloof from the Amber-Maratha and Maratha-Mughal exchanges. Like the Rajputs, the Jats, while recognising the emperor as their sovereign, raised not a finger when Nadir Shah invaded Delhi in 1739. But they took full advantage by making inroads into Mughal territory in the disarray following that invasion.

As their hold over their own people and territories tightened and as their wealth increased they began to flex their muscles, but guardedly. 'The fame of Suraj Mal's capacity for leadership and tough fighting qualities of his troops spread rapidly and there came repeated solicitations for his sword from the highest in the land.'

The first excursion that Suraj Mal made outside the Jat country was in May 1745 when he led a Jat contingent under emperor Muhammad Shah in his expedition against Ali Muhammed Rohilla, and 'fought creditably in that campaign'. In the next year he helped the Governor of Aligarh, Fatah Ali Khan, to regain his estate from Asad Khan Khanazad. At Chandaus, Suraj Mal routed the forces of Asad, who was killed in the battle. The exploits of Suraj Mal in this campaign and in the following two are described in colourful detail by Sudan in *Sujan Charitra*. From the Chandaus battle Suraj Mal returned with a fair amount of cash and had made himself beloved of his Jat brethren in the Aligarh area.

When Jai Singh Sawai died in 1743 Badan Singh lost a patron. Jai Singh had ruled for forty-four years. The first half of his long reign was a saga of success and achievement and during it he built the pink city of Jaipur and the

famous observatories at Delhi and Jaipur; but his later record was devoid of glory or success. He failed against the Marathas. After failing to keep them out of Malwa, and inducing the emperor to make a complete surrender to them in 1736 Jai Singh returned to his own state and gave himself to sexual excess. He always had a weakness for alcohol and now the habitual 'use of aphrodisiacs to stimulate his failing powers entirely ruined his health, till at last he died of a loathsome disease on 21 September 1743. Three wives and countless concubines committed *sati*.'

His death was followed by the customary fratricidal war between his sons, Ishwari Singh and Madho Singh. Madho Singh's mother hailed from Udaipur and the Rana of Mewar successfully used his influence and authority to get formidable support for his nephew. The Marathas vacillated and finally backed Madho Singh as did the rulers of Jodhpur, Bundi and Kotah. Only the Bharatpur Sinsinwars stood by Ishwari Singh, honouring their pledge to Jai Singh. Badan Singh, without the accident of noble birth, possessed the qualities which are associated with it. Ishwari Singh inherited all his father's vices. Virtue he had none. At the time of Ahmed Shah



Thakur Badan Singh

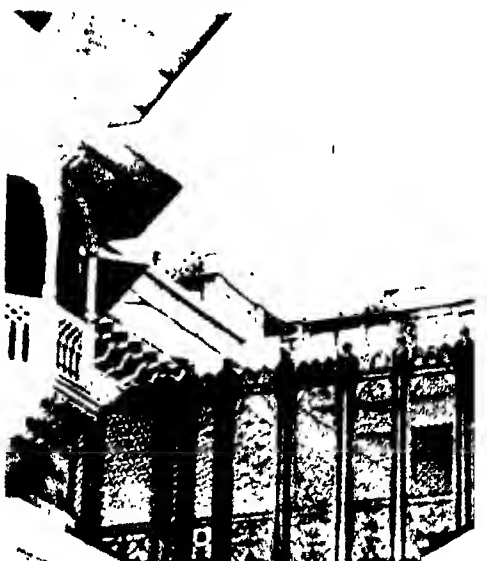
Aodali's first invasion he had run away from Manupur in March 1747. Even his wives had chided him for his cowardice. Aware of the weak character of Ishwari, Thakur Badan Singh asked Suraj Mal to proceed to Jaipur to help him. Suraj Mal left Kuhmer with 10,000 hand-picked cavalymen, 2,000 troopers and 2,000 spear-bearers. His contingent consisted of Jats, Gujars, Ahirs, Meenas, Rajputs and Musalmans. Ishwari Singh received Suraj Mal with honour due to an equal. The Jaipur forces were led by Shiv Singh. With Suraj Mal were his uncles and cousins, Sukhram Singh, Gokalram Singh, Sahaj Ram Singh and others.

The armies of Ishwari Singh and Madho Singh met on 21 August 1748 at Bagru, eighteen miles south-west of Jaipur. The monsoon was not quite over and heavy rain on the second day

drenched both sides.

On the face of it the contest was unequal. Ishwari Singh's opponents outnumbered him seven to one. Madho Singh had an impressive array of famous names on his side, Malhar Rao Holkar, Gangadhar Tatiya, the Rana of Mewar, the ruler of Jodhpur and the Rajas of Bundi and Kotah. With Ishwari Singh was only the little-known Suraj Mal. What Suraj Mal lacked in numbers was made up by the quality of his troops; well-trained, adequately paid and ably led. There was no central coordinating agency on Madho Singh's side. He was in no position to give orders to his allies who were all senior to him and did not take kindly to any form of discipline.

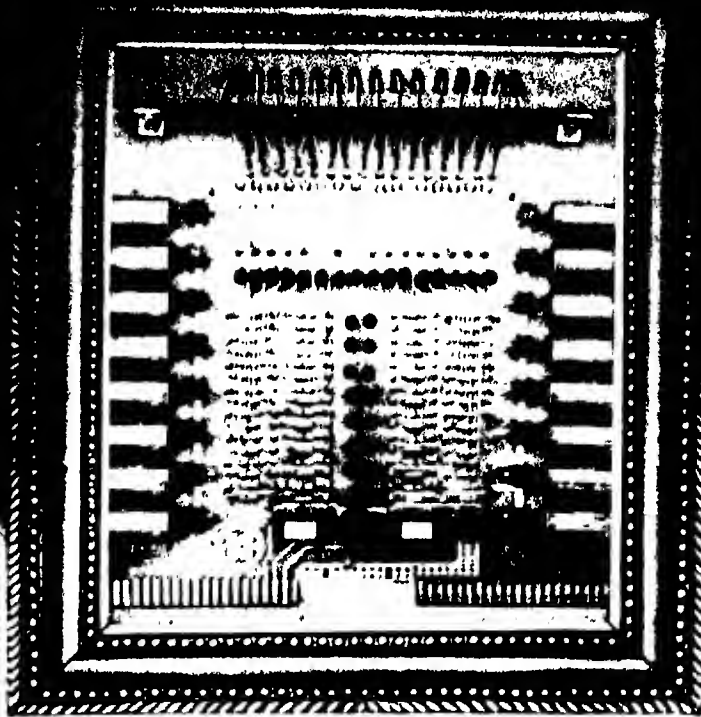
Kanwar Shiv Singh, the chief of Sikar, led the van. Suraj Mal was posted in the centre and Ishwari Singh commanded the rear. The artillery duel on the first day ended indecisively. The advantage on the second day was with Madho Singh. On the second day Ishwari Singh lost his commander-in-chief, the valiant Sikar chief, and he appointed Suraj Mal to lead the *harawal* (van) on the third day. A furious and mighty battle raged throughout the day. Then the Maratha chief, Malhar Rao, sent Gangadhar Tantiya with a strong detachment to surprise the rear of Raja Ishwari Singh. Gangadhar marched undetected and fell upon Sardar Singh Naruka of Uniara, one of Jai Singh's more able commanders. He threw the rear division into confusion and pressed vigorously upon the artillery posted in the centre. The gunners were cut down and the cannon spiked; defeat stared Ishwari Singh in the face. In sheer desperation he asked Suraj Mal, his last hope, to challenge Gangadhar. The young Sinsinwar obeyed without a moment's pause and delivered a flank charge upon the advancing army. A grim struggle between the half-victorious Marathas and the stubborn Jats lasted two hours. At last Gangadhar was halted and pushed back. Suraj Mal, restoring the broken rear and leaving Sardar Singh Uniara in command there, returned to the van to fight on the other front. In that supreme hour of peril he fought with



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superhuman valour, 'killing' says a contemporary chronicler, 'fifty and wounding one hundred and eight of the enemy with his own hands'. Then night fell and the combatants parted to tend the wounded and cremate the dead and get ready for the morrow. Suraj Mal's valour saved the day and made him well-known.

A graphic account of the battle of Bagru is given by Sudan in *Sujan Charitra* and also by the Bundi bard, who had the distinction of being Raja Suraj Mal's namesake. He wrote:

'The Jatni did not in vain bear the pain of travel,

The issue of her womb was Suraj Mal,
The scourge of enemies, and well-wisher of Amber,

Turning back the Jat began,
The fight Malhar in the van,

Holkar was the shadow (night)
and the Sun: (Suraj)

the two champions well matched in conflict.'

Within a few months of Bagru, providence offered Suraj Mal another opportunity to prove his strength and enhance his fame and power.

On 21 June 1749, the Jodhpur ruler Maharaja Abhay Singh died. He combined an uncontrollable temper with an alarming weakness for opium. As *subedar* of Gujarat he had not distinguished himself. On his death he was succeeded by his son Ram Singh. The young man's joy was shortlived. His maternal uncle Bakht Singh threw his *urban* in the ring. Ram Singh turned for help to Ishwari Singh of Amber. Emperor Ahmed Shah backed Bakht Singh and in November sent Mir Bakshi Salabat Jung with a force of 18,000 men to help him. The Mir Bakshi decided to proceed to Ajmer not by the well-established Delhi-Agra road, but via Mewat, which was under the Jat Raja. The plan was for Salabat to retake from the Jats portions of territory captured by them in his *suba* of Agra and Mathura. After dealing with the Jats the Mir Bakshi was to proceed to Ajmer and unite with the forces of Bakht Singh.

The Mir Bakshi's progress was leisurely. He first stopped at Patuadi for ten days. Thereafter he ravaged Mewat and captured the mud fort of Nimrana in the Jat kingdom. This minor success made the Mir Bakshi overconfident and he haughtily dismissed an emissary from Suraj Mal and decided to teach Suraj Mal a lesson. Ajmer and Jodhpur wara for the time being forgotten. Suraj Mal held his hand. He was watching and waiting. When the Mir Bakshi got to Sarai Sobhachand, the Jats descended on him. Suraj Mal with a mobile force of 6,000 surrounded the Mughals on New Year's Day 1750. Suraj Mal had with him important Jat chiefs. Sudan in *Sujan Charitra* mentions Gokla and his brother Surat Ram Singh. The latter led a mounted troop of 1,500, while Balram Singh had 1,000 troopers. Suraj Mal's brother Pratap Singh led 500 horsemen. The Mir Bakshi was surrounded on all sides. He asked Delhi for reinforcements. They arrived

too late. Retreat was blocked by the Jats, 'their mounted matchlock men closed in small bodies and discharged volleys upon the confused Muslim troopers without dismounting. Such a mobile force as Suraj Mal's mounted matchlockmen could hardly be brought to the grapple in the darkness of night.' The Jats charged with speed and determination causing many deaths. Among those killed were two important Mughal commanders; Ali Rustum Khan and Hakim Khan. Salabat Khan was now at the mercy of Suraj Mal.

After three days Salabat thought discretion the better part of valour and sued for peace. Suraj Mal did not wish to have the blood of an impartial *Umra* on his hands and graciously accepted the peace offer. This was an act of statesmanship; he was winning and he made no move to provoke further the Mir Bakshi or arouse suspicion at Delhi. The Bakshi had earlier demanded over twenty million rupees from Raja Badan Singh for the few villages which the Jats had taken. These, the Bakshi alleged, were a part of his *jagir*. The money demanded was out of all proportion to the value of these villages and Badan Singh had no intention whatsoever of paying even a tenth of the sum. Suraj Mal asked his very young son Jawahar Singh to conduct the peace negotiations with the Bakshi. This was the young prince's debut as a soldier-emissary. He conducted himself to the entire satisfaction of his father and grandfather, and gave no indication of the bellicosity which in years ahead was to cause much heartache and bloodshed.

The Mir Bakshi accepted the term on which the Jats would agree to peace:

i) The imperial government would promise not to cut down pipal trees;
ii) nor hinder the worship of that tree;

iii) not to offer any insult or injury to the Hindu temples in the region;

iv) Suraj Mal would collect fifteen lakh rupees from the Rajputs as the revenue of the province of Ajmer and pay it into the imperial exchequer, provided the Mir Bakshi did not proceed beyond Narnol...

The Jat gains were considerable. Victory over an *Amir-ul-Umara* was not an everyday event. Salabat Jung should have known better than to antagonise the one power that alone could have protected his *subah* of Agra. This success gave Suraj Mal and the Jats new confidence. It proved their military potential. The terms of the treaty were a public recognition of the Bharatpur rulers' superior position in Braj Mandal, justifying their title of Braj Raj. Lastly this victory gave the Sinsinwars undisputed leadership of all Jats. At the age of 43, Suraj Mal was the coming man in Hindustan. With the death of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* in 1748 there was no one to match his military strength, diplomatic skill, administrative ability and soundness of political judgement or his understanding of the temper of the times.

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KHAAS BAAT



Moushumi in a still from Yun Bhee Hota Hai

When even a puny-sized Kiran Vairale who is very confident of her looks, snorts in disgust at Padmini Kohlapure's looks and says that she herself has better looks than her, the latter's confidence gets badly shaken. To add to her eternal pimple problem, she has this newly-sprouted double chin and a tendency to become fat, all of which depress her very much indeed. With Christie O'Neil and Rati Agnihotri looking so slim and pretty at Dev's party it is hardly surprising that Padmini was visibly disturbed.

What's wrong with Chintu Rishi Kapoor? Where is that bubbly youthfulness which endeared him to the entire young crowd, since his Bobby days? Like Rajesh Khanna before him, whose popularity was at its peak just before his marriage and lessened immediately after it, the same tragic fate seems to have affected Rishi whose status may not have been as great as Rajesh's before his marriage but at least he wasn't as obscure as he is today. In fact you hear more of Neetu than him.

Looks like Moushumi Chatterji's career is really jinxed. When her film *Daasi* was about to be released there was a spate of publicity announcing the revolution it was going to cause in her future. But the other actress in the film, Rekha, managed to share equal if not more plaudits with her, and her hopes dwindled. Then with the exit of Parveen Babi, during her spell of illness, Moushumi had quietly bagged Babi's role in Manmohan Desai's *Desh Premee* and thought she would suddenly shoot up when she did this prestigious hit-maker's film. But Parveen is back again with a bang and the whole industry is agog wooing her back into the fold so Moushumi is out in the cold once again. And that is not all. There was a lovely role for her in Nagi Reddy's next film with a host of stars led by Rakhee and Sanjeev, and she was sure that being Nagi Reddy's favourite heroine, this film with its plum role would help her win the accolades. Unfortunately, she was coolly replaced by Deepti Naval. Now if that isn't a jinx, what is?

Why is poor Tina being made the scapegoat in the family feud: Sunjay versus Sunil Dutt? Whatever happens between father and son is not her fault. Sunil did not take her in either of his productions. That is enough to put two and two together and say that he is showing his hatred for her because he doesn't want to encourage her relationship with his son. After the financial burden Sunil had to face to fight Nargis' inevitable fate, it is fair that he should work out success-spinning films. If he wants more successful stars like Smita Patil and Padmini Kohlapure in his productions, then why should anyone mind? Outside calculations are doing their best to see that relations are completely wrecked between Sunil and Tina.

A close friend of Manoj's had once remarked to me that for all his success as an actor, Manoj Kumar has zero individual star-power. Which means, in simple words, he is simply not a matinee idol, in spite of all those money-spinners he is bringing out and managing to make while every other multi-star-filmmaker has failed miserably. This person also tells me that Manoj Kumar does not have a single fan who asks for a fan-photograph of him. Yet the same people flock to see his films by the millions.

Now that Mahesh Bhatt has openly begun saying uncomplimentary things about the poor girl Parveen, (I say she's poor because he has his wife and child to go back to and she has no one) guess who he is cottoning after? Old girl Shabana of course. Shabana has known him for a long time now, in a very platonic relationship.

Parveen is back and how!



Kiran: better looks than Padmini

KHAAS BAAT

With the box-office success of Bhagyaraj's *Vidum Varai Kathiru*, karate fifth degree black-belt holder RVT Mani is now hanging on to the industry with the film *Kiaiaa*. But the moustachio is far from a happy man. Just at a time when he wants to give up playing the thug and prove himself as a "character actor," the grapevine says that two offers to play the role of a psychiatrist and a sanyasi have fallen through, and Balu Mahendra is seriously considering signing Mani up for a tough policeman's role.

Smita Patil's success in *Chakra* has sent a whole lot of new faces scuttling to the studios aspiring for 'rustic roles.' "I can't understand though why directors keep harping on *Suhasini* all the time instead of trying us out," said an indignant Kalpana, who like most others cannot see that she made the mistake of taking young *Suhasini* as a model. She has shown directors too much of her anatomy in too short a time, and so put herself in a position where she is considered only for the sexier roles.

Pratap in Those Seven Days



With his late night drunken sprees becoming more and more frequent, Pratap is once again the butt of stale one-liners, like, "why did Pratap take a ladder to the drinks party?" Answer because he heard that the drinks were on the house."



Urmila: climbing the ladder in the Malayalam industry

Kudos to Dasari Narayana Rao whose *Premabhishekam* is doing brisk business here. While his contemporaries have so far been content to talk about artiste-upliftment, Dasari has managed to do something concrete instead. An institution, Dasari Educational Trust, with a revolving fund of Rs five lakhs has been set up for the promotion of education to the children of artistes.

Pratap: the butt of jokes



Bhagyaraj: string of hits



The box office may not be kind to thirty-year old Girish Kasaravalli but the award selecting panels certainly are. Remember *Ghatashraddha* his first feature film in 1978 that bagged awards for the best music (*Karanth*), the best child artiste (*Ajit Kumar*) and the Dada Saheb Phalke award? Now his *Mooru Darigalu*—the story of a sensitive college girl, *Nirmala*, creditably played by Kannada producer-director V. Krishna Swamy's daughter *Sriranga*—appears to be on its way to similar acclaim, having already captured four Karnataka state awards. "I can only put down its box-office failure to faulty distribution," says Girish.

Actress Roopa seems to be coming out on top. She is quick to talk shop about a large family (referring to the industry of course), equate *Kamal* with her northern hero *Sanjeev Kumar*, and discuss *Povel Blay*. (Much later did it transpire that the movie in question is nothing but the *Goldie Hawn* starrer *Foul Play*). Says Roopa: "As much as I admire her (Goldie's) acting, I will never be branded like her: a sex symbol. I'll continue to wear a saree and insist on the big difference between glamour and sex-appeal."

"Which modern man wants to look at something as drab as the saree anymore?" asks *Supriya* who showed off her ample flab in *Plagaripa Banathale*. The self-styled glamour queen appears to have permanently discarded the saree to wear over-tight sweaters and micro-minis from the modern wardrobe she's been boasting about. The ploy seems to have worked though, and she has been chosen to play the lead in *Sisirathil* a Malayalam version of *My Fair Lady* in which the fair lady ultimately turns into a glamorous dancer.

INTRODUCING

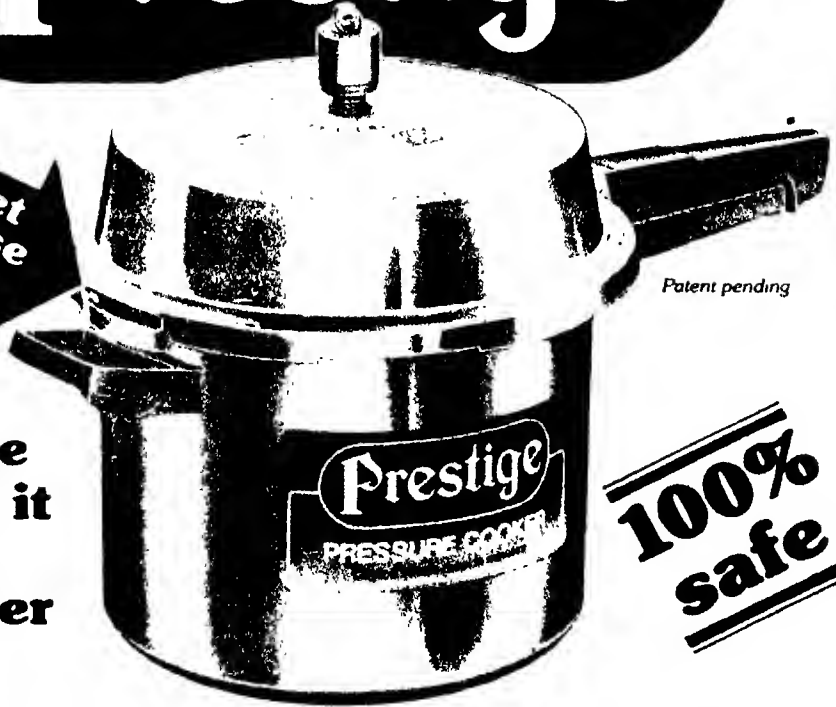
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Beginning 20 September

By AMRITLAL



ARIES (15 April—14 May)

This is going to be a busy week for you, socially. Friends and relatives will add to your share of joy.

But, your work will demand a great deal of your attention. Do not be disheartened by hardships and obstacles you might face at work. Patience and courage are all you need to tide over your difficulties. There are chances that you might have to undertake a journey. **Good dates:** 20, 22 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Southwest.



TAURUS (15 May—14 June)

A moderately successful week lies ahead of you provided you are cautious in your words and actions this week. The financial front does not look too bright, although there are chances of unexpected gains. Consequently, you are advised to exercise caution on the financial front. Try to curb your impulsiveness and refrain from taking erratic decisions. **Good dates:** 21, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



GEMINI (15 June—14 July)

This unfortunately is not a very lucky week for you. Exercise caution on all fronts. Pay full attention to your work and do not neglect even the most insignificant details. A new friendship will prove to be very helpful. However, do not get carried away by the friendship, but keep a close watch on your purse. This is not a good week for change or for romance either. **Good dates:** 20, 23 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North.



CANCER (15 July—14 August)

This is a very good week for romance, courtship and marriage. So, do not hesitate to pursue matrimonial correspondence that has been pending for so long. However, a word of caution: do not take a hurried decision. For those with emotional problems, this week you will be able to rid yourself of your problems. The professional front does not look too bright, so be careful. **Good dates:** 22, 24 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 1, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



LEO (15 August—14 September)

This unfortunately, is not a good week for you. Be on your guard: a friend is out to deceive you. You are likely to enter into heated debates with your superiors at work, which will not be helpful for your future. So, try to check your temper and avoid getting into controversies with people who matter. You might lose a friend because of your outspokenness. **Good Dates:** 21, 22 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



VIRGO (15 September—14 October)

This is a week of mixed fortunes. Those in service are likely to face difficulties at work. But those on the lookout, are likely to find a job. Controversies and arguments are at best avoided this week, for they will not be beneficial in the long run. The health of an elderly member of the family is likely to cause you some problems. Keep an eye on your health too. **Good dates:** 22, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 9. **Favourable direction:** Northwest.



LIBRA (15 October—14 November)

This is a week of success for you, so forge ahead on all fronts. There are chances of windfall gains, but the financial front is not very bright. So, try and exercise caution in dealing with property matter. This is not a particularly good week for making any changes. But, in case a change is absolutely essential, do not hesitate to consult your elders. **Good dates:** 21 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



SCORPIO (15 November—14 December)

A very good week for businessmen. Do not hesitate to undertake new contracts. For those in service, this is a lucky week. Push forth your plans for chances are that they will be approved by your superiors. Your only problem this week is your health, which might give you some cause for anxiety. The domestic front will not be peaceful. This, however, is not a good week for romance. **Good dates:** 22, 23 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



SAGITTARIUS (15 December—14 January)

This is a very good week for romance. Love and matrimonial matters will make steady progress.

Debts and pending law-suits should not worry you this week. A word of caution: lack of funds may prevent you from implementing some of your plans. Do not be depressed, this is only a temporary phase. **Good dates:** 20, 23 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 4 and 6. **Favourable direction:** East.



CAPRICORN (15 January—14 February)

Financially this is a good week for you. Business deals will be successfully undertaken this week. Law-suits and debts are not likely to cause you any anxiety. Speculative ventures are best postponed for the moment. The domestic front will remain peaceful. A word of advice: exercise caution in dealings with members of the opposite sex. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 23, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3, 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



AQUARIUS (15 February—14 March)

This is not going to be a very bright week financially. So, you are advised to avoid speculation and gambling. Keep a close watch on your finances and you are likely to tide over the problems this week. Your spouse is going to be very helpful and give you some sound advice regarding your profession. Pay attention to what your spouse has to say. **Good dates:** 20, 21 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 2, 6 and 8. **Favourable direction:** North and East.



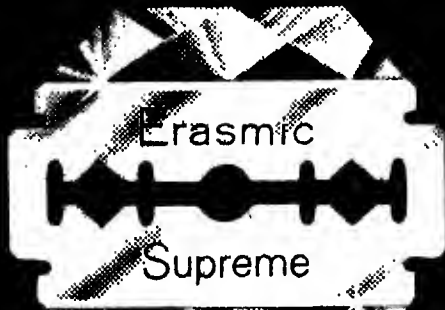
PISCES (15 March—14 April)

This may turn out to be a fairly good week provided you are discreet on the professional front. You might avoid getting into controversies with your superiors and keeping your associates in good humour. This, unfortunately, is not a good week for romance, so be careful of the recently developed friendship with a member of the opposite sex. Keep an eye on your health. **Good dates:** 23, 25 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 6, 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.

For those born between 15 September and 14 October: You are, by nature, extremely hard working which accounts for your financial affluence. Your affluence may show signs of wearing off around middle-age, but that is only a temporary phase. In an attempt to make quick money, some of you have a tendency of going to the

racas, gambling and buying lottery tickets. If you are a businessman, chances are that you will succeed in no time, for your intuition will carry you through the toughest of times. Those in services are likely to be associated with education, forestry, and agriculture. Your hobbies include creative arts and reading.

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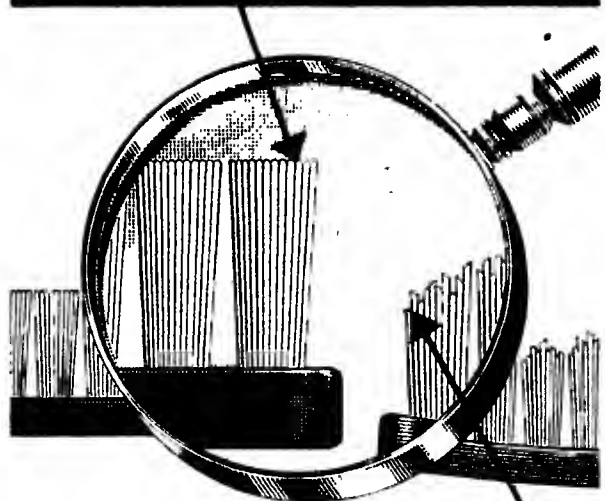
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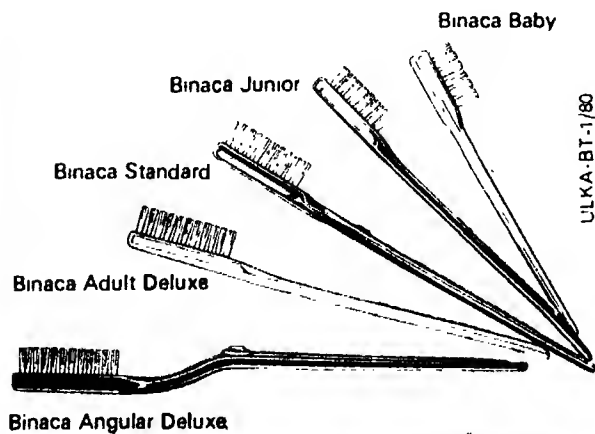
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NEW DELHI: The name of Lalu, a dog in south Calcutta is in the voters' list to the exclusion of his master. Participating in the discussion on a private member's bill in the Rajya Sabha, Mr S. P. Mitra (Ind) said a former Chief Justice of Orissa used to feed Lalu regularly. Eventually he found mention in the voters' list as Lalu Roy but none bothered to enlist the former Chief Justice. Mr Mitra, himself a former judge of Calcutta High Court, was speaking about what he called the 'perfunctory manner' in which the electoral lists were being prepared in Calcutta—*Times of India* (Susmit Das, Orissa)

FEROZEPUR: Mr Suraj Parkash Mehta, an assistant in the office of the district education officer, Ferozepore, has been under suspension for about two years. He is getting 50 per cent of his salary without doing any work. Mr Sat Pal Gupta, posted as clerk in the office of the block education officer, Moga, was suspended in August last but he is yet to be charge-sheeted. According to state government rules no employee should be kept suspended for more than six months—*Tribune* (G. Singh Salaria, Pathankot)

JAORA: A *patwari* of Banwada village in Ratlam district was transferred five times in a month. The *patwari*, Mr Nand Kishore, was transferred from Banwada to Jaora on 5 July, only to be posted back to Banwada on 15 July. Five days later, he was sent to some other area, but was transferred again to Jaora on 25 July. He was again issued transfer orders on 29 July. Out of sheer disgust, Mr Nand Kishore has now proceeded on leave—*Times of India* (R. P. Srivastava, Raigad)

NEW DELHI: A young woman forced to leave her husband because of alleged dowry harassment led a demonstration outside her husband's house in South Extension on Saturday morning (22 August), demanding punishment for the treatment meted out to her. Holding aloft an effigy of her husband and

waving placards denouncing "dowry-hungry dogs," the demonstrators shouted slogans for nearly an hour. As people from neighbouring houses and school children gathered round them, the demonstrators set fire to the effigy to demand justice for all wives tortured for dowry. The demonstration was organised by the *Nari Raksha Samiti* but in the forefront was the 23-year-old woman who wants her husband punished for the pain, she says, he has caused her—*Indian Express* (Kajal Chakraborty, Calcutta)

TIRUPATI: While the Harijans have been embracing Islam for some time now, a Muslim wants *puja* to be performed in his name at the abode of Lord Venkateswara at Tirumala. According to Tirumala Tirupati *devasthanams* sources, he has donated Rs 1 lakh for his name to be included in the *udayasthamana* seva scheme, under which a donor can have a special *puja* performed in his name to Lord Venkateswara every year on the day of his choice. The *devasthanams peishkar* said donations were pouring in and soon *udayasthamana* seva would be performed every day—*Hindu* (S. Nahar, Nilgiris)

NEW DELHI: A diminutive Mr K. C. Pandey found himself passed over during question hour in the Lok Sabha today (18 August). "I am here, sir, I have put the question," the Congress(I) member protested as a puzzled Speaker Balram Jakhar, skipped questions in the absence of several members from the House. "Please forgive me," the Speaker requested Mr Pandey informing him that he could not sight him after he had called out his name. A lady member quipped: he should stand on the bench—*Indian Express* (Rani Bhatia, Ambarnath)

NEW DELHI: It was "wrestler" versus "phantom" in the Rajya Sabha on Thursday (20 August) when the House was seized with a calling attention motion of fixation of remunerative prices for paddy. Addressing a hefty Mr R. Mohanrangam of the AIADMK—who was pleading the cause of the paddy farmer—the agriculture minister, Mr Birendra Singh, remarked: I would rather take him to be a wrestler than a paddy grower. Mr Mohanrangam shot back at the bald-headed minister that he too was reminded of the phantom in a film screened recently in the capital, rather than of a cultivator. A voice: Let's have an exhibition wrestling match. Minister: There are no rules here. It is all free style. Mr P. Ramanur, ti of the CPI(M) got up to request the chairman to instruct the rules committee of the House to draw up rules for wrestling—*Indian Express* (Asahai, New Delhi)

I will not do active politics for one year. I do not want to behave as some of them did with me. They started opposition the moment I took charge as the chief minister—Jagannath Pahadia, former CM of Rajasthan

It is the historic necessity for all Congressmen to come under the charge of Mrs Gandhi—D. B. Chandre Gowda, former Karnataka Congress (U) president

To be a soldier of Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and the illustrious Nehru family is no ordinary privilege, and like everything in life you don't acquire something for nothing—Arjun Singh, Madhya Pradesh chief minister

It is difficult for us to say whether they (the USA) consider us as friends or not—P. V. Narasimha Rao, union minister for external affairs

The question of an alternative is floated by Mrs Gandhi herself so that everyone will admit there is no alternative to her—Jagjvan Ram

It would be egotistical to say that my joining Congress(I) will make any qualitative change. I am not going to change the scene—Y. B. Chavan in *Weekend Review*.

I have no personal ambition, no personal stakes, I have no riches, no fortune. Money hardly attracts me. This chair is somebody's gift. I will be here so long as I am wanted—T. Anjiah, Andhra Pradesh CM in *Current*

People who are called intellectuals in India are mental slaves of the West because they defend Western concepts of democracy—A. R. Antulay, Maharashtra CM quoted in *Current*

We feel convinced that the press and the state need be neither sworn adversaries nor compulsory allies—Vasant Sathe, union minister for information and broadcasting

Journalists are paid well, but it is a useless profession—West Bengal CM Jyoti Basu quoted in *The Daily*

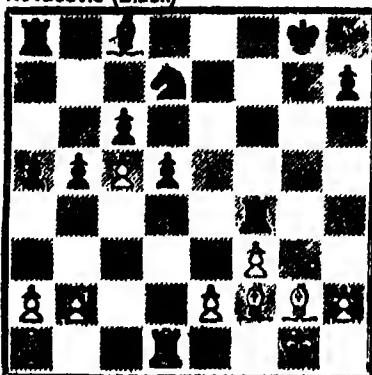
We are brethren of that party which is the largest party of India—Faroq Abdullah, president of National Conference

Neutralism has become dangerous—Col Qadhafi, Libyan President

They prepared their own deaths and committed suicide—Bani Sadr on the death of Iran's President and Premier

chess

Kovacevic (Black)



Speelman (White) to move
Position after Black's 23rd move

So now we have five grandmasters. When the FIDE Congress in Malta confirmed Jonathan Speelman's title it recalled the moment eight years ago at Hastings when Jim Slater announced his plan to award prizes to the first five English grandmasters. At the time it sounded at best as a piece of benevolent wishful thinking, as England had never in its history produced even one grandmaster. Yet when Tony Miles

joined the title in 1978 somehow the impossible suddenly seemed so accessible. Nevertheless, the fact that one person has the title makes it so much easier for others to acquire, and Jonathan Speelman's rise to the title was particularly impressive. His first norm came in the Philips and Drew tournament in London last April and his second a mere six months later in Yugoslavia. It can think of few who have gained the title so emphatically or in such a short space of time.

Of course there is nothing magical about the number five and I should expect to see several more English grandmasters in the coming years. Jonathan Meisler, a natural tightrope walker, has been tottering on the brink of the title for some years now. That Nigel Short will become a grandmaster is inevitable, and Bill Hartston would certainly join the club if he found enough time to play in tournaments regularly.

The crucial factor in Speelman's success has been his ability to temper his natural attacking instincts and play more soundly and positionally to give a powerfully played game which he won in Yugoslavia an route to his title. White: J. Speelman, Black: V. Kovacevic Queen's Gambit, Catalan System

1. P-Q4, N-KB3; 2. P-QB4, P-K3; 3. P-KN3, P-Q4; 4. N-KB3, B-N5+ 5. B-Q2, B-K2; A well-known manoeuvre in this opening. The point of the check is that the white bishop on Q2 will later obstruct his own development. 6. B-N2, O-O; 7. O-O, QN-Q2; 8. Q-B2, P-B3; 9. R-Q1, P-QN4; 10. P-B5, P-QR4;

11. B-K1 A nice solution to the problem of what to do with the bishop on KB4 it would be exposed to ... N-R4 and ... P-B4. 11. ... N-K6; 12. QN-Q2, P-B4, 13. N-N3, P-B3; The intention is to undermine white's pawn wedges with ... P-K4, but the wrong execution. 12. ... B-B3 and 13. ... Q-K2 is a more harmonious set-up. 14. N-B1, P-K4; 15. N-Q3, B-B3; 16. P x P, N x KP; 17. N(B3) x N, B x N; 18. P-B3, N-B3; 19. Q-Q2! Threatening to win a bishop with 20 P-B4, B-Q5+ 21 P-K3. 19. ... N-Q2; 20. B-B2, P-B5? Suicide. Black hopes to compensate for his positional inferiority by opening some lines around the white king, but merely succeeds at exposing the weaknesses in his own camp. 21. P x P, B x P; 22. N x B, Q x N; 23. Q x Q, R x Q;

DIAGRAM

24. P-K4! Very strong. If 24. ... P x P, 25. P x P followed by R-Q6 and Black's OBP becomes unacceptably weak. 24. ... B-N2; 25. QR-B1, N-K4; 26. B-N3 N x P+ 27. K-R1, R-B3, 28. P x P, P x P; 29. P-B6! B-R3; To capture the pawn would lose the knight. 30. R x P, QR-KB1; 31. P-B7, B-N2; 32. R-O6 Avoiding the trap 32. R x P! N-KB1 with mate on KB6 suddenly threatened. 32. ... B-B1; 33. R-B1, B-N2; 34. B x N, R x B; 35. R(B1) x R, B x R+ 36. K-N1, B-N5; 37. B-O6 and Black resigned.

MICHAEL STEAN

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Who is the founder of modern Zionism?
2. With what would you associate the international style?
3. On which date did Christopher Columbus sight land after he sailed out?
4. The word Mach, used to denote speed, came from a Czech-born German physicist. What is his name?
5. What is Panay-Hiligaynon?
6. Where is the Painted Desert?



bridge

Had a brilliancy prize been offered in the American trials for the next Bermuda Bowl, it might well have gone to Ron Rubin for a subtle and original defensive play in the final trial.

Dealer, North Love all

♠ O J 7 3			
♥ O 8 7 5			
♦ O 8 2			
♣ A 3			

♠ K 4 2	N	♠ A 10 8 6 5
♥ K 9 8	W	♥ J 4 3 2
♦ A 9 4 3	E	♦ 7 5
♣ Q 9 5	S	♣ J 4

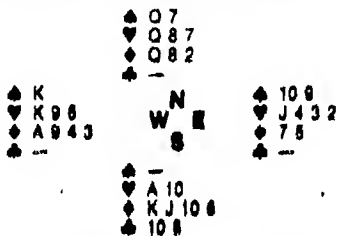
♠ 8			
♥ A 10			
♦ K J 10 8			
♣ K 10 8 7 6 2			

The bidding went

NORTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1♠	double	redouble	2♠
No	No	3NT	3♥
4♠	No	No	No

Rubin led a low spade to his partner's Ace. A heart return looks fairly natural and would have defeated the contract, but East preferred the

Jack of clubs. South won in dummy, ruffed a spade, and played King and another club, leaving West on play in this position



If West exits with a low diamond, declarer can win with ♠ 8, ruff a spade, and enter dummy with ♠ Q for a discard on ♠ Q. So what can the defence do about it? Rubin made a fine play - the ♠ of diamonds. Suppose now that declarer wins with ♠ Q, unblocking the 10, ruffs a spade and leads ♠ 8. West can go up with the Ace blocking the second entry to dummy.

Alan Truscott, in the *New York Times*, made much of the fact that this defence was played on the first board of the match. Personally I have always found it easier to be alert on board 1 than on board 72!

TERENCE REESE

stamps



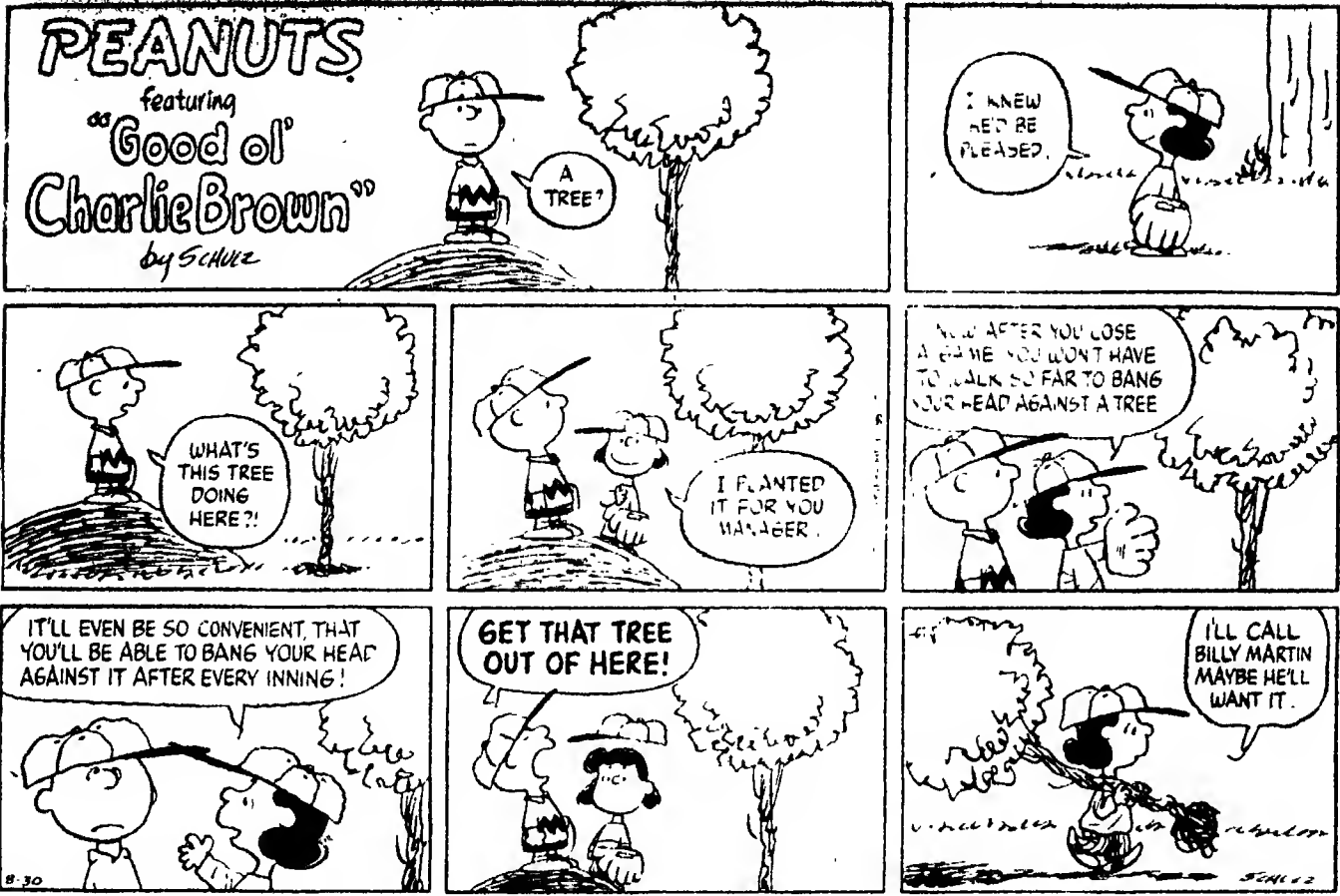
Many of the stamps issued in Austria during the 1920s were in distinctive designs strongly influ-

enced by both the Art Nouveau of pre-war Vienna and the new Art Deco. Elements of both can be seen in the high values of a long series issued in 1922-24. The portrait, symbolising the Austrian republic, owes its sinuous lines and flower-like truncation to Art Nouveau, but Art Deco provides the geometric side-panels and the angular numerals. The design was the work of Wilhelm Dechauer, who later became rector of the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts and continued to design stamps for Austria until his death in 1951. Another of his stamps, one of a series issued in 1926 to raise funds for children's charities and featuring scenes from the Nibelung legends, is reproduced on a recent 3-schilling stamp which marks the centenary of the artist's birth in 1881.

C. W. HILL

1. Theodor Herzl, a journalist who reported the Richard Dreyfus case for an *Austrian paper*.
2. Modern architecture. *International style* was also the title of a book by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson published in 1932 in which they outlined the characteristics of modern architecture.
3. On 12 October 1492, Christopher Columbus sighted what he thought was America.
4. Ernst Mach.
5. It is a language spoken by nearly four million people in the Philippines.
6. In Northern Arizona, USA.

ANSWERS



Housewives!

Here's the answer to all your cleaning problems

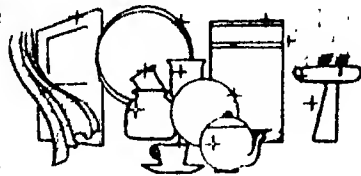
TEEPOL multi-purpose liquid detergent



TEEPOL—a world-class product used by women the world over. Teepol is a quality detergent formulation of Shell worldwide, which NOCIL (a Matatlal-Shell Company) now brings to Indian housewives

TEEPOL—saves you money. Teepol is concentrated. You need to use only a little to do a great cleaning job.

TEEPOL—drives dirt out faster. Teepol, being a liquid detergent, dissolves instantly in water. So you can start washing up whatever you want right away.



TEEPOL—cuts grease instantly. Due to its powerful detergent action, Teepol wipes out every trace of grease. It cleans twice as well with half the effort.

TEEPOL—the versatile cleanser. It is the one liquid detergent that does the job of many. It cleans tiles, bottles, jars, windows, mirrors, woodwork, carpets, furnishings, dishes, cutlery, ovens, sanitary-ware and floors.

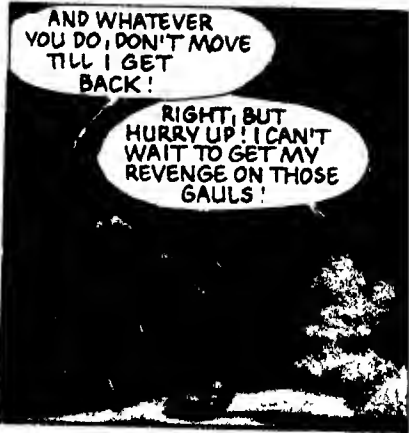
Marketed by
NATIONAL ORGANIC CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD.
Matatlal Centre, Neriman Point, Bombay 400 021

A little TEEPOL does a lot of cleaning.

AND THAT NIGHT, ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE WOOD NEAR THE GAULISH VILLAGE...



I DON'T TRUST THAT DRUID AND HIS SECRET WEAPONS! I THINK I'D BETTER GO SCOUTING AHEAD BEFORE WE ATTACK!



AND WHATEVER YOU DO, DON'T MOVE TILL I GET BACK!

RIGHT, BUT HURRY UP! I CAN'T WAIT TO GET MY REVENGE ON THOSE GAULS!

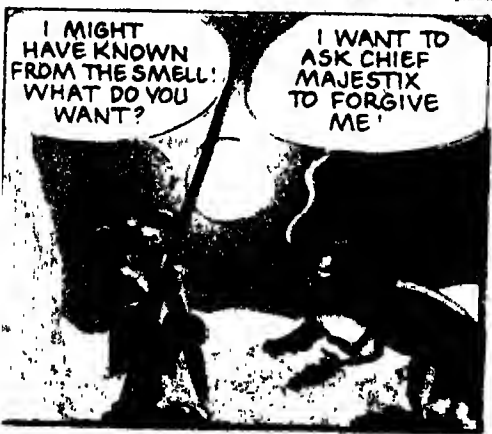


THE GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD ARE ON MY SIDE! IT'S THAT FOOL CONGENITAL-IDIOTIX ON SENTRY DUTY. I'LL SOON DEAL WITH HIM!



HALT! WHO GOES THERE?

IT'S ME. CODFIX.



I MIGHT HAVE KNOWN FROM THE SMELL! WHAT DO YOU WANT?

I WANT TO ASK CHIEF MAJESTIX TO FORGIVE ME!



YOU CAN COME IN, BUT IF I WERE YOU I'D KEEP MY DISTANCE FROM MAJESTIX!

WHY ARE YOU MOUNTING GUARD LIKE THIS? WHAT ARE YOU AFRAID OF?



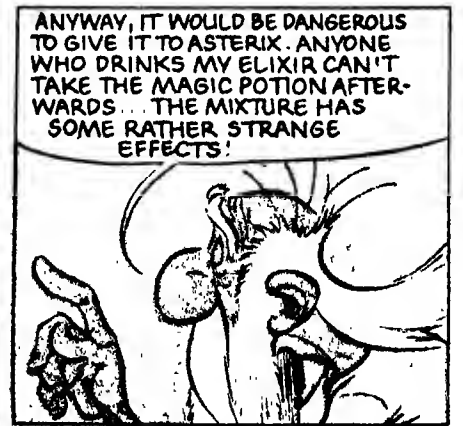
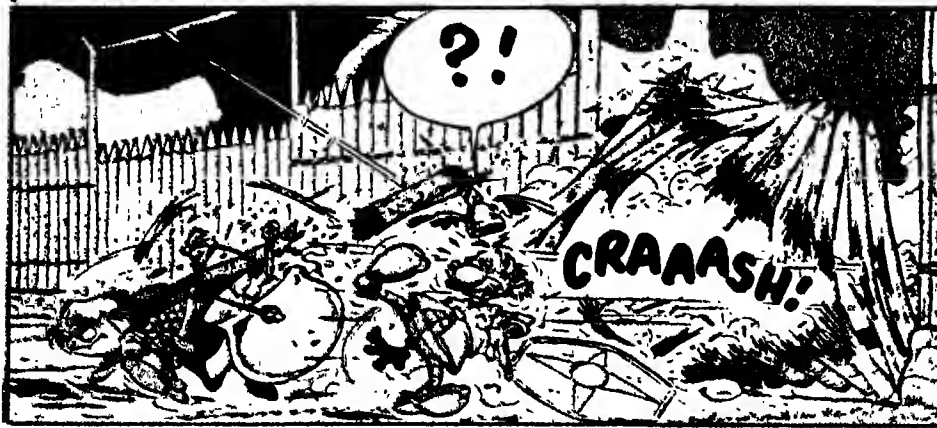
WE'RE AFRAID THE ROMANS MAY COME BACK. BUT LUCKILY GETAFIX THE DRUID HAS MADE US SOME OF HIS MAGIC POTION. IT'S SAFE IN SCHIZOPHRENIX'S HUT!

TEEHEE!



I'VE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO SEE STARS INSIDE A HUT BEFORE!





SHARAD PAWAR'S 'UNITY' DREAM

SHARAD Pawar, the newly elected president of the Congress(U) had a hectic time in Delhi: he spent all of his precious time in wooing the Janata party president Mr Chandra Shekhar, pacifying the fiery George Fernandes and befriending Mr H. N. Bahuguna. Mr Pawar had apparently told Mr Chandra Shekhar that he was willing to merge his Congress(U) with the Janata party. What was the outcome of his meeting with Mr Fernandes? Mr Pawar made it clear that he was ready to merge his party with the Lok Dal but he finds it rather difficult to work with Chaudhury Charan Singh. After the discussion, however, Mr Pawar

looked perfectly happy and satisfied. Not only that, he was convinced that it would not be all that difficult to get along with Chaudhury Charan Singh. Before Mr Pawar left Delhi he made it a point to see Mr Bahuguna. He had even told Mr Bahuguna that he was prepared to cooperate with him and was ready to finance him whenever the need arose. In the meantime, Mr Pawar has rechristened his party as the Congress(S). While clarifying the meaning of "S" he expressed his gratitude to Mr Raj Narain: after all it was Mr Raj Narain who declared in July 1979 that "S" stood for "secular".

CONG(I) LEARNS THE RULES FROM BJP

MR Chiman Shukla, BJP leader and former Janata party MP went on a 20-day-long fast in Rajkote with the demand that Mr Magan Sonpal, a small-time grocer who was once a BJP supporter but had defected to the Congress(I), should resign his membership and contest once again on a Congress(I) ticket. He claimed that this was in the tradition of Gandhian socialism and would establish a moral code. Mr Shukla got a tremendous response—even from the Congress(I) high command. Government circles in Delhi

sent instructions to the Gujarat CM, Madhavsinh Solanki, to save Mr Shukla at any cost. Finally, the state Congress(I) and Mr Shukla reached an agreement: Mr Sonpal would be asked to resign. Incidentally, Mr Sonpal, after switching camps has cleared the debts of his sister and also purchased a piece of land. Delhi's political circle is now asking a very vital question: Why aren't the Congress(I) leaders implementing the same rule in the Parliament for members who have defected to the Congress(I)?

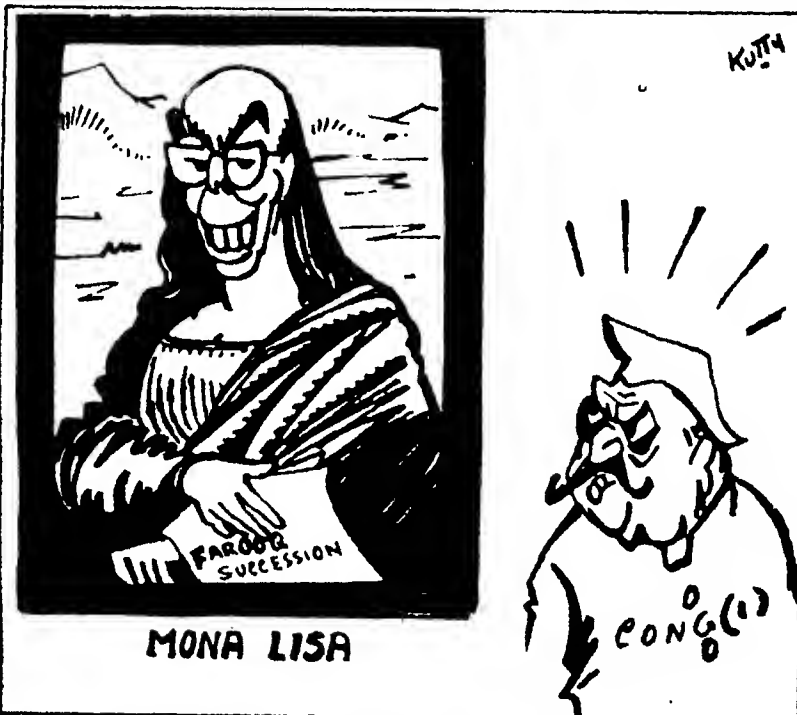
LOBBYING POLICEMEN

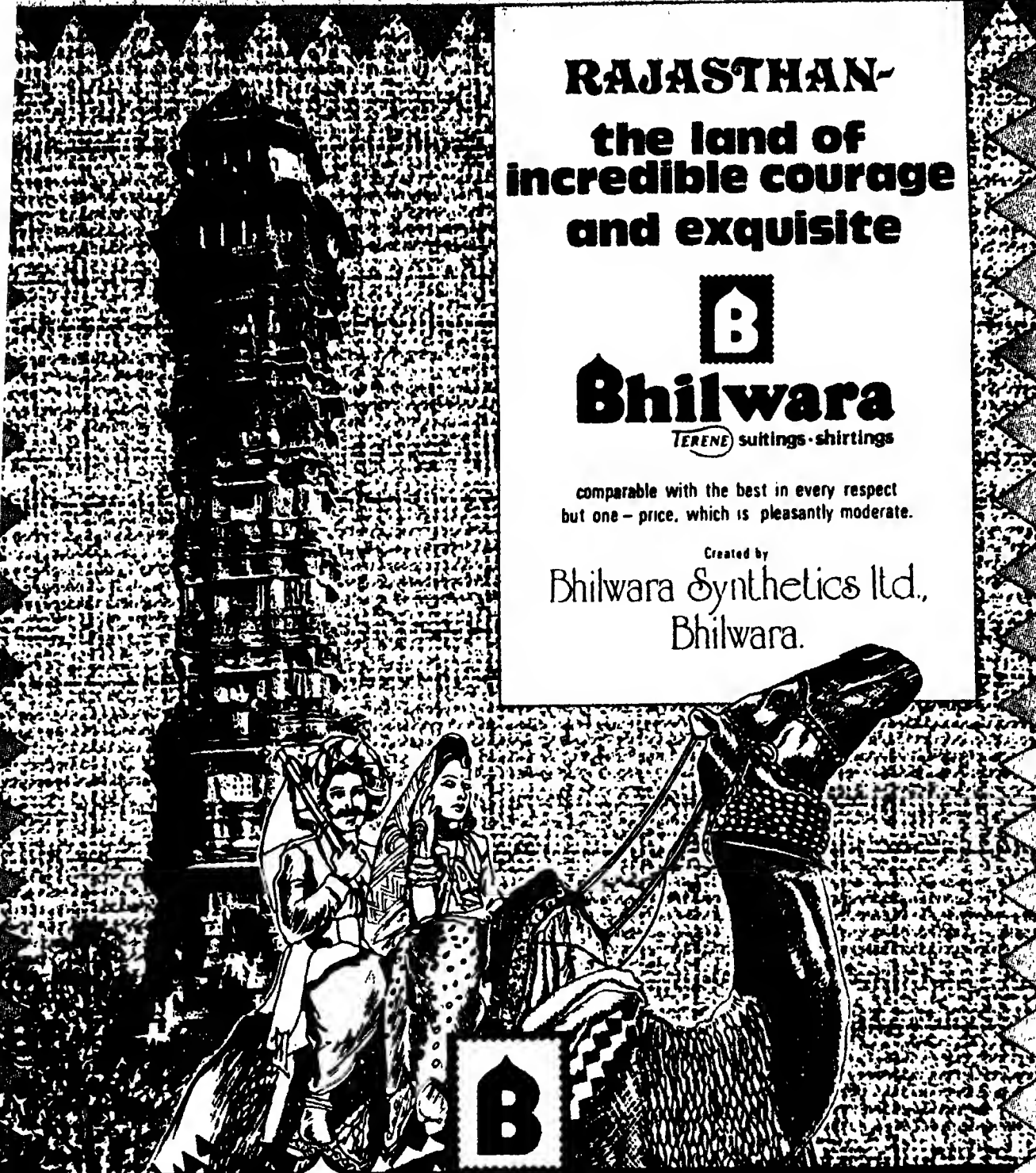
DELHI police have been operating without a deputy commissioner (traffic), since the first week of August, 1981. Mr P. S. Bawa, who was the DCP (traffic), has been elevated to the post of additional police commissioner, for the Asiads. So the post of the DCP is lying vacant. The reason for not being able to fill up the post yet seems to be the endless political manipulations and manoeuvrings. A certain DCP who has been working in the Delhi police headquarters has been trying to grab the post, immediately after Mr Bawa was promoted. In fact, he was almost certain that this prize post would go to him. But soon a rival DCP from one of the six districts of the capital appeared on the scene, equally keen to bag the post. Both of them are now lobbying in Delhi for the post. One of them is supported by the powerful Congress(I) lobby close to the police commissioner Mr P. S. Bhinder, and the other one is being backed by several bureaucrats of the home ministry. The sufferer in this power game is none other than the traffic department which is still working without a DCP.

SWAMY: A FRIEND INDEED

SUBRAMANIAM Swamy, the outspoken Janata party MP is in for good days. He secured the support of the seven Janata party members of the Lok Sabha while contesting for the post of deputy leader of the Janata Parliamentary party against Mr Ravindra Verma. Mr Swamy, however, was beaten in the final count. But Mr Verma secured only four votes from the Lok Sabha: those of Mr Madhu Dandavate, Mrs Premila Dandavate, Mr Chandra Shekhar and, of course, Mr Verma himself. The defeat, however, could not dampen Mr Swamy's spirits. Mr Swamy is going on a visit to Israel in October. He will, of course, meet Israel's Prime Minister Begin. But that is not the real coup that Swamy has achieved. On the same trip, he will go on to meet the PLO's Yasser Arafat! Which is unique. Normally, Arabs do not allow a visitor to even enter their countries if that person has been to Israel.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN





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Krackjack -a national weakness.

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All agree it's tasty, tasty, tasty.



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is never sold loose.
Never.
Ask for this pack.

PARLE **Krackjack** biscuit - the sweet and salty tempt

